POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

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FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE
EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

BY

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To

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

in token of grateful regard and esteem

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

In placing the fourth edition of the *Political History of Ancient India* in the hands of students of Indian Antiquities the author takes the opportunity of expressing his grateful thanks to scholars and explorers who have made accessible the rich stores of ancient learning and the priceless memorials of vanished glory that hitherto lay hidden beyond the ken of students and investigators. Suggestions and criticisms that earlier editions of the present work received in recent times, though not always of an instructive and informed character, have enabled the author to restate his position in regard to many matters treated in the volume. While unwilling to dogmatise on controversial points the writer of the following pages thinks that he has adduced fresh evidence in support of some of the views that were put forward years ago, long before certain recent notes and dissertations on kindred subjects saw the light of the day. He has also sought to incorporate new material which, it is hoped, may be of some little use to the ever-widening circle of eager inquires who are interested in the chequered annals of this ancient land.

The Cimmerian veil of darkness that enshrouds not a few obscure spaces in the spectrum of the early history of this country cannot be lifted by the wand of the magician or the trick of the conjurer. Even if such a feat were possible the author confesses that he does not possess the requisite implements.

Help in the laborious task of compiling the indexes has been given by Dr. D. C. Sircar and Professor G. C. Raychaudhuri to whom the author's acknowledgments are due.

The volume that now goes forth before the public could not be made as free from mistakes as the present writer would have wished. Some of the errors and misprints have been noted and corrected but many blunders, justly open to censure, may have escaped attention. For these the author can only crave the indulgence of readers.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA :
March 31, 1938. H. C. R. C.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The *Political History of Ancient India* now arrives at a third edition. An endeavour has been made to make it more accurate and up-to-date. Questions connected with certain dynasties, particularly of the Scythian period, have been treated afresh and several paragraphs have been revised in the light of the new information that may be gathered from literature as well as inscriptions discovered at Shahdaur, Maira, Khalatse, Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa, Guṇāighara and other places. Footnotes and appendices have been added to explain the author's viewpoint with regard to certain controversial matters. A new feature of the revised edition is the insertion in certain chapters, particularly of Part II, of introductory verses from literature to bring out some salient features of those chapters and, incidentally, to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed. The author craves the indulgence of the reader for certain misprints that have crept into the text. The labour of revising the Indexes has been performed by Srijuts D. C. Raychaudhuri, G. C. Raychaudhuri and Anilkumar Raychaudhuri.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA :
December 13, 1931. H. C. R. C.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A new edition of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty* is placed before the public. The work has been out of print for some time, and need has long been felt for a fresh edition. Therefore it goes forth once more having been revised and re-written in the light of the new information that is coming in so rapidly and in such vast bulk. No pains have been spared to bring the book up to date and make it more attractive to students. Material emendations have been made in almost every chapter. Some of the extracts in Sanskrit have been provided with English renderings.

A new feature of the present volume is the inclusion of a number of maps, and a few chronological and synchronistic tables, which, it is to be hoped, will increase the usefulness of the work. The incorporation of fresh material has necessitated a recasting of the indexes.

The present writer never intended his work to be a comprehensive survey of the political and dynastic history of every Indian province. He is chiefly concerned with those kingdoms and empires whose influence transcended provincial limits and had an important bearing upon the general course of political events in the heart and nerve-centres of the Indian sub-continent. Dynasties of mere local interest (*e.g.*, the Tamil *Prachaṁtas* of the far south, or the Himālayan *Pratyantas* in the far north) have received very brief notice, as these did not acquire an all-India importance till after the Gupta

period when a Jayadeva Parachakra-kāma had intimate dynastic relations with several rulers of the Indian interior, a Lalitāditya pushed his conquests as far as Kanauj, and a Rājendra Chola carried his arms to the banks of the Ganges.

Further, the author does not claim for the period from Parikshit to Bimbisāra the same degree of authenticity as for the age of the Mauryas, the Śātavāhanas and the Guptas. The absence of trustworthy contemporary dynastic records makes it preposterous to put forward such a proposition. In regard to the early period it has been his principal endeavour to show that the huge fabric of sacerdotal and rhapsodic legends is not based solely on the mythical fancy of mendacious priests and story-telling Diaskeuasts, that bardic tales sometimes conceal kernels of sober facts not less trustworthy than the current accounts of the dynasties immediately preceding the raid of Alexander, and that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B. C. is not impossible. In trying to demonstrate this he has not confined himself to literature of a particular type, but has collated the whole mass of evidence, Vedic as well as Purāṇic, Brāhmaṇical as well as non-Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist as well as Jain, Indian as well as Hellenic.

The writer of these pages wishes to acknowledge with sincere thanks his indebtedness to scholars and critics who have helped him with valuable suggestions, and especially to Dr. Barnett, Professor Schrader, Dr. Jarl Charpentier, Mr. H. Subbaiya and Mr. Asananda Nag. He is also grateful for the kind assistance which he received in many difficulties from his friends and colleagues, among whom Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Mr. H. C. Ray and Mr. J. C. Chakravorti deserve especial mention. His acknowledgments are also due to Srijut Golapchandra Raychaudhuri who gave him

much valuable help in the preparation of maps and the revision of the Indexes. The author does not claim that the Indexes are exhaustive, but he has spared no pains to include all important referencces.

THE UNIVERSITY, CALCUTTA :
April 12, 1927. H. C. R. C.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The object of the following pages is to sketch the political history of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. The idea of the work suggested itself many years ago from observing a tendency in some of the current books to dismiss the history of the period from the Bhārata war to the rise of Buddhism as incapable of arrangement in definite chronological order. The author's aim has been to present materials for an authentic chronological history of ancient India, including the neglected Post-Bhārata period, but excluding the Epoch of the Kanauj Empires which properly falls within the domain of the historian of Mediæval India.

The volume now offered to the public consists of two parts. In the first part an attempt has been made to furnish, from a comparison of the Vedic, Epic, Purāṇic, Jaina, Buddhist and secular Brāhmaṇical literature, such a narrative of the political vicissitudes of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period as may not be less intelligible to the reader than Dr. Smith's account of the transactions of the post-Bimbisārian age. It has also been thought expedient to append, towards the end of this part, a short chapter on kingship in the Brāhmaṇa-Jātaka period. The purpose of the second part is to provide a history of the period from Bimbisāra to the Guptas which will be, to a certain extent, more up to date, if less voluminous, than the classic work of Dr. Smith.

The greater part of the volume now published was written some years ago, and the author has not had

the opportunity to discuss some of the novel theories advanced in recent works like *The Cambridge History of India*, and Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

The writer of these pages offers his tribute of respect to the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for providing opportunities for study which render it possible for a young learner to carry on investigation in the subject of his choice. To Professor D. R. Bhandarkar the author is grateful for the interest taken in the progress of the work. His acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Girindramohan Sarkar and Rameshchandra Raychaudhuri for their assistance in preparing the Indexes. Lastly, this preface cannot be closed without a word of thanks to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, the Superintendent, for his help in piloting the work through the Press.

July 16, 1923. H. C. R. [C.]

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FROM THE CORONATION OF BIMBISĀRA TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

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APPENDICES, INDEXES ETC.

MAPS

ABBREVIATIONS

A. G. I. ...	... Ancient Geography of India.
A. H. D. ...	... Ancient History of the Deccan.
A. I. H. T.	... Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
Ait. Br. ...	... Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Alex. ...	... Plutarch's Life of Alexander.
Ang. ...	... Aṅguttara Nikāya
Ann. Bhand. Ins.	... Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Āpas. Śr. Sūtra	... Āpastambīya Śrauta Sūtra.
App. ...	... Appendix.
Arch. Rep.	... Archæological Survey Report.
A. R. ...	... Annual Report.
A. R. I. ...	... Aryan Rule in India.
A. S. I. ...	... Archæological Survey of India.
A. S. R. (Arch. Surv. Rep.).	Reports of the Archæological Survey of India.
A. S. W. I.	... Archæological Survey of Western India.
A. V. ...	... Atharva-Veda.
Baudh. Śr. Sūtra	... Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Bau. Sūtra.	... Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
Bhand. Com. Vol.	... Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.
Bomb. Gaz.	... Bombay Gazetteer.
Br. ...	... Brāhmaṇa.
Bṛih. S. ...	... Bṛihat Saṁhitā.
Bṛih. Up. ...	... Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
Bud. Ind. ...	... Buddhist India.
C. A. H. ...	... Cambrige Ancient History.
Cal. Rev. ...	... Calcutta Review.

Camb. Ed. ...	Cambridge Edition.
Camb. Hist. (Ind.) (C. H. I.). ...	Cambridge History of India (Vol. I).
Camb. Short. Hist. ...	(The) Cambridge Shorter History of India.
Carm. Lec. ...	Carmichael Lectures, 1918.
Ch. / Chap. ...	Chapter.
Chh. Up.	Chhāndogya Upanishad.
C. I. C. A. I. ...	Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India.
C. I. I. / Corpus	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Com. Vol.	Commemoration Volume.
Cunn.	Cunningham.
D.	Dīgha Nikāya.
Dialogues	Dialogues of the Buddha.
D. K. A.	Dynasties of the Kali Age.
Ed.	Edition.
E. H. D.	Early History of the Dekkan.
E. H. I.	Early History of India.
E. H. V. S. ...	Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
Gandhāra (Foucher) ...	Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra.
Gaz.	Gazetteer.
G. E.	Gupta Era.
G. E. I.	Great Epic of India.
Gop. Br.	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
G. O. S.	Gaekwar Oriental Series.
Hariv.	Harivaṁśa.
H. and F.	Hamilton and Falconer's Translation of Strabo's Geography.

H. F. A. I. C.	...	History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.
Hist. N. E. Ind.	...	History of North Eastern India.
Hist. Sans. Lit.	...	(A) History of Sanskrit Literature.
H. O. S ...	...	Harvard Oriental Series.
I. H. Q. ...	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Int. Ant. (I. A.)	...	Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit. ...	...	History of Indian Literature.
Imp. Gaz....	...	Imperial Gazetteer.
Inv. Alex....	...	Invasion of Alexander.
Ins. ...	...	Inscriptions.
J. ...	...	Jātaka.
J. A. (Journ. As.)	...	Journal Asiatique.
J. A. O. S.	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. A. S. B.	...	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. Br. R. A. S.	...	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S.	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. I. H. ...	...	Journal of Indian History.
J. R. A. S.	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Britain).
Kaush. Up.	...	Kaushītaki Upanishad.
Kaut. ...	...	Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Mysore, 1919.
Kishk. ...	...	Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa
Life ...	...	(The) Life of Hiuen Tsang.
M. ...	...	Majjhima Nikāya.
M. A. S. I.	...	Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.
Mat. ...	...	Matsya Purāṇa.
Mbh. ...	...	Mahābhārata.
Med. Hind. Ind.	...	Mediæval Hindu India.

Mod. Rev. ...	... Modern Review.
M. R. ...	... Minor Rock Edicts.
N. ...	... Nikāya.
N. Ins. ...	... (A) List of Inscriptions of Northern India.
P. ...	... Purāṇa.
P. A. O. S.	... Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.
Pratijñā ...	... Pratijñā Yaugandharāyana.
Pro. Or. Conf.	... Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.
Pt. (Pat.) ...	... Patañjali.
Rām. ...	... Rāmāyaṇa.
R. P. V. U.	... Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads.
R. V. ...	... Ṛig-Veda.
Śāṅkh. Śr. Sūtra	... Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Sans. Lit. ...	... Sanskrit Literature.
Sat. Br. ...	... Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S. B. E. ...	... Sacred Books of the East.
Ś. E. ...	... Śaka Era.
Sec. ...	... Section.
S. I. I. ...	... South Indian Inscriptions.
S. Ins. ...	... (A) List of Inscriptions of Southern India.
S. P. Patrikā	... Vaṅgīya Sāhitya-Parishat Patrikā.
Svapna. ...	... Svapnavāsavadatta.
Tr. ...	... Translation.
Up. Br. ...	... Upanishad Brāhmaṇa.
V. ...	... Veda.
Vāj. Sam. ...	... Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.
Ved. Ind. ...	... Vedic Index.
Vish. ...	... Vishṇu Purāṇa.
Vizag. Dist. Gaz.	... Vizagapatam District Gazetteer.
Z. D. M. G.	... Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Political History of Ancient India

PART I

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. FOREWORD.

No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of Ancient India. But the patient investigations of numerous scholars and archæologists have opened up rich stores of material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country. The first notable attempt to " sort and arrange the accumulated and ever-growing stores of knowledge " was made by Dr. Vincent Smith. But the excellent historian, failing to find sober history in bardic tales, ignored the period immediately succeeding " the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pāṇḍu," and took as his starting point the middle of the seventh century B.C. The aim of the present writer has been to sketch in outline the dynastic history of Ancient India including the neglected period. He takes as his starting point the accession of Parikshit which, according to Epic and Purāṇic tradition, took place shortly after the Bhārata War.

Valuable information regarding the Pārikshita and the post-Pārikshita periods has been given by eminent scholars like Weber, Eggeling, Caland, Oldenberg, Jacobi, Hopkins, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, Fick, Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to frame an outline of political history from Parikshit to Bimbisāra out of materials supplied

by Brāhmaṇic as well as non-Brāhmaṇic literature is, I believe, made for the first time in the following pages.

Section II. Sources.

No inscription or coin has unfortunately been discovered which can be referred, with any amount of certainty, to the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period. The South Indian plates purporting to belong to the reign of Janamejaya[1] have been proved to be spurious. Our chief reliance must, therefore, be placed upon literary evidence. Unfortunately this evidence is purely Indian, and is not supplemented by those foreign notices which have "done more than any archæological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation" of the history of the post-Bimbisārian epoch. The discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have no doubt supplemented the purely literary evidence regarding the ancient history of India. But the civilisation disclosed is that of Sauvīra or Sovīra (Sophir, Ophir) in the pre-Pārikshita period. And the monuments exhumed "offer little direct contribution to the materials for political history," particularly of the *Madhya-deśa* or the Upper Ganges valley.

Indian literature useful for the purpose of the historian of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian age may be divided into five classes, *viz.* :—

I. Brāhmaṇical literature of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period. This class of literature naturally contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties and comprises :

(*a*) The last book of the *Atharva Veda.*

(*b*) The *Aitareya, Śatapatha, Pañchaviṁśa* and other ancient *Brāhmaṇas.*

[1] Ep. Ind., VII, App., pp. 162-63.

(c) The major part of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, the *Chhāndogya* and other classical *Upanishads*.

That these works belong to the post-Pārikshita period is proved by repeated references to Parikshit, to his son Janamejaya, to Janamejaya's successor Abhipratārin, and to Janaka of Videha at whose court the fate of the Pārikshitas was made the subject of a philosophical discussion. That these works are in the main pre-Buddhistic and, therefore, pre-Bimbisārian, has been proved by competent critics like Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra,[1] Professor Macdonell[2] and others.

II. The second class comprises Brāhmaṇical works to which no definite date can be assigned, but large portions of which, in the opinion of competent critics, belong to the post-Bimbisārian period. To this class belong the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The present *Rāmāyaṇa* consists of 24,000 *Ślokas* or verses.[3] But even in the first or second century A.D. the epic seems to have contained only 12,000 *Ślokas*[4] as the evidence of the Buddhist *Mahā-vibhāshā*, a commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyanīputra, suggests. It not only mentions Buddha Tathāgata,[5] but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians), *Śakān Yavana-miśritān*.[6] In the *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa*,[7] Sugrīva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Śakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras, and the Himālayas. This shows that the Græco-Scythians at that time occupied parts of the Pañjāb. The *Laṅkā Kāṇḍa*[8] apparently refers to the Purāṇic episode

1 Translation of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, pp. 23-24.
2 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 189, 20?-03, 226.
3 1.4.2— *Chaturviṁśa-sahasrāṇi ślokānām uktavān ṛishiḥ*.
4 J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 99 ff. *Cf.* Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue* No. 1263.
5 II. 109. 34.
6 I. 54. 21.
7 IV. 43. 11-12.
8 69. 32; *cf. Matsya*, 249, 53; *Bhāgavata*, X. 25.

of the uplifting of Mount Mandara, or Govardhana, *Parigṛihya giriṁ dorbhyāṁ vapur Vishṇor viḍambayan.*[1]

As regards the present *Mahābhārata*, Hopkins says: [2] "Buddhist supremacy already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the eḍūkas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III. 190. 65 'They will revere eḍūkas, they will neglect the gods;' *ib.* 67 'the earth shall be piled with eḍūkas, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, Cāturmahārājika in XII. 339. 40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book."

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to......The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples, II. 51.17, and stand thus in marked contrast to Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often......The distinct prophecy that 'Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to come' which occurs in III. 188. 35 is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away."

The *Ādiparva* [3] refers to King Aśoka who is represented as an incarnation of a *Mahāsura* or great demon,[4] and is described as *mahāvīryo' parājitaḥ*, of great prowess and invincible. We have also a reference [5] to a Greek overlord,

[1] For some other Purāṇic allusions see *Calcutta Review*, March, 1922, pp. 500-02.

[2] *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 391-93.

[3] I. 67.13-14.

[4] It is interesting to note in this connection that in the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (88. 5) *Maurya* is the name of a class of *Asuras* or demons :—

Kālakā Daurhṛitā Mauryāḥ Kālakeyāstathāsurāḥ
Yuddhāya sajjā niryāntu ājñayā tvaritā mama

"Let the Kālaka, the Daurhṛita, the *Maurya* and the Kālakeya *Asuras*, hastening at my command, march forth ready for battle."

Note also the expression *suradvishām* (of the enemies of the gods. *i.e.*, *Asuras*), used by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1. 3. 24) in reference to people "beguiled" by the Buddha.

[5] Mbh., I. 139. 21-23.

Yavanādhipaḥ, of Sauvîra and his compatriot Dattāmitra (Demetrios?). The *Śāntiparva* mentions Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*,[1] Vārshagaṇya,[2] the Sāṁkhya philosopher who probably flourished in the fifth century after Christ[3] and Kāmandaka,[4] the authority on *Dharma* (sacred law) and *Artha* (polity) who is probably to be identified with the famous disciple of Kauṭilya.

The eighteen *Purāṇas* were certainly known to Alberuni[5] (A.D.1000), Rājaśekhara (A.D. 900), and the latest compiler of the *Mahābhārata* who flourished before A.D. 500. Some of the Purāṇic chronicles are mentioned by Bāṇa (A.D. 600) and earlier writers. But the extant texts which contain lists of kings of the *Kali Age* cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D., because they refer to the so-called Andhra kings and even to the post-Andhras.

It is clear from what has been stated above that the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, in their present shape, are late works which are no better suited to serve as the foundation of the history of the pre-Bimbisārian age than are the tales of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Aśokāvadāna* adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the great Maurya. At the same time we shall not be justified in rejecting their evidence wholesale because much of it is undoubtedly old and valuable. The warning to handle critically, which Dr.

1 342. 73.

2 318. 59.

3 J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 47-51.

4 *Śānti*, 123. 11.

5 *Cf.* Alberuni, Ch. XII; *Prachaṇḍa-Pāṇḍava* ed. by Carl Cappeller, p. 5 (*ashṭādaśa-purāṇa-sāra-saṁgraha-kārin*); Mbh. XVIII. 6. 97; *Harshacharita*, III (p. 86 of Parab's ed., 1918), *Pavamāna-prokta Purāṇa, i. e., Vāyu Purāṇa*; *cf. Sakala-purāṇa-rājarshi-charitābhijñāḥ* (III. 87) and *Hareriva Vṛishavirodhini Bālacharitāni* (II. 77); EHVS, seconded., pp. 17, 70, 150. The fact that the collection of the essence (*sāra-saṁgraha*) of *all* the eighteen Purāṇas is attributed to a very ancient sage by Rājaśekhara proves that the Purāṇas themselves were believed by him to have been composed long before the ninth century A. D.

Smith considered necessary with regard to the Ceylonese chronicles, is certainly applicable to the Sanskrit Epics and *Puranas*.

In a recent work Dr. Keith shows excessive scepticism about the historical value of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, and wonders at the naïve simplicity of those who believe in the historicity of any event not explicitly mentioned in the Vedas, *e.g.*, the *Bhārata* War. It cannot be denied that the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, in their present shape, contain a good deal of what is untrustworthy ; but it has been rightly said that "it is absurd to suppose that fiction completely ousted the truth." The epigraphic or numismatic records of the *Śātavāhanas*, *Ābhīras*, *Vākāṭakas*, *Nāgas*, *Guptas* and many other dynasties fully bear out the observation of Dr. Smith that "modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the *Purāṇic* lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition." As to the *Bhārata* War we have indeed no epigraphic corroboration, because contemporary inscriptions are lacking. But, as will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter, Vedic literature contains many hints that the story of the great conflict is not wholly fictitious. Many of the principal figures in the *Kurukshetra* story, *e. g.*, Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya, Kṛishṇa Devakīputra and perhaps Śikhaṇḍin Yājñasena, are mentioned in some of the early Vedic texts, and battle songs describing the internecine strife among the Bhāratas and the tragic end of Dhṛitarāshṭra's progeny must have been current at least as early as the fifth century B. C., because Vaiśampāyana and his version of the *Mahābhārata* are well-known to Āśvalāyana and Pāṇini. If, as suggested by Vedic evidence discussed in the following pages, the *Bhārata* War took place in the ninth century B. C., tradition about the conflict dating from a period not later than the fifth century B. C., cannot be dismissed as wholly unworthy of credence.

Pargiter, on the other hand, is inclined to give more weight to Purāṇic tradition than to Vedic evidence, and his conclusions have apparently been accepted by Dr. Barnett.[1] It has recently been urged by the former[2] that Vedic literature "lacks the historical sense" and "is not always to be trusted." But do the *Purāṇas* which represent Śākya as one individual, include Abhimanyu and Siddhārtha in lists of kings, make Prasenajit the immediate lineal successor of Rāhula, place Pradyota several generations before Bimbisāra, dismiss Aśoka with one sentence, and represent Śrī Śātakarṇi as the son of Kṛishṇa, possess the historical sense in a remarkable degree, and are "always to be trusted"? Pargiter himself, not unoften, rejects Epic and Purāṇic evidence[3] when it is opposed to certain theories. In this connection it will not be quite out of place to quote the following observations of Mr. V. Gordon Childe.[4] "The *Kṣatriya* tradition (*i. e.*, Epic and Purāṇic tradition)......is hardly an unpolluted source of history. The orthodox view is not really based on the priestly tradition, as embodied in epexegetical works, but rather on the internal evidence of the Veda itself. The latter carries conviction precisely because the historical and geographical references in the hymns are introduced only incidentally and in a thoroughly ingenuous manner...The same cannot be said of *Kṣatriya* tradition, which in its recorded form dates from an age (perhaps as late as 200 A.D.) when myth-making had had many centuries to work in, and which might serve dynastic ends." Priority of date and comparative freedom from textual corruption are two strong points in favour of Vedic literature.

1 *Calcutta Review*, Feb., 1924, p. 249.
2 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 9 ff.
3 *Cf.* A. I. H. T., pp. 173, n. 1; 299, n. 7.
4 *The Aryans*, p. 32.

III. The third class of literature comprises Brāhmaṇical works of the post-Bimbisārian period to which a date in a definite epoch may be assigned, *e. g.*, the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* assignable to the period, third century B. C. to 100 A.D.,[1] the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali (usually assigned

[1] The work was certainly known not only to Bāṇa, the author of the *Kādambarī*, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., but also to the *Nandisūtra* of the Jainas which must have existed in the fifth century A. D. According to some scholars the *Arthaśāstra* literature is later than the *Dharmaśāstras*, and dates only from about the third century A. D. But the prevalence of the study of *Arthavidyā* in a much earlier epoch is proved by the Junāgaḍha Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I, and the existence of treatises on *Arthaśāstra* is rendered probable by the mention of technical terms like "*Praṇaya*," "*Vishṭi*," etc. It is interesting to note that the *Kauṭilīya*, which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing *Arthaśāstras*, does not quote the views of previous *Āchāryas* or teachers in the chapter on "*Praṇaya*" (Bk. V, Ch. 2). It is, therefore, not unlikely that Rudradāman I, who claims to have studied the *Arthavidyā*, learnt the use of the term from the *Kauṭilīya* itself and not from a pre-Kauṭilyan treatise. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Junāgaḍh epigraphs show a special acquaintance with the *Arthaśāstra* literature. The Junāgaḍh Inscription of Skanda Gupta, for instance, refers to the testing of officials by *upadhās*—*sarv-opadhābhiśchа viśuddhabuddhiḥ*, "possessed of a mind that (has been tried and) is (found to be) pure by all the tests of honesty." The verse

Nyāy-ārjane-rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ
Syād-arjitasy āpy-atha rakshaṇe cha
Gopāyitasy-āpi cha vṛiddhi-hetau
Vṛiddhasya pātra-pratipādanāya

"Who is capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (and able) to dispense with it on worthy objects, when it has been increased" (Fleet).

reminds us of Kauṭ., I. 1—

Daṇḍanītiḥ; alabdha-lābhārthā labdha-parirakshaṇī, rakshita-vivardhanī, vṛiddhasya tīrtheshu pratipādanī cha.

"The science of government; it is a means to make acquisitions, to preserve what is acquired, to increase what is protected and to distribute among the worthy what has been increased."

Johnston (J. R. A. S., 1929, I, January) thinks that the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* is not separated by a great interval from Aśvaghosha, and is distinctly earlier than the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra. An early date is also suggested by the absence of any reference to the Denarius in Book II, Chs. 12 and 19 But the mention of *Chīnapaṭṭa* in Bk. II, Ch. 11, precludes the possibility of a date earlier than the middle of the third century B. C. The reference must be to the great silk-producing country of the ancient east, and not to any obscure tribe on the outskirts of India. China silk looms large in the pages of later Sanskrit writers. The great country which produced it clearly lay outside the horizon of the early Mauryas.

to the second century B. C.),[1] etc. The value of these important works can hardly be overestimated. They form "sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian chronology." Their evidence with regard to the pre-Bimbisārian age is certainly inferior to that of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads*, but the very fact that such information as they contain, comes from persons assignable to a known epoch, makes it more valuable than the Epic and *Purāṇic* tradition, the antiquity and authenticity of which can always be called in question.

IV. To the fourth class belong the Buddhist *Suttas*, *Vinaya* texts and the *Jātakas*. Most of these works are assignable to pre-Śunga times. The Pali Buddhist texts are said to have been committed to writing in the first century B. C. They furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the period which immediately preceded the accession of Bimbisāra. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories, and vouchsafe light when the light from Brāhmaṇical sources begins to fail.

V. To the fifth class belong works of the Jaina canon which were probably reduced to writing in the fifth or sixth century A.D.[2] They give valuable information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Bimbisārian Age. But their late date makes their evidence not always reliable.

[1] For a recent discussion about the date of Patañjali see *Indian Culture*, III, 1 ff.

[2] S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. xxxvii; XLV, p. xl. *Cf.* Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Eng. trans., Vol, II, p. 432.

CHAPTER II. KURUS AND VIDEHAS.

SECTION I. THE AGE OF THE PĀRIKSHITAS.

Janaḥ sa bhadramedhati
rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ
—*Atharva Veda.*

We have taken as our starting point the **reign of Parikshit** whose accession, according to tradition, took place shortly after the *Bhārata* War.

Was there really a king named Parikshit ? True, he is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas.* But the mere mention of a king in this kind of literature is no sure proof of his historical existence unless we have external evidence to corroborate the Epic and the *Purāṇic* accounts.

Parikshit appears in a famous laud of the Twentieth Book of the *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā*[1] as a king of the Kurus (*Kauravya*) whose kingdom (*rāshṭra*) flowed with milk and honey. We quote the entire passage below :—

"*Rājño viśvajanīnasya yo devomartyāṁ ati*
Vaiśvānarasya sushṭutimā sunotā Parikshitaḥ
Parichchhinnaḥ kshemamakarot tama āsanamācharan
Kulāyan kṛiṇvan Kauravyaḥ patirvadati jāyayā
Katarat ta ā harāṇi dadhi manthāṁ pari śrutam
Jāyāḥ patiṁ vi prichchhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ
Abhīva svaḥ pra jihīte yavaḥ pakvaḥ patho bilam
Janaḥ sa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ."

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, who is thought of by all men,[2] of Parikshit ! Parikshit has produced for us a

1 A.V., XX. 127. 7-10.

2 For the meaning of *Vaiśvānara*, see *Bṛihaddevatā*, II. 66.

secure dwelling when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat. (Thus) the husband in Kuru land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.

"What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink or liquor? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit."[1]

Roth and Bloomfield regard Parikshit in the *Atharva Veda* as a divine being. But Zimmer and Oldenberg recognize him as a human king, a view supported by the fact that in the *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* the famous king Janamejaya bears the patronymic *Pārikshita.* For example, the following passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] informs us that the priest Tura Kāvasheya "anointed Janamejaya Pārikshita with the great anointing of Indra:"

"*Etena ha vā Aindreṇa mahābhishekeṇa Turaḥ Kāvasheyo Janamejayaṁ Pārikshitam abhishishecha.*"

Referring to king Parikshit, Macdonell and Keith observe:[3] "The epic makes him grandfather of Pratiśravas and great-grandfather of Pratīpa." Now, the epic and the *Purāṇas* have really two Parikshits. Regarding the parentage of one there is no unanimity. He is variously represented as the son of Avīkshit, Anaśvā, or Kuru, and is further mentioned as an ancestor of Pratiśravas and Pratīpa. The other Parikshit was a descendant of Pratīpa and, according to a unanimous tradition, a son of Abhimanyu.[4] We shall call

[1] Bloomfield, *Atharva Veda*, pp. 197-98, with slight emendations.

[2] VIII. 21.

[3] *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 494.

[4] *Mahābhārata, Ādiparva*, 94, 52 and 95, 41. Regarding Parikshit I, the *Matsya Purāṇa* says, 50, 23:

Kurostu dayitāḥ putrāḥ Sudhanvā Jahnureva cha
Parikshichcha mahātejāḥ pravaraś chārimardanaḥ.

the former Parikshit I, and the latter Parikshit II. Was Parikshit I of the Epic and the *Purāṇas* identical with the Vedic Parikshit? The latter receives in the *Atharva Veda* the epithet *rājā viśvajanīna* (universal king) and is called "a *deva* (god) who is above mortals." In his days the designation *Kauravya* had ceased to be a mere royal patronymic and was applied to ordinary citizens in Kuru land. Kuru had become the eponymous ancestor of the entire race. And lastly, the people throve merrily (*Janaḥ sa bhadramedhati*) in his realm. These particulars hardly apply to the shadowy Parikshit I of Epic and Purāṇic lists who is said to have been very near in time to Kuru himself.[1] On the other hand the Vedic laud corresponds wonderfully, both in form and sense, with the famous *ākhyāna* (story) of Parikshit II, son of Abhimanyu, narrated in Chapters 16 to 18 of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. We are told that this Parikshit undertook a *digvijaya*, conquest of all the quarters, in the course of which he subjugated all the sub-continents (*varshāṇi*). He is called *the supreme deva* who is not to be regarded as the equal of ordinary men (*na vai nṛibhir-naradevaṁ parākhyaṁ saṁmātum arhasi*). He is further styled *samrāṭ* (emperor) and under his protection people thrive and have nothing to fear (*vindanti bhadrāṇyakuto-bhayāḥ prajāḥ*).

The most convincing proof of the **identity of this Parikshit** (son of Abhimanyu) with his Vedic namesake is furnished by a later passage of the same *Purāṇa*[2] which distinctly mentions Tura Kāvasheya as the priest of *his* son Janamejaya:

> *Kāvasheyaṁ purodhāya Turaṁ turagamedhayāṭ*
> *Samantāt pṛithivīṁ sarvāṁ jitvā yakshyati chādhvaraiḥ.*

[1] In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 93, 21 and the *Harivaṁśa*, XXX. 9, Parikshit I seems to be identified with Kuru himself as his son (*Pārikshita*) is called *Kuroḥ putra*, son of Kuru.

[2] Book IX. Ch. 22. Verses 25-37.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is no doubt a late work. But its evidence finds corroboration in earlier literature. This will be made clear by an examination of the names of the sons of Parikshit given in the Vedic texts and the Epic respectively. The Vedic Parikshit, we are told, had four sons, namely, Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena and Śrutasena.[1] The Epic Parikshit I, on the other hand, had only one son (Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 95, verse 42 of the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, and seven sons (Janamejaya, Kakshasena, Ugrasena, Chitrasena, Indrasena, Sushena and Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 94, verses 54-55, and among these the name of *Śrutasena* does not occur. Even Janamejaya is omitted in Chapter 95 and in the *Java text*.[2] There is no king of that name immediately after Parikshit I, also in the Kuru-Pāṇḍu genealogy given in the Chellur or Cocanada grant of Vīrachoḍa.[3] The Epic poet and the writer of the Choḍa inscription, which is much older than many extant manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, therefore, were not quite sure as to whether this Parikshit (I) was the father of Janamejaya and *Śrutasena*. On the other hand, according to the unanimous testimony of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, Parikshit II had undoubtedly a son named Janamejaya who succeeded him on the throne. Thus the *Mahābhārata*, referring to Parikshit II, the son of Abhimanyu, says :[4]

"*Parikshit khalu Mādravatīṁ nāmopayeme, tvanmātaram. Tasyāṁ bhavān Janamejayaḥ.*"

"Parikshit married Mādravatî, your mother, and she gave birth to you, Janamejaya."

[1] *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 520.
[2] J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 6.
[3] Hultzsch, S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 57.
[4] I. 95, 85.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*[1] informs us that

"*Abhimanyoḥ Parikshittu putraḥ parapurañjayaḥ*
Janamejayaḥ Parikshitaḥ putraḥ paramadhārmikaḥ."

"Abhimanyu's son was Parikshit, the conqueror of his enemy's city. Parikshit's son was Janamejaya who was very righteous."

This Janamejaya had three brothers, namely, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena :—"*Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ saha bhrātṛibhiḥ Kurukshetre dīrgha-satram upāste ; tasya bhrātarastrayaḥ Śrutasena Ugraseno Bhīmasena iti.*"[2]

"Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, with his brothers, was attending a long sacrifice at Kurukshetra. His brothers were three, namely,—Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena."

Particulars regarding the son and successor of the Vedic Parikshit agree well with what we know of the son and successor of the Epic and the Purāṇic Parikshit II. Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikshit, is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as a performer of the *Aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice. The priest who performed the famous rite for him was Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka. On the other hand, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, which also mentions his *Aśvamedha*, names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. The statements of the *Śatapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* are apparently conflicting, and can only be reconciled if we surmise that Janamejaya performed two horse-sacrifices. Is there any evidence that he actually did so? Curiously enough the *Purāṇas* give the evidence which is needed. The *Matsya*

1 Mat., *50*, 57.

2 Mbh. I. 3. 1. In translating Epic passages use has been made of the renderings of Ray and Dutt. See also *Purāṇic texts* cited by Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 4n[4]. The view that Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena were *sons* of Janamejaya (Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 113 f.) is clearly opposed to the evidence of the Epic and several *Purāṇas*, as well as that of Harisvāmin.

Purāṇa speaking of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, and the son of Parikshit II, says :

Dvir aśvamedham āhṛitya mahāvājasaneyakaḥ
Pravartayitvā taṁ sarvaṁ ṛishiṁ Vājasaneyakam
Vivāde Brāhmaṇaiḥ sārddham abhiśapto vanaṁ yayau.[1]

The quarrel with the Brāhmaṇas, alluded to in the last line, is also mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[2] According to that text Janamejaya's priestly opponents were the Kaśyapas. That designation hardly applies to the Gārgyas who quarrelled with the son of *Parikshit I*[3] because the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[4] includes them in the Aṅgiras group. On the other hand Vaiśampāyana, who led the opponents of the son of *Parikshit II*, was undoubtedly a Kaśyapa.[5]

As already pointed out above the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[6] distinctly says that the king for whom Tura Kāvasheya performed the horse-sacrifice was Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, and the son of Parikshit II :

Kāvasheyaṁ purodhāya Turaṁ turagamedhayāṭ
Samantāt pṛithivīṁ sarvāṁ jitvā yakshyati chādhvaraiḥ.

Parikshit II has thus a better claim than Parikshit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikshit. It is, however, possible that Parikshit I and Parikshit II were really one and the same individual, but the Epic and the *Purāṇic* poets had some doubts as to whether he was to be regarded as an ancestor or a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas. The fact that not only the name Parikshit, but the names of most of the sons (in the *Vishṇu* and *Brahma Purāṇas*

1 Mat., 50, 63-64. *Cf.* N. K. Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age of India*, p. 42.
2 VII. 27.
3 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 114.
4 Vol. III, pp. 431 ff.
5 *Op. cit.*, 449.
6 IX. 22. 25-37.

the names of all the sons) are common to both, points to the same conclusion. We shall show later on that a Kuru prince named Abhipratārin Kākshaseni (*i.e.*, the son of Kakshasena) was one of the immediate successors of the Vedic Janamejaya. Kakshasena thus appears to have been a very near relation of Janamejaya. Now a prince of that name actually appears as a brother of Janamejaya and a son of Parikshit I in Chapter 94 of the *Mahābhārata*. This fact seems to identify the Vedic Parikshit with Parikshit I of the Epic. But we have already seen that other facts are in favour of an identification with Parikshit II. Parikshit I and Parikshit II, therefore, appear to have been really one and the same individual. It is significant that while Tura Kāvasheya is mentioned in the *Purāṇic* literature as a *Purohita* of the son of Parikshit II, Indropa Daivāpa Śaunaka is represented as the priest of the son of Parikshit I.[1] But we learn from the Vedic texts that both the royal chaplains served the same king who was separated by five or six generations from Janaka, the contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya. That there was a good deal of confusion regarding the parentage of Parikshit, and the exact position of the king and his sons in the Kuru genealogy is apparent from the dynastic lists given by the Great Epic and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. The latter work says :[2] "*Parikshito Janamejaya-Śrutasen-Ograsena-Bhīmasenāś chatvāraḥ putrāḥ.*" It then gives the names of Kuru princes down to the Pāṇḍus and Parikshit II and adds :[3] "*Ataḥparaṁ bhavishyān ahaṁ bhūmipālān kīrtayishye. Yo'yaṁ sāmpratam avanīpatiḥ tasyāpi Janamejaya-Śrutasen-Ograsena-Bhīmasenāḥ putrāś chatvāro bhavishyanti.*" The confusion may have been due to the fact that according to one tradition Parikshit, the father of Janamejaya, was

[1] *AIHT.*, p. 114.
[2] IV. 20. 1.
[3] IV. 21. 1.

the ancestor of the Pāṇḍus, while according to another, and a more reliable, tradition, he was their descendant, and the Epic and the *Purāṇic* writers sought to reconcile the traditions by postulating the existence of two Parikshits and two Janamejayas. The important fact to remember is that Parikshit, with whose accession our history begins, should be identified with his Vedic namesake.[1] This conclusion follows from facts to which reference has already been made. We have seen that almost all the known facts about the so-called Parikshit II, the king who ruled after the Bhārata War, and his sons, tally with what we know about the Vedic Parikshit and his sons.[2] There cannot be any reasonable doubt as to his historical reality.

[1] The necessity felt for offering an explanation of the name of Abhimanyu's son and the explanation itself probably suggest that the tradition of an earlier Kuru king with the name of Parikshit had not yet come into existence when the tenth book of the *Mahābhārata* was written (*cf.* Mbh., X. 16. 3). The wide divergence of opinion in regard to the name of the father of the so-called Parikshit I, is also to be noted in this connection. It shows the absence of a clear tradition. On the other hand there is absolute unanimity in regard to the parentage of the so-called Parikshit II.

[2] The identification of the Vedic Parikshit with the son of Abhimanyu does not seem probable to Dr. N. Dutt, the author of *The Aryanisation of India*, pp. 50 ff., because, in the first place, it goes against the findings of Macdonell, Keith and Pargiter who prefer to identify the Vedic Parikshit with an ancestor of the Pāṇḍus. As to this it may be pointed out that the existence of a Parikshit (father of Janamejaya) *before* the Pāṇḍus, rests mainly on the testimony of those very genealogies which are regarded by Keith as worthless and unreliable. That the name of Janamejaya in *this* connection is an intrusion into the genealogical texts is evident from its omission from Chapter 95 of the *Mahābhārata*, the Java text, the Chellur grant, etc.

Dr. Dutt next argues that the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* makes the four brothers Janamejaya, Śrutasena, etc., sons of Parikshit I. If he had only perused the subsequent passages he would have seen that the *Purāṇa* makes the four brothers sons of "Parikshit II" as well, and while this later statement finds corroboration in the *Mahābhārata*, the earlier does not.

Dr. Dutt next says that it is always risky to attempt identification of kings or the fixing of their dates from an examination of their teacher-priests' names. But why should it be risky if the names and order of succession be genuine? The real risk lies in the rejection of such evidence without sufficient examination. It should be remembered in this connection that the identification of the Vedic Pārikshita Janamejaya with his Epic namesake (descendant of Abhimanyu) does not depend mainly on the

Parikshit is said to have married a Madra princess (Mādravatī) and to have ruled for 24 years dying at the

teacher-priests' names, but on the following facts, *viz.*, (1) absence of any cogent proof of the existence of an earlier Janamejaya Pārikshita in view of the omission of his name in the Java text, etc., and (2) agreement of particulars about the Vedic Parikshit and Janamejaya (*e g.*, the performance of two *Aśvamedhas*), with what we know of Parikshit and Janamejaya who were descendants of Abhimanyu. The question of the chronological relation between the Vedic Parikshit and the Vedic Janaka is entirely independent of this identification. This relation has been determined on the strength of two different lines of evidence. Materials for one have indeed been taken from the *Vaṁśa* lists of the Brāhmaṇas. But the succession from Indrota to Soma-sushma has been reconstructed from the internal evidence of incidental notices in the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves which no critic has represented as late.

Dr. Dutt adds that identity of names does not necessarily imply identity of persons. This is a truism which is not remembered only by those who identify Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya with Dhṛitarāshṭra of Kāsi. It has never been suggested in the *Political History* that the Vedic and Epic Parikshits and Janamejayas are identical merely because their names are identical.

As to Dr. Dutt's contention that there could not be want of motives in later times on the part of the authors belonging to rival families and schools to associate a certain teacher-priest with a famous king of old, etc., it is not clear which particular case he has in mind in making the statement. The Association of Indrota and Tura with Jamamejaya, and that of Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya with Janaka is found in the *Śatapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Upanishads*. Is it suggested that such association is a deliberate concoction or fabrication? But no shred of evidence has been brought forward to prove such a charge. No doubt misrepresentations are met with in the *Epics and the Purāṇas* (as pointed out by Pargiter) But it would not be reasonable to argue that the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* are guilty of deliberate falsification because forsooth there is confusion in the *Purāṇas*.

Lastly the credibility of the *Vaṁśa* lists in the Vedic texts has been assailed on the following grounds *viz.*,—

(1) Silence of Commentators.

(2) Discrepancy between the lists appended to the 10th and 14th books respectively of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in regard to the authorship of the work and ascription of the work to different teachers.

(3) Scant courtesy shown to an alleged teacher by his pupil.

As to (1) the *Āchārya Paramparā*, succession of teachers, is distinctly alluded to by the commentators. If they did not enter into a detailed explanation, it is because they considered it to be *Sugamam Spashṭam* easily intelligible, plain.

(2) There is no Vaṁśa list at the close of the 14th book of the *Brāhmaṇa proper* excluding the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*. There are no doubt lists of teachers at the end of the *Upanishad*. It is too much to except that, in the various lists, the entire Brāhmaṇa as well as the Upanishad should be ascribed to the same traditional authority. The *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upanishad* texts are not works of single individuals. The

age of sixty.[1] But stories about him in the Epic and the *Purāṇas* are obviously legendary. The only facts that can be accepted as historical are that he was a king of the Kurus, that the people lived prosperously under his rule, that he had many sons, and that the eldest prince, Janamejaya, succeeded him.

It will not be quite out of place here to say a few words about the **kingdom of Kuru** over which Parikshit ruled. The kingdom, according to epic tradition, extended from the Sarasvatī to the Ganges, and was divided into three parts, Kurujāṅgala, the Kurus and Kurukshetra.[2] Kurujāṅgala, as its name implies, was probably the wild region of the Kuru realm extending as far as the Kāmyaka forest on the banks of the Sarasvatī.[3] But in certain passages it is used in a wider sense to designate the entire kingdom. The Kurus proper were probably located in the district round Hāstinapura, identified with a place near Meerut. The boundaries of Kurukshetra are given in a passage of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* [4] as being Khāṇḍava on the south, the Tūrghna on the north, and the Parīṇah on the west (lit. hinder section, *jaghanārdha*). The *Mahābhārata* [5] gives the

question of discrepancy, therefore, does not arise. Reference to different traditions regarding the authorship of a particular work, or of particular portions of a work, does not necessarily vitiate any *Āchārya-Paramparā* regarding which we have substantial agreement in the texts.

(3) It is too much to expect that in ancient, as in modern times, all pupils should be equally respectful to teachers. Was not Dhṛishṭadyumna a pupil of Droṇāchārya whom he killed?

[1] Mbh., I. 49. 17-26 with commentary. We learn from the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* that the Parikshita family was intimately known in the Madra country.

[2] Mbh., I. 109. 1.

[3] *Tataḥ Sarasvatīkūle sameshu marudhanvasu*
Kāmyakaṁ nāma dadṛiśur vanaṁ munijanapriyam.

"Then they saw before them the forest of *Kāmyaka* on the banks of the Sarasvatī on a level and wild plain, a favoured resort to anchorites." Mbh., III. 5. 3.

[4] *Vedic Index*, I. pp. 169-70.

[5] III. 83. 204 08.

following description of Kurukshetra: "South of the Sarasvatī and north of the Drishadvatī, he who lives in Kurukshetra really lives in heaven. The region that lies between Taruntuka and Arantuka, the lakes of Rāma and Machakruka—this is Kurukshetra which is also called Sāmanta-pañchaka and the northern sacrificial altar (*uttara vedi*) of the grandsire (*i.e.*, Brahmā)." Roughly speaking, the Kuru kingdom corresponded to modern Thanesar, Delhi and the Upper Gangetic Doāb. Within the kingdom flowed the rivers Aruṇā, Aṁśumatī, Hiraṇvatī, Āpayā (a branch of the Chitang), the Pastyā, the Kauśikī (a branch of the Rakshī), as well as the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī or Rakshī.[1] Here, too, was situated Śaryaṇāvant, which the authors of the *Vedic Index* consider to have been a lake, like that known to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by the name of Anyataḥplakshā.

The capital of the kingdom was Āsandīvat.[2] This city was probably identical with Nāgasāhvaya or Hāstinapura, the capital, which was abandoned by Nichakshu, a famous descendant of Parikshit, when he removed to Kauśāmbī:

Gaṅgayāpahṛite tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye
Tyaktvā Nichakshur nagaraṁ Kauśāmbyāṁ sa nivatsyati[3]

"When the city of Nāgasāhvaya (Hāstinapura) is carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu will abandon it and will dwell in Kauśāmbī."

According to epic tradition the kings of Kurukshetra belonged to the **Puru-Bharata** family. The *Paurava* connection of the Kurus is suggested by the *Ṛigvedic* hymn,[4]

[1] For the identification and location of some of the streams see Cunningham's *Arch-Rep.* for 1878-79 quoted in JRAS, 1883, 363n.

[2] *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 72. There were undoubtedly many other places named Āsandi in ancient India. An Āsandi district is mentioned by Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (Bombay Gazetteer, 1. 2, p. 492). But there is no valid reason for connecting any of these with the Kuru capital.

[3] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 5.

[4] X. 33.

which refers to "Kuru-śravaṇa" (lit. glory of the Kurus) as a descendant of Trasadasyu, a famous king of the Pūrus.[1] The connection of the Bharatas with the Kurus is also attested by Vedic evidence. Oldenberg says[2]:—"We find in the *Ṛik Saṁhitā* trace of a peculiar position occupied by the Bharatas, a special connection of theirs with important points of sacred significance, which are recognized throughout the whole circle of ancient Vedic culture. Agni is Bhārata, *i.e.*, propitious or belonging to the Bharata or Bharatas; among the protecting deities who are invoked in the *Āprī*-odes, we find Bhāratī, the personified divine protective power of the Bharatas. We find the Sarasvatī constantly named in connection with her; must not the sacred river Sarasvatī be the river of the holy people, the Bharatas? In one ode of the Maṇḍala, which specially extols the Bharatas (III. 23), the two Bhāratas, Devaçravas and Devavāta, are spoken of, who have generated Agni by friction: on the Dṛishadvatī, on the Āpayā, on the Sarasvatī may Agni beam. We find thus Bharata princes sacrificing in the land on the Dṛishadvatī and on the Sarasvatī. Now the land on the Dṛishadvatī and on the Sarasvatī is that which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukshetra. Thus the testimonies of the *Saṁhitā* and the *Brāhmaṇa* combine to establish the close connection of the ideas Bharata, Kuru, Sarasvatī.

"Out of the struggles in which the migratory period of the Vedic stocks was passed, the Bharatas issued, as we believe we are entitled to suppose the course of events to have been, as the possessors of the regions round the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī. The weapons of the Bharata princes and the poetical fame of their *Ṛishis* may have co-operated to acquire for the cult of the Bharatas the character of universally acknowledged rule, and for the Bharatas

[1] *Rigveda*, IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3.

[2] *Buddha*, pp. 409-10.

a kind of sacral hegemony: hence Agni as friend of the Bharatas, the goddess Bhāratī, the sacredness of the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī.

"Then came the period, when the countless small stocks of the *Saṁhitā* age were fused together to form the greater peoples of the *Brāhmaṇa* period. The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Pūrus, within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus; their sacred land now became Kurukshetra." [1]

Among those kings who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* [2] as ancestors and **predecessors of Parikshit,** the *names* of the following occur in the Vedic literature:—

Purū-ravas Aila,[3] Āyu,[4] Yayāti Nahushya,[5] Pūru,[6] Bharata Dauḥshanti Saudyumni,[7] Ajamīḍha,[8] Ṛiksha,[9]

[1] It has been suggested by some scholars, *e.g.*, C. V. Vaidya (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp 268 ff.) that the Bharata of *Rigvedic* tradition is not to be identified with Dauḥshanti Bharata, the traditional progenitor of the Kuru royal family, but rather with Bharata, the son of Ṛishabha, a descendant of the first Manu called *Svāyambhuva*. It should, however, be remembered that the story of Bharata, son of Ṛishabha, is distinctly late. The Bharata princes and people of *Rigvedic* tradition are clearly associated with the Kuru country watered by the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī and the names of their rulers, *e.g.*, Divodāsa and Sudās occur in *Purāṇic* lists of kings descended from the son or daughter of Manu *Vaivasvata* and not of Manu *Svāyambhuva*. The Bharata priests Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra Kauśika are connected in early literature with the royal progeny of Manu Vaivasvata and his daughter and not of Manu Svāyambhuva. For the association of Vasishṭha with the descendants of Bharata Dauḥshanti see the story of Saṁvaraṇa and Tapatī in the *Mahābhārata*, I. 94 and 171 f. Viśvāmitra Kauśika's association with the Pūru-Bharata family is, of course, well-known (Mbh. I. 94. 33). It may be argued that Bharata, ancestor of Viśvāmitra, who is called *Bharata-ṛishabha* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, must be distinguished from the later Bharata, the son of Sakuntalā, daughter of Viśvāmitra. But there is no real ground for believing that the story of Viśvāmitra's connection with the nymphs is based on sober history. The Rigvedic Viśvāmitra belonged to the family of Kuśika. In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 94 33) the Kuśikas are expressly mentioned as descendants of Bharata Dauḥshanti.

[2] *Ādiparva*, Chapters 94 and 95.

[3] *Ṛig-Veda*, X. 95; Sat. Br., XI. 5. 1. 1.

[4] *Ṛig-Veda* I. 53. 10; II. 14. 7, etc.

[5] R. V., I. 31. 17; X. 63. 1.

[6] R. V., VII. 8. 4; 18. 13.

[7] Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11-12.

[8] R. V., IV. 44. 6.

[9] R. V., VIII. 68. 15.

Kuru,[1] Uchchaiḥśravas,[2] Pratīpa Prātisatvana or Prātisutvana,[3] Balhika Prātipīya,[4] Śaṁtanu,[5] and Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya.[6]

The occurrence of these *names* in the Vedic texts probably proves their historicity,[7] but it is difficult to say how far the epic account of their relationship with one another or with Parikshit, and the traditional order of succession, are reliable. Some of the kings may not have been connected with the Kurus at all. Others, *e.g.*, Uchchaiḥśravas Kaupayeya, Balhika Prātipīya and Śaṁtanu, were undoubtedly of the same race (*Kauravya*) as Parikshit.[8]

Purū-ravas Aila, the first king in the above list, is said to have been the son of a ruler who migrated from Bāhli in Central Asia to Mid-India.[9] Tradition recorded in the *Papañcha-sūdanī* represents the Kurus—the most important branch of the Ailas according to the Epics and the *Purāṇas*—as colonists from the trans-Himālayan region known as Uttara Kuru.[10] Bharata, the fifth king in the above list, is represented as a lineal descendant of Pūru. But this is doubtful. He firmly established his power in the "Middle country," *i.e.*, the Doāb between the Ganges and the Jumna, after defeating

1 Frequently mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature, *cf.* Kuru-śravaṇa, *Ṛig-Veda*, X. 33.

2 *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*. III. 29. 1-3.

3 *Atharva-Veda*, XX. 129. 2.

4 Śat. Br., XII. 9. 3. 3.

5 R. V., X. 98.

6 *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, X. 6.

7 It should, however, be noted that no individual king named Kuru is mentioned in Vedic literature. Kuru is the name of a people in the Vedic texts.

8 Jaiminīya Up. Br. III. 29. 1; Śat. Br., XII. 9. 3 ff.; *Nirukta*, ed. by Kshemarāja Śrīkrishṇa Dāsa Śresṭhī, p. 130; *Brihaddevatā*, VII, 155-156; *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 7-8.

9 Rām., VII. 103. 21-22. This Bāhli (Bactria) lay outside the *Madhyadeśa* and is associated with Kārddama kings. For a discussion about its identity see *IHQ*, 1933, 37-39. *Cf.* reference to Ilāvṛita, *Matsya*, *12*, 14 ff.

10 Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 16. Note the association of the Kurus with the Mahāvṛishas, *Vedic Index*, II. 279n. The Kurus of the *Madhya-deśa* are called *Dakshiṇa-Kurus* in Mbh. I. 109. 10.

the Satvats, and the epic tradition that he was the progenitor of the Kuru royal family is, as we have seen, in agreement with Ṛig-Vedic evidence which connects the Bharatas with the same territory which afterwards became famous as Kuru-kshetra. Uchchaiśravas Kaupayeya had matrimonial relations with the royal family of the Pañchālas. But Balhika Prātipīya could ill conceal his jealousy of the ruler of the Sṛinjayas, a people closely associated with the Pañchālas in epic tradition. The word Balhika in the name Balhika Prātipīya seems to be a personal designation and there is no clear evidence that it is in any way connected with the Balhika tribe mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* and later texts. It may, however, point to the northern origin of the Kurus of the "Middle country," a theory rendered probable by the association of the Kurus with the Mahāvṛishas and the fact that a section of the Kuru people dwelt beyond the Himālayas in the days of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The history of the Kuru royal line becomes more definite from the time of Śaṁtanu who was fifth in the ascending line from Parikshit. Regarding the events of Parikshit's reign we have little reliable information. We only know that the drought that threatened the Kuru realm in the time of Śaṁtanu had passed away and the people "throve merrily in the kingdom of Parikshit."

The **date of Parikshit** is a matter regarding which the Vedic texts give no direct information. In the Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II, dated Śaka 556 (expired) = A.D. 634-35, it is stated that at that time 3735 years had passed since the Bhārata war :

> *Triṁśatsu tri-sahasreshu Bhāratād āhavād itaḥ*
> *Saptābda-śata-yukteshu gateshvabdeshu pañchasu.*[1]

The date of the *Bhārata* war which almost synchronised with the birth of Parikshit, is, according to this calculation,

[1] Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 11, 12.

and the testimony of Āryabhaṭa (A.D. 499), 3102 B.C., which is the starting point of the so-called *Kali-yuga* era. But as pointed out by Fleet[1] the reckoning was not founded in Vedic times. It is an invented one, devised by Hindu astronomers and chronologists for the purposes of their calculations some thirty-five centuries after the initial point which they assigned to it. As a matter of fact another school of Hindu astronomers and historians, represented by Vṛiddha Garga, Varāhamihira and Kalhaṇa, placed the heroes of the *Bhārata war* 653 years after the beginning of the Kali-yuga and 2526 years before the Śaka era, *i.e.*, in B.C. 2449.[2] Some recent writers[3] try to reconcile the conflicting views presented by the two schools of chronologists by suggesting that the *Śaka-kāla* of Varāhamihira is really *Śākya-kāla, i.e*, the era of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa.* This conjecture is not only opposed to the evidence of Kalhaṇa, but is flatly contradicted by Bhaṭṭotpala who explains *Śaka-kāla* of the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* passage as *Śaka-nṛipa-kāla*, era of the Śaka king.[4] Varāhamihira himself knew of no *Śaka-kāla* apart from the *Śakendrakāla* or *Śaka-bhūpa-kāla, i.e.*, the era of the Śaka *king.*[5]

A third tradition is recorded by the compilers of the *Purāṇas.* There is a remarkable verse, found with slight variants in the historical *Purāṇas*, which places the birth of Parikshit 1050 (or 1015 according to the *e Vāyu, Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*) years before Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king of Magadha :

[1] JRAS, 1911, pp. 479 ff., 675 ff.

[2] *Āsan Maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati pṛithvīṁ Yudhishṭhire nṛipatau*
Shaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dviyutaḥ Śakakālastasya rājñaścha
Bṛih.-S., XIII. 3. *Cf. Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 48-56.

[3] IHQ, 1932, 85; Mod. Rev., June, 1932, 650 ff.

[4] The *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* by Varāhamihira with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala, edited by Sudhākara Dvivedī, p. 281.

[5] *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, VIII. 20-21.

Mahāpadm-ābhishekāt tu
Yāvajjanma Parīkshitaḥ
Evaṁ varshasahasraṁ tu
Jñeyam pañchāśaduttaram.[1]

If, accepting the Ceylonese chronology,[2] we place the first Nanda twenty-two years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, *i.e.*, in 324+22=346 B.C., Parikshit's birth, according to the *Purāṇic* verse, must be dated about 1396 B.C. (1361 B.C. according to the *e Vāyu* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas*). If, on the other hand, we give credence to the testimony of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[3] and take 40 years (Mahāpadma, 28+his sons' 12) to be the reign-period of Nanda and his sons, then Parikshit's birth must be dated about 324+40+1,050=1414 B.C. (1379 B.C. according to the *e Vāyu* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas*). He is said to have come to the throne 36 years later in 1378 or 1343 B.C.[4] It is clear that Epic and *Purāṇic* tradition places the accession of Parikshit about the middle of the 14th century B.C. It is, however, doubtful if this tradition can be regarded as sacrosanct. The *Purāṇas* themselves in giving details about the dynasties that are supposed to have intervened between the Bhārata war and the coronation of Mahāpadma mention totals of reigns which when added together do not correspond to the figure 1050 or 1015. The discrepancy may no doubt be explained by the well-known fact that the Purāṇic chroniclers often represent contemporary and collateral lines as following one another in regular succession. But there is another point which deserves notice in this connection. The same passage which

[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58. The reading *Pañcha-śatottaram*, occurring in a few manuscripts, finds no support in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* texts.

[2] *Cf.* Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 27.

[3] 99, 328-329, *Ashṭāviṁśativarshāṇi pṛithivīṁ pālayishyati*,' etc.

[4] *Cf. Mahābhārata, Maushalaparva*, "*shaṭtriṁśe tvatha samprāpte varshe*," etc., and *Mahāprasthānika-parva*, " *abhishichya svarājye cha rājānañcha Parikshitam.*"

says that "from Mahāpadma's inauguration to the birth of Parikshit, this interval is indeed 1050 years," adds that "the interval which elapsed from the last Andhra king Pulomāvi to Mahāpadma was 836 years." As most of the *Purāṇas* agree in assigning a period of 100 years to Mahāpadma and his sons who were followed immediately by Chandragupta Maurya, the interval between Chandragupta and Pulomāvi, according to the *Purāṇic* chronology, will be 836 – 100 = 736 years. Now as Chandragupta could not have ascended the throne before 326 B.C., Pulomāvi, according to the calculation of the *Purāṇas*, cannot be placed earlier than 410 A.D. But this date can hardly be reconciled with what we know about the history of the Deccan in the first half of the fifth century A.D. Contemporary records show that the territory that had acknowledged the sway of Pulomāvi and his ancestors was at that time under the Vākāṭakas and other dynasties that rose on the ruins of the so-called "Andhra" or Śātavāhana empire. This proves conclusively the unreliability of the Purāṇic tradition.[1]

Vedic evidence points to a date for the Pārikshitas which is much later than that assigned to them by post-Vedic tradition. We shall show in the next section that Parikshit's son and successor Janamejaya was separated by five or six generations of teachers from the time of Janaka of the *Upanishads* and his contemporary Uddālaka Āruṇi. At the end of the *Kaushītaki or Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*[2] we find a *vaṁśa* or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that *Āraṇyaka* is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus :—

"Om! Now follows the *vaṁśa*. Adoration to the Brahman Adoration to the teachers! We have learnt this text

[1] See also Raychaudhuri, *The Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, second edition, pp. 62ff.

[2] *Adhāya* 15.

from Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana from Kahola Kaushītaki, Kahola Kaushītaki from Uddālaka Āruṇi."[1]

From the passage quoted above it is clear that Śāṅkhāyana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddālaka who was separated by five or six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Śāṅkhāyana, therefore, flourished seven or eight generations after Parikshit. This Śāṅkhāyana (Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana) may have been identical with the author of the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*. The latter shows his deep reverence for Kahola Kaushītaki and Suyajña[2] and satiates them.[3] He may, therefore, have been a pupil of Kahola and can in no way be identified with Suyajña, as Oldenberg seems to prefer. He must have been a contemporary of Āśvalāyana because while he mentions Āśvalāyana as a revered person,[4] the latter, or preferably his pupil, honours *Śāṅkhāyana's guru* Kahola.[5] It is to be noted that we have here no personal name prefixed to Āśvalāyana as we have in the case of Śāṅkhāyana. This probably suggests that Vedic tradition knew only of *one* great teacher named Āśvalāyana. It is significant that both in Vedic and Buddhist literature this famous scholar is associated with one and the same locality, *viz.*, Kosala, modern Oudh. The *Praśna Upanishad* tells us that Āśvalāyana was a *Kausalya*, *i. e.*, an inhabitant of Kosala, and a contemporary of Kabandhī Kātyāyana. These facts enable us to identify him with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi (a city in Kosala) mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya*,[6] as a famous Vedic scholar,[7] and a

1 S. B. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 4.
2 VI. 1. 1.
3 IV. 10. 1.
4 VI. 1. 1.
5 *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*, III. 4. 4.
6 II. 147, *et seq.*
7 "*Tiṇṇaṁ Vedānaṁ pāragū sanighaṇḍu keṭubhānaṁ.*"

contemporary of Gotama Buddha and, hence, of Kakuda [1] or Pakudha Kachchāyana. The reference to Gotama's contemporary as a master of *keṭubha, i. e., kalpa* or ritual, makes it exceedingly probable that he is to be identified with the famous Āśvalāyana of the *Gṛihya Sūtras*. Consequently the latter must have lived in the sixth century B.C. If the identification of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with the *Gṛihya Sūtra-kāra* be correct, then he, too, must have flourished in the sixth century B.C.[2] Professor Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist Suttas* assigns 150 years to the five *Theras* from Upāli to Mahinda. We may, therefore, assign 240 or 270 years to the eight or nine generations from Parikshit to Śāṅkhāyana, and place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C. There is, no doubt, a view that Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana was not identical with the *Gṛihya Sūtra-kāra*.[3] But the reference to Paushkarasādi and Lauhitya, who figure among the contemporaries of Buddha, in his *Āraṇyaka*, probably shows that Guṇākhya could not have flourished earlier than the sixth century B.C. Āpastamba [4] clearly refers to Śvetaketu, a contemporary of Guṇākhya's teacher Kahola, as an *avara* (belonging to a late period), and Pāṇini, a writer who knew the *Yavana* alphabet and made his mark, according to the *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā* [5] in the city of Pāṭaliputra founded after the death of the Buddha, does not include the works of Yājñavalkya, another contemporary of Kahola, among *Purāṇa-prokta* (old) *Brāhmaṇas*.

[1] As to the equation *kabandhi=kakuda*, see IHQ., 1932, 603 ff. *Kabandha in the Atharva Veda*, X. 2.3 means *śroṇi* and *uru* (hips and thighs). According to Amara *kakudmatī* has substantially the same meaning.

[2] In this connection it is interesting to note that among the teachers cited in the *Āraṇyaka* of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana there are two whose names seem to occur in the Buddhist *suttas* as those of Buddha's contemporaries, *e. g.*, Paushkarasādi of the *Ambaṭṭhasutta*, and Lauhikya (Lauhitya) of the *Lohichcha sutta*.

[3] *Cf.* S.B.E., XXIX, pp. 4-5.

[4] *Dharma Sūtra*, 1, 2, 5, 4-6.

[5] P. 55.

Parikshit was succeeded on the Kuru throne by his eldest son **Janamejaya.** The *Mahābhārata* refers to a great snake-sacrifice performed by this king. In this connection it is mentioned that the king conquered Taxila. It is clear from the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[1] and the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[2] that the epic account of the Kuru king's *Sarpa satra* cannot be regarded as having any historical basis. There is hardly any doubt that the *Satra* mentioned in the Vedic texts is the prototype of the famous sacrifice described in the epic. The story seems to have undergone three stages of development. The original tale is concerned with a mythical rite performed by the serpents one of whom was named Janamejaya, who served as an *Adhvaryu* (priest). "Through this rite the serpents vanquished death." The next stage is reached in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.* Janamejaya appears among the kings and princes of the serpents assembled for sacrifice in human shape at Khāṇḍavaprastha (in the Kuru country) with the object of obtaining poison. In the epic the performer of the sacrifice is identified with the Kuru king ; and the object of the sacrifice is not the acquisition of immortality for the serpents, or of poison, but the extinction of these reptiles. It is impossible to find in the doings of these venomous creatures a reference to an historic strife.[3]

The conquest of Taxila by the Kuru king may, however, be an historical fact, because King Janamejaya is represented as a great conqueror in the *Brāhmaṇas.* Thus the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* says :[4] "*Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāyāśvena cha medhyeneje,*

[1] XXV. 15 ; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 274.

[2] Vol. II, p. 298; XVII. 18.

[3] *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, translated by Dr. W. Caland, p. 641 ; *cf.* Winternitz, JBBrRAS., 1926, 74 ff.

[4] VIII. 21.

tadeshā'bhi yajña gāthā gīyate :

Āsandīvati dhānyādaṁ rukmiṇaṁ haritasrajam
Aśvaṁ babandha sāraṅgaṁ[1] *devebhyo Janamejaya iti* ''

" Janamejaya Pārikshita went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice. Regarding this a sacrificial verse is sung :

" In Āsandīvat Janamejaya bound for the gods a black-spotted grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands." [2]

In another passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] it is stated that Janamejaya aspired to be a " *Sarvabhūmi,*" *i.e.*, a paramount sovereign :

" *Evaṁvidaṁ hi vai māmevaṁvido yājayanti tasmād ahaṁ jayāmyabhītvarīṁ senāṁ jayāmyabhītvaryā senayā namā divyā na mānushya ishava richchhantye shyāmi sarvamāyuḥ sarvabhūmir bhavishyāmīti.*"

(Janamejaya Pārikshita used to say) " Those who know thus sacrifice for me who know thus ; therefore I conquer the assailing host, I conquer with an assailing host. Me neither the arrows of heaven nor of men reach. I shall live all my life, I shall become lord of all the earth."

The possession of Taxila in the extreme north-west implies control over Madra or the Central Pañjāb, the homeland of Janamejaya's mother Mādravatī.[4] In this connection it may be noted that a prince of the Paurava race ruled in the Rechna Doāb down to the time of Alexander, while Ptolemy, the geographer, expressly mentions the Pāṇḍus as the rulers of Śākala (Siālkoṭ).

It was presumably after his victorious campaigns that Janamejaya was consecrated with the *Punar-abhisheka* and

[1] Variant—*abadhnādaśvaṁ sāraṅgaṁ.*

[2] Keith, *Ṛig-Veda Brāhmaṇas*, 336 ; Eggeling, *Sat. Br.*, V, p. 396.

[3] VIII. 11.

[4] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (I. xvi. 2) mentions Irāvatī, daughter of Uttara, as the mother of Janamejaya and his brothers.

the *Aindra mahābhisheka*, performed two horse-sacrifices and had a dispute with Vaiśampāyana and the Brāhmaṇas. The *Matsya* version, which is considered by Pargiter to be the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for some time, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest ; but the *Vāyu* version says he perished and the Brāhmaṇas made his son king. The Purāṇic narrative is strikingly confirmed by the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to one of the horse-sacrifices, and says that the priest who performed the rite for him was Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions the other sacrifice and names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. It also contains a tale stating that at one sacrifice of his he did not employ the Kaśyapas, but the Bhūtavīras. Thereupon a family of the Kaśyapas called Asita-mṛiga forcibly took away the conduct of the offering from the Bhūtavīras. We have here probably the germ of the *Purāṇic* stories about Janamejaya's dispute with the Brāhmaṇas. Vaiśampāyana, who headed the opponents of Janamejaya, undoubtedly belonged to the Kaśyapa clan. An allusion to the famous quarrel occurs also in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (*Kopāj-Janamejayo Brāhmaṇeshu vikrāntaḥ* ").

The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* narrates an anecdote of Janamejaya and two ganders, pointing out the importance of *Brahmacharya*, and the time which should be devoted to it. The story is absurd, but it shows that Janamejaya was already looked upon as an ancient hero in the time of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.[1] The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to Janamejaya as a great king of the past.[2]

1 *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, ed. by R. L. Mitra and Harachandra Vidyābhūshaṇa, pp. 25 ff. (I. 2. 5). In connection with the legend referred to above we hear of a sage named Dantābala Dhaumra who is identified by some recent writers with Dantāla Dhaumya of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*. The conjecture lacks proof. In the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, Vol. III, p. 449, " Dhumras, Dhumrāyanas and Dhaumyas" find separate mention as *distinct* members of the Kaśyapa group.

2 II. 64. 42.

Janamejaya's capital according to a *gāthā* quoted above in connection with the king's conquests, was Âsandīvat, probably identical with the famous city of Hāstinapura mentioned not only in the *Mahābhārata*, but also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] and the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[2]

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has an interesting reference to the King's palace :

"Even as they constantly sprinkle the equal prize-winning steeds so (they pour out) the cups full of fiery liquor in the palace of Janamejaya." [3]

If the *Mahābhārata* is to be believed Janamejaya sometimes held his court at Taxila, and it was at Taxila that Vaiśampāyana is said to have related to him the story of the great struggle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus.[4] No direct independent proof of this war is forthcoming, but a dim allusion to the battle of Kuru-kshetra [5] is probably contained in the following *gāthā* of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* [6] restored by Hopkins :—

> *Yato yata āvartate tad tad gachchhati mānavaḥ*
> *Kurūn aśvābhirakshati.*

It may be asserted that the Pāṇḍus are a body of strangers unknown to the Vedic texts, and that, therefore, the story of their feuds with the Kurus must be post-Vedic. But such a conclusion would be wrong because, firstly, an *argumentum ex silentio* is seldom conclusive, and,

[1] II. 68. 13.

[2] VI. 2. 101.

[3] Sat. Br. XI. 5. 5, 13. Eggeling, V. 95.

[4] Mbh., XVIII. 5. 34.

[5] The battle of Kuru-kshetra is very often described as a fight between the Kurus and the Sriñjayas (Mbh., VI. 45. 2; 60. 29; 72, 15; 73. 41; VII. 20. 41; 149. 40; VIII. 47. 23; 57. 12; 59. 1; 93. 1). The unfriendly feeling between these two peoples is distinctly alluded to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII. 9. 3. 1 ff.; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 63.)

[6] IV. 17. 9. *The Great Epic of India*, p. 385.

secondly, the Pāṇḍus are, according to Indian tradition, not a body of strangers but are scions of the Kurus. Hopkins indeed says that they were an unknown folk connected with the wild tribes located north of the Ganges.[1] But Patañjali [2] calls Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva Kurus.[3] Hindu tradition is unanimous in representing the Pāṇḍavas as an offshoot of the Kuru race just as the Kurus themselves were an offshoot of the Bharatas. The very name of the Great Epic betrays the Bhārata (Kuru) connection of the principal heroes and combatants. The testimony of Buddhist literature points to the same conclusion. In the *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka* [4] a king "of the stock of Yuddhiṭṭhila" reigning "in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta" is distinctly called "Koravya," *i.e.*, Kauravya—"belonging to the Kuru race." The polyandrous marriage of the Pāṇḍavas does not necessarily indicate that they are of non-Kuru origin. The systsm of *Niyoga* prevalent among the Kurus of the *Madhyadeśa* was not far removed from fraternal polyandry,[5] while the law (*Dharma*) of marriage honoured by the Northern Kurus was admittedly lax.[6]

Already in the time of Āśvalāyana's *Gṛihya Sūtra* [7] Vaiśampāyana was known as *Mahābhāratāchārya.* He is

[1] *The Religions of India*, p. 388.

[2] IV. 1. 4.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 350.

[4] *Jātaka* No. 495.

[5] See also my "*Political History*," pp. 95, 96; *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), Vol. IX; and the *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, second edition, pp. 43-45. Also Mbh., I, 103, 9-10; 105, 37-38. It is to be noted that in spite of the alleged family custom in the Pāṇḍu line no other wife except Draupadī was shared by the Pāṇḍava brothers, and their children had no common wife. In the epic 'Kuru' and 'Pāṇḍu' no doubt often find separate mention. In a similar way historians distinguish between the kindred houses of 'Plantagenet,' 'York' and 'Lancaster'; 'Capet,' 'Valois,' 'Bourbon' and 'Orleans'; 'Chaulukya' and 'Vāghela.'

[6] Mbh., I. 122. 7.

[7] III, 4.

also mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* [1] and the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[2] Whether Vaiśampāyana was a contemporary of Janamejaya or not, cannot be ascertained at the present moment. But I have found nothing in the Vedic literature itself which goes against the epic tradition. The early Vedic texts no doubt make no reference to the *Mahābhārata*, but they mention "*Itihāsas*." [3] It is well known that the story recited by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya was at first called an *Itihāsa* and was named "*Jaya*" [4] or victory, *i.e.*, victory of the Pāṇḍus, the ancestors of the king :

"*Muchyate sarvapāpebhyo Rāhuṇā Chandramā yathā*
Jayo nāmetihāso'yaṁ śrotavyo vijigīshuṇā." [5]

"By listening to this story one can escape from all kinds of sin, like the Sun from Rāhu. This *Itihāsa* (story, legend) is named *Jaya* (Victory) ; it should be listened to by those that desire victory."

Janamejaya's brothers, Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena, appear in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [6] and the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* [7] as performers of the horse-sacrifice. At the time of the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad* their life and end excited popular curiosity and were discussed with avidity in philosophical circles. It is clear that the sun of the Pārikshitas had set before the time of the *Upanishad*,[8] and it is

[1] I. 7. 5.
[2] IV. 3. 104.
[3] A. V., XV. 6. 11-12.
[4] *Cf.* C. V. Vaidya, *Mahābhārata* : *A Criticism*, p. 2; and S. Lévi in *Bhand. Com. Vol.*, pp. 99 sqq.
[5] Mbh., Ādi., 62, 20 ; *cf.* Udyoga, 136, 18.
[6] XIII. 5. 4. 3.
[7] XVI. 9. 7.
[8] The question "Whither have the Pārikshitas gone?" does not imply their *extinction*: Pargiter himself points out that the answer "Thither where *Aśvamedha* sacrificers go" suggests the opposite because such sacrifices procured great blessings. AIHT., 114.

also clear that they had been guilty of some heinous crime which they had atoned for by their horse-sacrifice. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* quotes a *gāthā* which says :—

Pārikshitā yajamānā aśvamedhaiḥ paro'varam
Ajahuḥ karma pāpakaṁ puṇyāḥ puṇyena karmaṇā iti [1]

"The righteous Pārikshitas, performing horse-sacrifices, by their righteous work did away with sinful work one after another."

The *Purāṇas* state that Janamejaya was succeeded by **Satānika**. Śatānīka's son and successor was Aśvamedha-datta. From Aśvamedha-datta was born **Adhisima-kṛishṇa** famed in the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas*. Adhisīma-kṛishṇa's son was **Nichakshu.** During king Nichakshu's reign the city of Hāstinapura is said to have been carried away by the Ganges, and the king is said to have transferred his capital to Kauśāmbī.[2]

The Vedic texts do not refer in clear terms to any of these successors of Janamejaya. The *Ṛig-Veda* no doubt mentions a (Bhārata) king named Aśvamedha,[3] but there is nothing to show that he is identical with Aśvamedha-datta A Śatānīka Sātrājita is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as a great king who defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra, a prince of Kāsi, and took away his sacrificial horse. He, too, was probably a Bharata, but the patronymic Sātrājita probably indicates that he was different from Śatānīka, the son of Janamejaya. The *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* mention a Kuru king named **Abhipratārin** Kākshaseni, who was a contemporary of Girikshit Auchchamanyava, Śaunaka Kāpeya and Dṛiti Aindrota. As Dṛiti

[1] Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 3.
[2] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 5.
[3] V. 27. 4-6.

Aindrota was the son and pupil of Indrota Daivāpa (Daivāpi) Śaunaka, the priest of Janamejaya,[1] Abhipratārin, son of Kakshasena, appears to have been one of the immediate successors of Janamejaya. We have already seen that Kakshasena appears in the *Mahābhārata*[2] as the name of a brother of Janamejaya. Abhipratārin was thus Janamejaya's nephew. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[3] refer to a prince named **Vṛiddhadyumna** Âbhipratāriṇa, apparently the son of Abhipratārin. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[4] mentions his son Rathagṛitsa and priest Suchivṛiksha Gaupālāyana.[5] The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[6] informs us that Vṛiddhadyumna erred in a sacrifice, when a Brāhmaṇa threatened that the result would be the expulsion of the Kurus from Kuru-kshetra, an event which actually came to pass.

The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* refers to the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country by *Maṭachī* (hailstones or locusts) and the enforced departure of Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa, a contemporary of Janaka of Videha.[7]

The evidence of the Vedic texts and that of the *Purāṇas* can be reconciled if we assume that, after the death of Janamejaya, the Kuru kingdom was split up into several parts. One part, which had its capital at Hāstinapura, was ruled by the direct descendants of Janamejaya himself. Another part was ruled by the descendants of his brother

1 *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa*; *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 27, 373.

2 I. 94. 54.

3 XV. 16. 10-13.

4 Trivedi's translation, pp. 322-23.

5 A Gaupālāyana also held the important post of the *Sthapati* of the Kurus (Baudh. Śr. Sūtra, XX. 25; *Vedic Index*, I. 128). His relationship with Śuchivṛiksha is, however, not known.

6 XV. 16, 10-13.

7 *Chhāndogya*, I. 10.1; *Bṛihad. Upanishad*, III, 4. For earlier vicissitudes, see Ṛigveda, X. 98 (drought in the time of Saṁtanu); Mbh. I. 94 (story of Saṁvaraṇa). For *Maṭachī* see *Devībhāgavatam*, X. 13. 110; and *infra* p. 58..

Kakshasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha or Indapatta. In the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[1] we find Dṛiti, apparently the priest of king Abhipratārin, son of Kakshasena,[2] completing a sacrifice in Khāṇḍava—the far-famed region where stood the stately city of Indraprastha. The same *Brāhmaṇa*[3] refers to the **Ābhipratāriṇas** as the "mightiest of all their relations." The passage is significant. It suggests that the great Janamejaya was no more in the land of the living in the days of Abhipratārin and his descendants, and that the line represented by the latter far outshone the other branches of the Kuru royal family. The city of Indraprastha probably continued to be the seat of kings claiming to belong to the "Yuddhiṭṭhila *gotta*" (Yudhishṭhira's *gotra* or race), long after the destruction of Hāstinapura, and the removal of the elder line of Kuru kings to Kauśāmbī.

The prosperity of the Ābhipratāriṇas was, however, short-lived. Our authorities agree that during the rule of Janamejaya's successors great calamities befell the Kurus and the disintegration of the Kuru kingdom went on apace.[4] Large sections of the people, including one of the reigning princes, were forced to leave the country, and to migrate to the eastern part of India. The transference of the royal seat of the Kuru or Bharata dynasty to Kauśāmbī is proved by the evidence of some of the plays attributed to Bhāsa. Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, is described in the *Svapnavāsava-datta* as a scion of the Bharata or Bhārata family[5] :—

Bhāratānāṁ kule jāto vinīto jñānavāñ chhuchiḥ
Tannārhasi balāddhartuṁ rājadharmasya deśikaḥ

1 XXV. 3. 6. 2 XIV. 1. 12.

3 II. 9. 4, Caland's. ed., p. 27.

4 *Cf. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 156; JAOS, 26. 61.

5 Ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, p. 140. Trans. V. S. Sukthankar, p. 79. *Cf.* Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa, "*Vedākshara samavāya-pravishṭo Bhārato Vaṁśaḥ*," "*Bhārata-kulopabhuktaṁ Viṇāratnam.*,' Act II.

Bhāratānāṁ kule jāto
Vatsānāmūrjitaḥ patiḥ, Act IV.

"Thou art born in the race of the Bharatas. Thou art self-controlled, pure and enlightened. To stop her by force is unworthy of thee, who shouldst be the model of kingly duty."

Genealogy of the Pārikshita Family

Parikshit

Janamejaya	Kakshasena	Ugrasena	Śrutasena	Bhīmsena
Śatānīka	Abhipratārin			
Aśvamedhadatta	Vṛiddhadyumna			
Adhisīma-kṛishṇa	Rathagṛitsa			
Nichakshu				
Kings of Kauśāmbī	Kings of Indapatta (Khāṇḍava) ?			

SECTION II. THE AGE OF THE GREAT JANAKA.

Sarve rājño Maithilasya Mainākasyeva parvatāḥ
—*Mahābhārata.*[1]

We have seen that a series of calamities sadly crippled the Kurus ; and the king of Hāstinapura had to leave the country. During the age which followed the Kuru people played a minor part in politics.

The most notable figure of the succeeding age was **Janaka**, the philosopher king of Videha, mentioned in several Vedic texts. The waning power of the Kurus and the waxing strength of the Vaidehas are shown by the fact that while Kuru princes are styled *rājan* (king) in certain *Brāhmaṇas*,[2] Janaka of Videha is called *samrāṭ* (supreme king). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] the *samrāj* is asserted to be of higher dignity than a *rājan*.

That the great Janaka was later than the Pārikshitas admits of no doubt. We shall show later on that he was a contemporary probably of Nichakshu, and certainly of Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa during whose time disaster befell the Kurus. In Janaka's time we find the majesty and power, as well as the mysterious fate, of the Pārikshitas, still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of general curiosity in the royal court of Mithilā. In the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad* Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājña-valkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, with a question, the solution of which the former had previously obtained from Sudhanvā Āṅgirasa, a Gandharva, who held in his

[1] III. 134. 5.
[2] Ait., VIII. 14. *Pañchaviṁśa*, XIV. 1. 12, etc.
[3] V, I, 1, 12-13.

possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañchala of the Madra country :

"*Kva Pārikshitā abhavan* ?"[1] "Whither have the Pārikshitas gone?" Yājñavalkya answers : "Thither where all *Aśvamedha* sacrificers go."

From this it is clear that the Pārikshitas (sons of Parikshit) must at that time have passed away. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of controversy in societies of philosophers.[2]

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Purāṇic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. Thus the *Mahābhārata* says that Uddālaka, a prominent figure of Janaka's court, and his son Śvetaketu, attended the *sarpa-satra* (snake sacrifice) of Janamejaya :—

Sadasya śchābhavad Vyāsaḥ putra-śishya-sahāyavān
Uddālakaḥ Pramatakaḥ Śvetaketuścha Piṅgalaḥ[3]

"Vyāsa, assisted by his son and disciple, Uddālaka, Pramataka, Śvetaketu, Piṅgala......officiated as *sadasya* (priest)."

The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* says that Śatānīka, the son and successor of Janamejaya, learned the Vedas from Yājñavalkya.[4] The unreliability of the Epic and the Purāṇic tradition in this respect is proved by the evidence of the Vedic texts.

[1] *Bṛihad. Upanishad*, III. 3.1.

[2] Weber, *Ind. Lit.* 126 ff. In the *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1936, p. 20, edited by Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar and others, appears the amazing insinuation that "Mr. Roy Choudhury has......attempted to give Weber's thought and language (as rendered) out as his own, *without any* reference to Weber." A perusal of the *Bibliographical Index* (pp. 319, 328) appended to the first ed. of the *Political History*, and p. 27 of the text ; the foreword to the subsequent editions, etc., will throw interesting light on the veracity of the writer of the article in question in the *Journal of Indian History*.

[3] Mbh., Ādi., 53. 7.

[4] *Vishṇu P.*, IV. 21. 2.

We learn from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] that Indrota Daivāpa or Daivāpi Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya. His pupil was Dṛiti Aindrota or Aindroti according to the *Jaiminīya Upanishad* and *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇas*. Dṛiti's pupil was Pulusha Prāchīnayogya.[2] The latter taught Paulushi Satyayajña. We learn from the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*[3] that Paulushi Satyayajña was a contemporary of Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruṇi, two prominent figures of Janaka's court.[4] Satyayajña was, therefore, certainly a contemporary of Janaka of Videha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśushma Sātyayajñi Prāchīnayogya is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[5] as having met Janaka. As Sātyayajñi certainly flourished long after Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka, his contemporary Janaka must be considerably later than Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota.

We should also note that in the lists of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the sixth chapter of the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad*, Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Janamejaya, appears as a very ancient sage who was tenth in the ascending line from Sāñjīvīputra, whereas Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka Āruṇi, the contemporaries of Janaka, were only fourth and fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher. We quote the lists below :—

Janamejaya Tura Kāvasheya
Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana
Kuśri
Sāṇḍilya

[1] XIII. 5. 4. 1.
[2] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 9.
[3] V. 11. 1. 2.
[4] *Vide Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad*, V. 14. 18 : " *Janako Vaideho Buḍilam Āśvatarāśvim, uvācha* ;" and III. 7. 1.
[5] XI. 6. 2. 1-3.

Vātsya		
Vāmakakshāyaṇa	Uddālaka Āruṇi	Janaka
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya	Janaka
Kautsa	Āsuri	
Māṇḍavya	Āsurāyaṇa	
Māṇḍūkāyani	Prāśnīputra Āsurivāsin	
Sāñjīvīputra	Sāñjīvīputra	

It is clear from what has been stated above that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time.[1] Professor Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist Suttas*[2] adduces good ground for assigning a period of about 150 years to the five *Theras* or Elders from Upāli to Mahinda. If the five *Theras* are assigned a period of 150 years, the five or six teachers from Indrota to Somaśushma, and from Tura to Vāmakakshāyaṇa, the contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi and Janaka, must be assigned 150 or 180 years.[3] It is, therefore,

[1] It has been urged by certain recent writers that Janamejaya should be placed "only a step above Janaka." They point to the use of *laṅ* in the verb *bhu* in the interrogation "Kva Pārikshitā *abhavan*" quoted above. They further identify Dantābala Dhaumra, a contemporary of Janamejaya according to a legend narrated in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, with Dantāla Dhaumya of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, who may be assigned to the period of Janaka. It is also suggested that Bhāllaveya of a certain Brāhmaṇa passage is no other than Indradyumna, *JIH.*, April 193[illegible], 15 ff, etc. Apart from the fact that in the Vedic texts *laṅ* and *lit* are at times used alternatively to convey the same meaning, it should be noted that the question '*Kva Pārikshitā abhavan*' was not framed *for the first time* at the court of Janaka. It is a *mūrdhābhishikta udāharaṇa*—a stock (traditional) question—and, therefore it cannot be regarded as establishing the synchronism of Janamejaya Pārikshita and Janaka Vaideha. As to Dantābala it has already been pointed out, (p. 32 above), that the *Baudhāyana śrauta sūtra* mentions Dhumras and Dhaumyas as *distinct* members of the Kaśyapa group. Janamejaya must have passed away in the days of Dṛiti and the Ābhipratāriṇas. See p. 38, *ante*. See also *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, 1932, 600 ff. As to Bhāllaveya, serious students should remember that it is a patronymic like *Ātreya*. In the absence of the *personal* name, Indradyumna, it is uncritical to identify every Bhāllaveya with Indradyumna himself.

[2] Introduction, p. xlvii.

[3] It has recently been urged by critics that pupils are not necessarily younger in age than their preceptors. It may freely be admitted that in particular cases pupils may be of the same age with, or even older than, the *Guru*. But it is idle to suggest that in a *long* list of successive *āchāryas* the presence of elderly

reasonable to think that Janaka flourished about 150 or 180 years after Janamejaya, and two centuries after Parikshit. If, following a Purāṇic tradition, we place Parikshit in the fourteenth century B.C., we must place Janaka in the twelfth century B.C. If, on the other hand, accepting the synchronism of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and Gotama Buddha, we place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C., then we must place Janaka in the seventh century B.C.

The kingdom of **Videha**, over which Janaka ruled, corresponds roughly to the modern Tirhut in North Bihār. It was separated from Kosala by the river Sadānīra, usually identified with the modern Gaṇḍak which, rising in Nepāl, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna.[1] Oldenberg, however, points out [2] that the *Mahābhārata* distinguishes the Gaṇḍakī from the Sadānīrā: "*Gaṇḍakīñcha Mahāśoṇaṁ Sadānīrāṁ tathaiva cha.*" Pargiter, therefore, identifies the Sadānīrā with the Rāptī. We learn from the *Suruchi Jātaka*[3] that the measure of the whole kingdom of Videha was three hundred leagues. It consisted of 16,000 villages.[4]

Mithilā, the capital of Videha, is not referred to in the Vedic texts, but is constantly mentioned in the *Jātakas* and the Epics. It has been identified with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepāl border. It is stated in the *Suruchi* and *Gandhāra* [5] *Jātakas* that the city covered seven leagues. At its four gates were four market towns.[6] We

pupils must be assumed except where the *guru* is known to be the father of the pupil. Individual cases of succession of elderly *Śishyas* do not invalidate the conclusion that the *average* duration of a generation is as suggested by Rhys Davids.

[1] *Vedic Index*, II, 299.

[2] *Buddha*, p. 398 n.

[3] J. 489.

[4] J. 406.

[5] J. 406.

[6] J. 546.

have the following description of Mithilā in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* :[1]—

By architects with rule and line laid out in order fair to see,
With walls and gates and battlements, traversed by streets on every side,
With horses, cows and chariots thronged with tanks and gardens beautified,
Videha's far famed capital, gay with its knights and warrior swarms,
Clad in their robes of tiger-skins, with banners spread and flashing arms,
Its Brahmins dressed in Kāçi cloth, perfumed with sandal, decked with gems,
Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state and diadems.[2]

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] the **royal family of Mithila** was founded by a king named Nimi. His son was Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka I. The epic then continues the genealogy to Janaka II (father of Sītā) and his brother Kuśadhvaja, king of Sāṅkāśya. The *Vāyu*[4] and the *Vishṇu*[5] *Purāṇas* represent Nimi or Nemi as a son of Ikshvāku, and give him the epithet Videha.[6] His son was Mithi whom both the *Purāṇas* identify with Janaka I. The genealogy is then continued to Sīradhvaja who is called the father of Sītā, and is, therefore, identical with Janaka II of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Then starting from Sīradhvaja the *Purāṇas* carry on the dynasty to its close. The last king is named Kṛiti, and the family is called *Janaka-vaṁśa*.

Dhṛitestu Bahulāśvo 'bhud Bahulāśva-sutaḥ Kṛitiḥ
Tasmin santishṭhate vaṁśo Janakānāṁ mahātmanām[7]

[1] Cowell's *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 30.
[2] For another description of Mithilā, see Mbb. iii. 206. 6-9.
[3] I. 71. 3.
[4] 88. 7-8 ; 89. 3-4.
[5] IV. 5, 1.
[6] *Sa śāpena Vasishṭhasya Videhaḥ samapadyata—Vāyu P.*
[7] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 89, 23.

The Vedic texts know a king of Videha named Namī Sāpya.[1] But he is nowhere represented as the founder of the dynasty of Mithilā. On the contrary, a story of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* seems to indicate that the Videhan kingdom owes its origin to **Videgha Māthava** who came from the banks of the Sarasvatī.[2] We are told that *Agni Vaiśvānara* went burning along this earth from the Sarasvatī towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, till he came to the river Sadānīrā which flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain, and which he did not burn over. No Brāhmaṇas went across the stream in former times, thinking "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara." At that time the land to the eastward was very uncultivated, and marshy,[3] but after Māthava's arrival many Brāhmaṇas went there, and it was cultivated, for the Brāhmaṇas had caused Agni, the Fire-god, to taste it through sacrifices. Māthava the Videgha then said to Agni, "where am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode," he replied. Even now, the writer of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* adds, this forms the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas. The name of Mithi Vaideha, the second king in the Epic and the Purāṇic lists, is reminiscent of Māthava Videgha.

If Māthava Videgha was the founder of the royal line of Mithilā, Namī Sāpya cannot claim that distinction. The *Majjhima Nikāya*[4] and the *Nimi Jātaka* mention Makhādeva as the progenitor of the kings of Mithilā, and Nimi is said to have been born to "round off" the royal house of Mithilā, "the family of hermits." The evidence of Buddhist texts thus shows that the name Nimi was borne not by the first, but probably by some later king or kings.

1 *Vedic Index*, I, 436.

2 Macdonell Sans. Lit., pp. 214-15; Ved. Ind., II. 298; Śat. Br., 1, 4, 1, etc.; Oldenberg's *Buddha*, pp. 398-99; Pargiter, J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 87 *et seq.*

3 This is the territory which the *Mahābhārata* refers to as "*Jalodbhava*," *i.e.*, reclaimed from swamp (Mbh., II. 30. 4).

4 II. 74-83.

As the entire dynasty of Maithila monarchs was called *Janaka-vaṁśa*, *Vaṁśo Janakānāṁ mahātmanām*, the family of the high-souled Janakas, and there were several kings bearing the name of Janaka, it is very difficult to identify any of these with the great **Janaka** of the Vedic texts, the contemporary of Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya. But there is one fact which seems to favour his identification with Sīradhvaja of the Purāṇic list, *i.e.*, the father of Sītā. The father of the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a younger contemporary of Aśvapati, king of the Kekayas (maternal grandfather of Bharata [1]), Janaka of the Vedic texts is also a contemporary of Aśvapati, prince of the Kekayas, as Uddālaka Āruṇi and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi frequented the courts of both these princes.[2] But as the name Aśvapati is also apparently given to Bharata's maternal uncle,[3] it seems that it was possibly not a personal name but a family designation like 'Janaka.' In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sītā is correct. The identification seems, however, to have been accepted by Bhavabhūti. Referring to the father of the heroine, the poet says in the *Mahāvīra-charita* [4] :—

Teshāmidānīm dāyādo
Vṛiddaḥ Sīradhvajo nṛipaḥ
Yājñavalkyo muniryasmai
Brahmapārāyaṇaṁ jagau.[5]

It is equally difficult to identify our Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the Buddhist *Jātakas*. Professor Rhys Davids [6] seems to identify him with Mahā-

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 9. 22.
2 Ved Ind., II, 69; Chh. Up., V. 11. 1-4; Bṛih. Up., III. 7.
3 *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 113. 4.
4 Act I, verse 14.
5 *Cf.* Act II, verse 43; *Uttara-Charita*, Act IV, verse 9.
6 Bud. Ind., p. 26.

Janaka of the *Jātaka* No. 539. The utterance of Mahā-Janaka II of that Jātaka :

> 'Mithilā's palaces may burn
> But naught of mine is burned thereby '

indeed reminds us of the great philosopher-king.

In the *Mahābhārata*,[1] too, we find the same saying attributed to Janaka of Mithilā :

> " *Mithilāyāṁ pradīptāyāṁ*
> *na me dahyati kiñchana.*"

> " *Api cha bhavati Maithilena gītaṁ*
> *Nagaram upāhitam agnin-ābhivīkshya*
> *Na khalu mama hi dahyate'tra kiñchit*
> *Svayam idam āha kila sma bhumipālaḥ.*"

" Seeing his city burning in a fire, the king of Mithilā himself sang of old, ' in this (conflagration) nothing of mine is burning.' "

In the Jaina *Uttar-ādhyayana*, however, the saying is attributed to Namī.[2] This fact coupled with the mention of Nemi in juxtaposition with Arishṭa in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*[3] probably points to the identification of Namī or Nemi with Mahā-Janaka II who is represented in the *Jātaka* as the son of Ariṭṭha. If Mahā-Janaka II was identical with Namī, he cannot be identified with Janaka who is clearly distinguished from Namī in the Vedic texts. One may be tempted to identify the Vedic Janaka with Mahā-Janaka I of the *Jātaka*. But proof is lacking.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad* Janaka is called "*Samrāṭ.*" This shows that he was a greater personage than a mere "*Rājan.*" Although

[1] XII. 17. 18-19; 219. 50.
[2] S. B. E., XLV. 37.
[3] IV. 5. 13.

there is no clear evidence in the Vedic literature of the use of the word "*Samrāj*" as emperor in the sense of a king of kings, still the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* distinctly says that the *Samrāj* was a higher authority than a "*Rājan*;" "by offering the *Rājasūya* he becomes king, and by the *Vājapeya* he becomes *Samrāj*; and the office of king is the lower, and that of *Samrāj* the higher."[1] In the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtra*,[2] Janaka is mentioned as a great sacrificer.

But Janaka's fame rests not so much on his achievements as a king and a sacrificer, as on his patronage of culture and philosophy. The court of this monarch was thronged with Brāhmaṇas from Kosala and the Kuru-Pañchāla countries, *e.g.*, Aśvala, Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Ushasta Chākrāyaṇa, Kahoḍa Kaushītakeya, Gārgī Vāchaknavī, Uddālaka Āruṇi and Vidagdha Śākalya. The tournaments of argument which were here held form a prominent feature in the third book of the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad*. The hero of these was Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, who was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi.[3] Referring to Janaka's relations with the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaṇas, Oldenberg observes:[4] "The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his court—much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes."

The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* throw some light on the political **condition of Northern India** during the age of Janaka. From those works we learn that, besides Videha, there were nine states of considerable importance, *viz.*:

1. Gandhāra	4. Uśīnara	7. Pañchāla
2. Kekaya	5. Matsya	8. Kāsi
3. Madra	6. Kuru	9. Kosala

1 Śat. Br., V. 1. 1 12-13; XII. 8. 3. 4; XIV. 1. 3. 8.
2 X. 3. 14.
3 Brih. Up. VI. 5. 3.
4 *Buddha*, p. 398.

The Vedic texts seldom furnish any definite clue as to the exact geographical position of these states. For the location of most of these territories we must turn to the evidence of later literature.

The inhabitants of **Gandhāra** are included by epic poets among the peoples of *Uttarāpatha* or the northernmost region of India :—

Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayishyāmi tān api
Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha.[1]

The Gandhāra territory embraced the Rāwalpindī district of the Pañjāb and the Peshāwar district of the North-West Frontier Province. Thus it lay on both sides of the Indus.[2] We are told that this *Vishaya* or district contained two great cities, *viz.*, Takshaśilā and Pushkarāvatī, founded by two heroes of epic fame :

Gandhāra vishaye siddhe, tayoḥ puryau mahātmanoḥ
Takshasya dikshu vikhyātā ramyā Takshaśilā purī
Pushkarasyāpi vīrasya vikhyātā Pushkarāvatī.[3]

If the *Telapatta* and *Susīma Jātakas*[4] are to be believed, Takshaśilā lay 2,000 leagues away from Benares. The remains of the great city "are situated immediately to the east and north-east of Sarai-kala, a junction on the railway, twenty miles north-west of Rāwalpindī. The valley in which they lie is watered by the Haro river. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other are the remains of three distinct cities. The southernmost (and oldest) of these occupies an elevated plateau, known locally as Bhir-mound."[5]

1 Mbh., XII. 207. 43.
2 *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 113. 11 ; 114. 11 ; *Sindhor-ubhayataḥ pārśve.*
3 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 189-90 ; *cf. Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 114. 11.
4 Nos. 96, 163.
5 Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 1-4.

Pushkarāvatī or Pushkalāvatī (Prākrit *Pukkalāoti*, whence the 'Peucelaotis' of Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Chārsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swāt river.[1]

Gandhāra is a later form of the name of the people called Gandhāri in the *Ṛig-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*. In the *Ṛig-Veda*[2] the good wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris is referred to. In the *Atharva-Veda*[3] the Gandhāris are mentioned with the Mūjavats, apparently as a despised people. In later times the 'angle of vision' of the men of the *Madhyadeśa* (Mid-India) changed, and Gandhāra became the resort of scholars of all classes who flocked to its capital for instruction in the three *Vedas* and the eighteen branches of knowledge.

In a significant passage of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*[4] Uddālaka Āruṇi, the contemporary of the Vedic Janaka, mentions Gandhāra to illustrate the desirability of having a duly qualified teacher from whom a pupil "learns (his way) and thus remains liberated (from all worldly ties) till he attains (the Truth or Beatitude, *Moksha*)." A man who attains *Moksha* is compared to a blindfold person who reaches at last the country of Gandhāra. We quote the entire passage below :

"*Yathā somya purushaṁ Gandhārebhyo' bhinaddhākshaṁ ānīya taṁ tato'tijane visṛijet, sa yathā tatra prāṅ vā udaṅ vādharāṅ vā pratyaṅ vā pradhmāyīta—abhinaddhāksha ānīto' bhinaddhāksho visṛishṭaḥ. Tasya yathābhinahanaṁ pramuchya prabruyād etāṁ diśaṁ Gandhārā etāṁ diśaṁ vrajeti. Sa grāmād grāmaṁ pṛichchhan paṇḍito medhāvī Gandhārān evopasampadyeta, evam evehāchāryavān purusho veda.*"

1 Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 183-84 ; Foucher, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra*, p. 11.

2 I. 126. 7. 3 V. 22. 14. 4 VI. 14.

"O my child, in the world when a man with blind-folded eyes is carried away from Gandhāra and left in a lonely place, he makes the east and the north and the south and the west resound by crying 'I have been brought here blindfolded, I am here left blindfolded.' Thereupon (some kind-hearted man) unties the fold on his eyes and says 'This is the way to Gandhāra ; proceed thou by this way.' The sensible man proceeds from village to village, enquiring the way and reaches at last the (province) of Gandhāra. Even thus a man who has a duly qualified teacher learns (his way)." [1]

The full import of the illustration becomes apparent when we remember that the *Uddālaka Jātaka* [2] represents Uddālaka as having journeyed to Takshaśilā (Takkasilā) and learnt there of a world-renowned teacher. The Setaketu Jātaka [3] says that S(v)etaketu, son of Uddālaka, went to Takshaśilā and learned all the arts. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the fact that Uddālaka Āruṇi used to drive about amongst the people of the northern country.[4] It is stated in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* [5] that Brāhmaṇas used to go to the north for purposes of study. The *Jātaka* tales are full of references to the fame of Takshaśilā as a university town. Pāṇini, himself a native of Gandhāra, refers to the city in *Sūtra* IV. 3. 93. An early celebrity of Takshaśilā was perhaps Kauṭilya.

The **Kekayas** were settled in the Pañjāb between Gandhāra and the Beas. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* [6] we learn that the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā or Beas and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra *Vishaya*. The

[1] Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, p. 114.
[2] No. 487.
[3] No. 377.
[4] Śat. Br., XI. 4. 1. 1, *et seq. Udīchyānvṛito dhāvayāṁ chakāra.*
[5] VII. 6.
[6] II. 68. 19-22 ; VII. 113-14.

Vedic texts do not mention the name of its capital city, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* informs us that the metropolis was Rājagṛiha or Girivraja, identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalalpur on the Jhelam.

"*Ubhau Bharata-Śatrughnau Kekayeshu parantapau*
Pure Rājagṛihe ramye mātāmaha-niveśane."[1]

"Both Bharata and Satrughna, repressers of enemies, are staying in Kekaya in the charming city of Rājagṛiha, the abode of (the) maternal grandfather (of the former)."

"*Girivrajam puravaraṁ śīghram āsedur añjasā*"[2]

"(The messengers bound for Kekaya) quickly arrived at Girivraja, the best of cities."

There was another Rājagṛiha-Girivraja in Magadha, while Hiuen Tsang mentions a third Rājagṛiha in Po-ho or Balkh.[3] In order to distinguish between the Kekaya city and the Magadhan capital, the latter city was called "Girivraja of the Magadhas."[4]

The *Purāṇas*[5] tell us that the Uśīnaras, Kekayas and the Madrakas were septs of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda*.[6] It appears from a hymn of the eighth *Maṇḍala*[7] that they dwelt in the Central Pañjāb, not far from the Parushṇī, the same territory which we find afterwards in the possession of the Madrakas and the Kekayas.

The king of Kekaya in the time of Janaka was Aśvapati, a name borne also by the maternal grandfather and maternal uncle of Bharata.[8] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[9] and the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*[10] suggest that king Aśvapati was a

1 Rām., II. 67. 7.
2 Rām., II. 68. 22.
3 Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 44.
4 S. B. E., XIII, p. 150.
5 *Matsya*, 48. 10-20 ; *Vāyu*, 99. 12-23.
6 I. 108. 8, VII. 18. 14, VIII. 10. 5.
7 74.
8 Rām., II. 9. 22 ; VII. 113. 4.
9 X. 6. 1. 2.
10 V. 11. 4 *et seq.*

man of learning and he instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Aruṇa Aupaveśi Gautama, Satyayajña Paulushi, Mahāśāla Jābāla, Buḍilɪ Āśvatarāśvi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākshya, Prāchīnaśāla Aupamanyava, and Uddālaka Āruṇi.

The Jaina writers tell us that one-half of the kingdom of Kekaya was Aryan, and refer to the Kekaya city called "Seyaviyā."[1] A branch of the Kekayas seems to have migrated to Southern India in later times and established its authority in the Mysore country.[2]

The **Madra** people were divided into two sections *viz.*, the northern Madras and the southern Madras or Madras proper. The northern Madras, known as Uttara-Madras, are referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, as living beyond the Himavat Range in the neighbourhood of the Uttara-Kurus, probably, as Zimmer and Macdonell conjecture, in the land of Kaśmīr.

The southern Madras were settled in the central Pañjāb between the Kekayas and the river Irāvatī or Rāvi.[3] Their territory roughly corresponds to Śiālkoṭ and its adjacent districts which were known as the Madra-deśa as late as the time of Guru Govind Singh.[4] The Madra capital was Śākala or Sāgala-nagara (modern Śiālkoṭ). This city is mentioned in the *Māhābhārata*[5] and several *Jātakas*[6] and is probably hinted at in the name 'Śākalya,' given to a Vedic teacher. The Madras proper are represented in early post-Vedic works as living under a monarchical constitution. The name of the ruler of the territory in the time of Janaka is not known. It was politically not of much importance. But, like the northern realms described above, it was the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 375.

[2] *A.H.D.*, 88, 101.

[3] *Cf.* Mbh., VIII. 44. 17.

[4] Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 55.

[5] II. 32. 14. *Tataḥ Śākalamabhyetya Madrāṇāṁ puṭabhedanaṁ.*

[6] *E.g.*, *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka*, No. 479; and *Kusa Jātaka*, No. 531.

home of many famous scholars and teachers of the *Brāhmaṇa* period such as Madragāra Śauṅgāyani and Kāpya Patañchala,[1] one of the teachers of the celebrated Uddālaka Āruṇi.[2] The early epic knows the Madra royal house[3] as a virtuous family. But in later times Madra earned notoriety as the seat of outlandish peoples with wicked customs.[4]

The country of the **Usinaras** was situated in the *Madhya-deśa* or Mid-India. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[5] says "*asyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ madhyamāyāṁ pratishṭhāyāṁ diśi*, "in this firmly established middle region," lie the realms of the Kuru-Pañchālas together with Vaśas and Uśīnaras. In the *Kaushītaki Upanishad* also the Uśīnaras are associated with the Matsyas, the Kuru-Pañchālas and the Vaśas. They probably lived in the northernmost part of the *Madhya-deśa*, for in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* the Uśīnaras and Vaśas are mentioned just before the *Udīchyas* or northerners :[6] *Kuru-Pañchāleshu Aṅga-Magadheshu Kāsi-Kausalyeshu Śālva-Matsyeshu sa Vaśa-Uśīnaresh-Ūdīchyeshu.*

In the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*[7] Uśīnara-giri is placed near Kanakhala the "sanctifying place of pilgrimage, at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills." It is, doubtless, identical with Usira-giri of the *Divyāvadāna*[8] and Usira-dhvaja of the *Vinaya* Texts.[9] Pāṇini refers to

1 See *supra*, p. 41; Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, 126.

2 Bṛihad. Up., III. 7. 1.

3 *Cf.* Aśvapati and his daughter Sāvitrī.

4 For detailed accounts of the Madras see now H. C. Ray in *JASB*, 1922, 257; and Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 214. Mr. S. N. Mitra points out that the *Paramattha Dīpanī* on the *Therīgāthā* (p. 127) (wrongly) places Sāgala-nagara in Magadha-raṭṭha. But the *Apadāna* quotations on p. 131 leave no room for doubt that Madra is the correct name of the kingdom of which Śāgala (Śākala) was the capital.

5 VIII. 14.

6 Gop. Br., II. 9.

7 Edited by Pandit Durgāprasād and Kāsināth Pāndurang Parab, third edition, p. 5.

8 P. 22.

9 Part II, p. 39. See Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 179.

the Uśīnara country in the *sūtras* II. 4. 20 and IV. 2. 118. Its capital was Bhoja-nagara.[1]

The *Ṛig-Veda*[2] mentions a queen named Uśīnarāṇī. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Anukramaṇī* and several *Jātakas* mention a king named Uśīnara and his son Śibi.[3] We do not know the name of Janaka's Uśīnara contemporary. The *Kaushītaki Upanishad* tells us that Gārgya Bālāki, a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka of Videha, lived for some time in the Uśīnara country.

Matsya is usually taken to "include parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur," being "the kingdom of the king Virāṭa of the *Mahābhārata*, in whose court the five Pāṇḍava brothers resided *incognito* during the last year of their banishment."[4] But Alwar seems to have been the territory of a neighbouring people—the Śālvas.[5] The Matsya capital has been identified with Bairāṭ in the Jaipur State. Pargiter thinks that the capital was Upaplavya. But according to Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator, Upaplavya was "*Virāṭanagara-samīpasthanagarāntaram*," a city close to the metropolis, but not identical with it.[6]

The Matsyas first appear in a passage of the *Ṛig-Veda*[7] where they are ranged with the other antagonists of Sudās, the great Ṛigvedic conqueror. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[8] mentions a Matsya king named Dhvasan Dvaitavana who celebrated the horse-sacrifice near the Sarasvatī. The *Brāhmaṇa* quotes the following *gāthā* (song) :—

"Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in

1 Mbh., V. 118. 2. For Ahvara, a fortress of the Uśīnaras, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1885, 322.

2 X. 59. 10.

3 Mbh., XII 29. 39; *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 103; *Mahā-Kaṇha Jātaka*, No. 469; *Nimi Jātaka*, No. 541; *Mahā Nārada Kassapa Jātaka*, No. 544, etc.

4 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.

5 *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1919, N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, p. ii.

6 Mbh., IV. 72. 14. *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1882, 327.

7 VII. 18. 6.

8 XIII. 5. 4. 9.

battle, bind for Indra Vṛitrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)."

The *Mahābhārata* mentions the lake Dvaitavana as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatī.[1]

In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* [2] the Matsyas appear in connexion with the Śālvas, in the *Kaushītaki Upanishad* [3] in connexion with the Kuru-Pañchālas, and in the *Mahābhārata* in connexion with the Trigarttas [4] of the Jālandar Doāb, and the Chedis of Central India.[5] In the *Manu-Saṁhitā* the Matsyas together with Kuru-kshetra, the Pañchālas, and the Śūrasenakas comprise the holy enclave of the Brāhmaṇa sages (*Brahmarshi-deśa*).

The name of Janaka's contemporary ruler is not known. That the country of the Matsyas was important in the time of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, is known from the *Kaushītaki Upanishad*.

The **Kuru** country fully maintained its reputation as a centre of Brāhmaṇical culture in the age of Janaka. Kuru Brāhmaṇas (*e.g.*, Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa) played a prominent part in the philosophical discussions of Janaka's court. But it was precisely at this time that a great calamity befell the Kurus, and led to an exodus of large sections of the Kuru people including Ushasti himself. The *Chhāndogya-Upanishad* [6] says: *Maṭachīhateshu Kurushu āṭikyā saha jāyayā Ushastir ha Chākrāyaṇa ibhya-grāme pradrāṇaka uvāsa.* Certain commentators took *Maṭachī* to mean 'thunderbolt' or 'hailstone,' others understood it to mean 'a kind of small red bird,' *rakta-varṇa-kshudra-pakshi-viśesha.* It has been pointed out by scholars that the latter explanation is confirmed by the fact that *Maṭachī* is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Canarese word *midiche*

[1] Mbh., III. 24-25.
[2] I. 2. 9.
[3] IV. 1.
[4] Mbh., Bk. IV.
[5] V. 74. 16.
[6] I. 10. 1.

which is explained by Kittel's Dictionary as "a grasshopper, a locust." [1]

If the Purāṇic list of Janamejaya's successors be accepted as historical, then it would appear that Nichakshu was probably the Kuru king of Hāstinapura in the time of Janaka.

1. Janamejaya ...	1. Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka
2. Śatānīka ...	2. Driti Aindrota (son and pupil)
3. Aśva-medha-datta ...	3 Pulusha Prāchīnayogya (pupil)
4. Adhisīma-krishṇa ..	4. Pulushi Satyayajña (pupil)
5. Nichakshu ...	5. Somaśushma Sātyayajñi (pupil) ; Janaka's contemporary.

Curiously enough, it is Nichakshu who is represented in the *Purāṇas* as the remover of the seat of government from Hāstinapura to Kauśāmbī. We have some indication that the city of Kauśāmbī really existed about this time.[2] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* makes Proti Kauśāmbeya a contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi who figured in the court of Janaka. It is thus clear that Kauśāmbeya was a contemporary of Janaka. Now, Harisvāmin in his commentary on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* understood Kauśāmbeya to mean a 'native of the town of Kauśāmbī.' It is, therefore, permissible to think that Kauśāmbī existed in the time of Janaka, and hence of Nichaksu. There is thus no difficulty in the way of accepting the Purāṇic statement. According to the Purāṇas the change of capital was due to the inroad of the river Ganges. Another, and a more potent, cause was perhaps

[1] *JRAS*, 1911, 510 (*Scraps from Shaḍ-Darśana*, G. A. Jacob): *Vedic Index*, II, 119; Bhandarkar. Carm. Lectures, 1918 pp. 26-27; Bagchi, IHQ, 1933, 253. *Cf. Devībhāgavatam*, X, 13, 110. "*Maṭachīyuthavatteshāṁ samudayāstu nirgatāḥ.*"

[2] *Cf.* Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 123.

the devastation of the Kuru country by *Maṭachī.* It is also possible that the Ābhipratāriṇa branch of the royal family had something to do with the exodus. From this time the Kurus appear to have lost gradually their political importance. They sank to the level of a second-rate power. But the Bharata dynasty, as distinguished from the Kuru people, exercised wide sway down to the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*[1]

Pañchāla roughly corresponds to Bareilly, Budaun, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces. There is no trace in the Vedic literature of the Epic and *Jātaka* division of the Pañchālas into northern (*Uttara*) and southern (*Dakshiṇa*). But the Vedic texts knew a division into eastern and western, because the *Saṁhit-opanishad Brāhmaṇa* makes mention of the Prāchya Pañchālas.[2] One of the most ancient capitals of Pañchāla was Kāmpilya which has been identified with Kāmpil on the Ganges between Budaun and Furrukhabad. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] mentions another Pañchāla town Parivakrā or Parichakrā, identified by Weber with Ekachakrā of the *Mahābhārata.*[4]

The Pañchālas, as their name indicates, probably consisted of five tribes—the Krivis, Turvaśas, Keśins, Sṛiñjayas and Somakas.[5] The *Krivis* appear in a *Ṛigvedic* hymn which also mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asiknī (Chenāb). But their actual habitation is nowhere clearly indicated. They are identified with the Pañchālas in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*

1 XIII. 5. 4. 11.

2 Ved. Ind., I. 469. *Cf.* also Patañjali (Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 12).

3 XIII. 5. 4. 7.

4 Ved. Ind., I. 494.

5 According to the *Purāṇas* (*Brahma p*, XIII. 94 f. *cf. Matsya*, 50. 3) 'Mudgala,' 'Sṛiñjaya,' 'Bṛihadishu,' 'Yavīnara' and 'Krimilāśva' were the constituent elements of the Pañchāla *Janapada.*

Oldenberg observes :[1] "We are to look to find in the people of the Pañchālas, of the stock of the Ṛik Saṃhitā, the Turvaças also as well as the Krivis." He supports the conjecture by quoting a passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] which says, "when Sātrāsāha (king of the Pañchālas) makes the *Aśvamedha* offering, the Taurvaças arise, six thousand and six and thirty clad in mail." The fusion of the *Turvaśas* with the Pañchālas does not seem to be improbable in view of the Purāṇic statement that, after Marutta, the line of Turvaśu (Turvaśa) was merged into the Paurava line,[3] of which the Pañchālas are represented as an offshoot.

The Pañchālas also included the *Keśins*[4] and probably the *Sṛiñjayas*.[5] In the *Mahābhārata*, VIII. 11. 31 Uttamaujas is called a Pāñchālya, while in VIII. 75. 9 he is called a Sṛiñjaya. As to the *Somakas*, their connection with the Pañchālas is known throughout the great poem.[6]

In the epic the royal family of the Pañchālas is represented as an offshoot of the Bharata dynasty.[7] The *Purāṇas* say the same thing[8] and name Divodāsa, Sudās(a) and Drupada among the kings of the Pañchāla branch. Divodāsa and Sudās are famous kings in the *Ṛig-Veda* where they are closely connected with the Bharatas.[9] But they are not mentioned as Pañchāla kings. In the *Mahābhārata* Drupada is also called Yajñasena and one of his sons is named Śikhaṇḍin.[10] A Śikhaṇḍin

[1] *Buddha*, p. 404.

[2] XIII. 5. 4. 16.

[3] *A.I.H.T.*, p. 108.

[4] Ved. Ind., I. 187.

[5] Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 353; Mbh., I. 138. 37; V. 48. 41. *Brahmapurāṇa*, XIII, 94f.

[6] *Cf.* Mbh., I. 185. 31; 193. 1: *Dhṛishṭa-dyumnaḥ Somakānāṁ pravarho.*

[7] Mbh., Ādi., 94. 33.

[8] *Matsya*, 50. 1-16; *Vāyu*, 99. 194-210.

[9] *Ved. Ind.*, I. p. 363; II, pp. 95, 454.

[10] Mbh., *Ādi.*, 166. 24; *Bhīshma*, 190, *et seq.*

Yājñasena is mentioned in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* [1] but it is not clear whether we are to regard him as a prince, or as a priest of Keśin Dālbhya, king of the Pañchālas.

The external history of the Pañchālas is mainly that of wars and alliances with the Kurus. The *Mahābhārata* preserves traditions of conflict between these two great peoples. We learn from Chapter 166 of the *Ādiparva* that Uttara Pañchāla was wrested from the Pañchālas by the Kurus and given away to their preceptor. Curiously enough, the *Somanassa Jātaka* [2] places Uttara Pañchāla-nagara in Kuru-raṭṭha. The relations between the two peoples (Kurus and Pañchālas) were sometimes friendly and they were connected by matrimonial alliances. Keśin Dālbhya or Dārbhya, a king of the Pañchālas, was sister's son to Uchchaiḥ-śravas, king of the Kurus.[3] Uchchaiḥ-śravas occurs as the name of a Kuru prince in the dynastic list of the *Mahābhārata*.[4] In the epic a Pañchāla princess is married to the Pāṇḍavas who are represented as scions of the Kuru royal family.

Among the most famous kings of the Pañchālas mentioned in the Vedic literature are Kraivya, Keśin Dālbhya, Śona Sātrāsāha, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali and Durmukha. Durmukha is also mentioned in the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*.[5] His kingdom is called Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha and his capital Kampila-nagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha. If this Nimi be the penultimate king of Janaka's family mentioned in the *Nimi Jātaka*,[6] Durmukha must be later than Janaka.

Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, on the other hand, was Janaka's contemporary. This prince appears in the *Upanishads* as

1 VII. 4.
2 No. 505.
3 Ved. Ind., I. 84, 187, 468.
4 I. 94. 53.
5 No. 408.
6 No. 541.

engaged in philosophical discussions with Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, Śilaka Śālāvatya, and Chaikitāyana Dālbhya.[1] The first two teachers are known to have been contemporaries of Janaka.

The kingdom of **Kāsi** was 300 leagues in extent. It had its capital at Bārāṇasî also called Ketumatī, Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahma-vaddhana, Pupphavatî, Ramma city, and Molini.[3] The walls of Bārāṇasî were twelve leagues round by themselves.[4]

The Kāsīs, *i.e.*, the people of Kāsi, first appear in the *Paippalāda* recension of the *Atharva Veda.*[5] They were closely connected with the people of Kosala and of Videha. Jala Jātūkarṇya is mentioned in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[6] as having obtained the position of *Purohita* or priest of the three peoples of Kāsi, Videha and Kosala in the lifetime of Śvetaketu, a contemporary of Janaka. Curiously enough a king named Janaka is mentioned in the *Sattubhasta Jātaka*[7] as reigning in Benares. This Janaka cannot be the Janaka of the *Upanishads* for we learn from those works that, in the time of the famous Janaka, Ajātaśatru was on the throne of Kāsi.

Very little is known regarding the ancestors of Ajātaśatru. His name does not occur in the Purāṇic lists of Kāsi sovereigns,[8] nor does the name of Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāsi, who was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāsis down to the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. The *Purāṇas* represent the Kāsi family as a branch of the house of Purūravas, the traditional ancestor of the Bharatas. Of

[1] *Bṛihad. Up.*, VI. 2; *Chh. Up.*, 1.8.1; V. 3. 1.
[2] A stock phrase, *Dhajaviheṭha Jātaka*, No. 391.
[3] *Dialogues*, Part III, p. 73. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp 50-51.
[4] *Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka*, No. 5.
[5] Ved. Ind., II, 116 n.
[6] XVI. 29. 5.
[7] No. 402.
[8] *Vayu*, 92. 21-74 : *Vishṇu*, IV. 8. 2-9.

the kings mentioned in the *Purāṇas* the names of two only (Divodāsa and Pratardana) can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the Vedic texts do not connect them with Kāsi.

In the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāsi, who must be identified with Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, is represented as a Bharata prince.[1]

The Bharata dynasty of Kāsi seems to have been supplanted by a new line of kings who had the family name Brahmadatta, and were probably of Videhan origin. That Brahmadatta was the name of a family, and not of any particular king, has been suggested by Mr. Hāritkṛishṇa Dev.[2] The *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* refer to a dynasty consisting of one hundred (*i.e.*, *many*) Brahmadattas:

Śataṁ vai Brahmadattānāṁ
Vīrāṇāṁ Kuravaḥ śatam.[3]

The "hundred" Brahmadattas are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[4] In the *Dummedha Jātaka*[5] the name Brahmadatta is applied both to the reigning king and to his son (*Kumāra*).[6] In the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka*[7] it is distinctly stated that Brahmadatta was a family designation. King Udaya of Benares was addressed by a *Pachcheka Buddha* as "Brahmadatta."

That the Brahmadattas were of Videhan origin appears probable from several *Jātakas*. For instance, the *Mātiposaka*

[1] Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, p. 270.

[2] The suggestion has been accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 56.

[3] *Matsya*, Ch. 273, 71; *Vāyu*, Ch. 99, 454.

[4] II. 8. 23.

[5] No. 50; Vol. I, p. 126.

[6] *Cf.* also the *Susīma Jātaka* (411), the *Kumma Sapiṇḍa Jātaka* (415), the *Aṭṭhāna Jātaka* (425), the *Lomasa Kassapa Jātaka* (433), etc.

[7] 421.

Jātaka,[1] which refers to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, has the following line:

mutto'mhi Kāsirājena Vedehena yasassinā ti.

In the *Sambula Jātaka*[2] prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, is called Vedehaputta:

Yo putta Kāsirājassa Sotthiseno ti tam vidū
tassāham Sambulā bhariyā, evaṁ jānāhi dānava,
Vedehaputto bhaddan te vane vasati āturo.

Ajātaśatru, Janaka's contemporary on the throne of Kāsi, seems to have belonged to the Brahmadatta family. The Upanishadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddālaka. The *Uddālaka Jātaka* tells us that the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddālaka was Brahmadatta. Ajātaśatru appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Gārgya Bālāki. In the *Kaushītaki Upanishad* he is represented as being jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] mentions a person named Bhadrasena Ājātaśatrava who is said to have been bewitched by Uddālaka Āruṇi. Macdonell and Keith call him a king of Kāsi. He was apparently the son and successor of Ajātaśatru.[4]

The kingdom of **Kosala** corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. It was separated from Videha by the river Sadānīrā, which was for a long time the easternmost limit of the Aryan world. Beyond it was an extensive marshy region, not frequented by Brāhmaṇas which, after Māthava Videgha's occupation, developed into the flourishing kingdom of Videha.

[1] No. 455.
[2] No. 519.
[3] V. 5. 5. 14.
[4] S.B.E., XLI, p. 141.

The Vedic texts do not mention any city in Kosala. But if the *Rāmāyaṇa* is to be believed the capital of Kosala in the time of the Janakas was Ayodhyā which stood on the banks of the Sarayū and covered twelve *yojanas*.[1] The river Sarayū is mentioned in the *Ṛig Veda* which also refers to an Aryan settlement on its banks.[2] One of the Ārya settlers bears the name of Chitraratha which occurs also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] as the appellation of a contemporary of Daśaratha. A king named Daśaratha is eulogised in a Ṛigvedic hymn,[4] but there is nothing to identify him with the Ikshvāku king Daśaratha who is represented in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the Kosalan contemporary of Sīradhvaja Janaka. Daśaratha's eldest son according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* was Rāma who married Sītā, daughter of Janaka. The *Ṛig Veda*[5] mentions a powerful person named Rāma but does not connect him with Kosala. The *Dasaratha Jātaka* makes Dasaratha and Rāma kings of Bārāṇasī, and disavows Sītā's connection with Janaka.

Kosala was probably the fatherland of Janaka's *Hotṛi* priest, Aśvala, who was very probably an ancestor of Āśvalāyana Kausalya mentioned in the *Praśna Upanishad* as a disciple of Pippalāda and a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and of Hiraṇya-nābha, a Kosalan prince. The details of Kosalan history will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

1 *Rām.*, I. 55-7.
2 IV. 30. 18.
3 II. 32. 17.
4 I. 126. 4.
5 X. 93. 14.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE I.

Śaṁtanu (*Ṛig. V.*; *Nirukta and Mbh.*).
|
Vichitra (*Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā*).
Vīrya
|
Pāṇḍu
|
Arjuna
|
Abhimanyu
|
Parikshit (*Atharva Veda*).

- Janamejaya | Śatānīka | Aśvamedhadatta | Adhisīmakṛishṇa
- Kakshasena | Abhipratārin | Vṛiddhadyumna | Rathagṛitsa

Indrota
|
Dṛiti Aindrota
|
Pulusha (pupil)
|
Paulushi ,,
|
Somasushma ,,

Śaunaka (*guru*)
|
Āśvalāyana; Kavandhi-Kātyāyana; Paushkarasādi (= Assalāyana, contemp. of Buddha?) (= Pokkharasādi?)

Kuśika
|
Viśvāmitra (*Ṛig. V.*)
|
Devarāta
|
Śākamaśva (pupil)
|
Vyaśva ,,
|
Viśvamanas ,,
|
Uddālaka ,,
|
Sumnayu ,,
|
Bṛihaddiva ,,
|
Prativeśya ,,
|
Sauma ,,
|
Somapa ,,
|
Priyavrata ,,
|
Uddālaka Āruṇi ,, Janaka of the *Upanishads*
|
Kahola ,,
|
Śāṅkhāyana ,, (*Śāṅkh. Ār.*)

Vasishṭha (*Ṛig. V.*)
|
Śakti
|
Parāśara
|
Vyāsa

Yājñavalkya
|
Āsuri (pupil)
|
Āsurāyaṇa ,,
|
Prāśnīputra ,,
|
Sāñjīvīputra ,, (*Bṛihad. Up.*)

Nārada
|
Vishvaksena (pupil)
|
Vyāsa Pārāśarya ,, (*Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*)

Tura Kāvasheya
Yajñavachas (pupil)
|
Kuśri ,,
|
Śāṇḍilya ,,
|
Vātsya ,,
|
Vāmakakshāyaṇa ,,
|
Māhitthi ,,
|
Kautsa ,,
|
Māṇḍavya ,,
|
Māṇḍūkāyani ,,
|
Sāñjīvīputra ,,

Ayāsya (*Ṛig. V.*)
|
Pathin (pupil).
|
Vatsanapāt ,,
|
Vidarbhī Kauṇḍinya ,,
|
Gālava ,,
|
Kumāra Hārita ,,
|
Kaisorya ,,
|
Śāṇḍilya ,,
|
Vātsya ,, (*Bṛihad. Up.*)

SECTION III. THE LATER VAIDEHAS OF MITHILA : NIMI AND KARĀLA.

The *Purāṇas* give the following lists of the successors of Sīradhvaja Janaka whom Bhavabhūti seems to identify with the contemporary of Yājñavalkya[1] :—

Vāyu.[2]	**Vishṇu.**[3]
Sīradhvajāt tu jātastu	*Sīradhvajasy āpatyaṁ Bhā-*
Bhānumān nāma Maithilaḥ	*numān, Bhānumataḥ Śata-*
Tasya Bhānumataḥ putraḥ	*dyumnaḥ, tasya Śuchiḥ, tas-*
Pradyumnaścha pratāpavān	*mād Urjavahonāma putro*
Munistasya suta śchāpi	*jajñe—tasyāpi Satvaradhvajaḥ,*
Tasmād Urjavahaḥ smṛitaḥ	*tataḥ Kuniḥ, Kuner Añjanaḥ,*
Urjavahāt suto Dvājaḥ	
Śakuni stasya chātmajaḥ	
	tatputraḥ Ṛitujit, tato' rishṭa-
	Nemiḥ, tasmāt Śrutāyuḥ,
	tataḥ Sūryāśvaḥ, tasmād
	Sañjayaḥ, tataḥ Kshemāriḥ,
	tasmād Anenāḥ, tasmān
	Mīnarathaḥ, tasya Satya-
	rathaḥ, tasya Sātyarathiḥ,
Svāgataḥ Śakuneḥ putraḥ	*Sātyarather Upaguḥ, tasmāt*
Suvarchā stat sutaḥ smṛitaḥ	*Upaguptaḥ, tasmāt Śāśvataḥ,*
Śrutoyastasya dāyādaḥ	*tasmāt Sudhanvā (Suvarchāḥ),*
Suśruta stasya chātmajaḥ	*tasyāpi Subhāsaḥ, tataḥ*
Suśrutasya Jayaḥ putro	*Suśrutaḥ, tasmāj-Jayaḥ, Jaya-*
Jayasya Vijayaḥ sutaḥ	*putro Vijayaḥ, tasya Ṛitaḥ,*
Vijayasya Ṛitaḥ putra	*Ṛitāt Sunayaḥ, tato Vīta-*
Ṛitasya Sunayaḥ smṛitaḥ	*havyaḥ, tasmād Sañjayaḥ,*

[1] *Mahāvīra-charita*, I, verse 14; II, verse 43; *Uttara-Rāma-Charita*, IV, verse 9.

[2] 89. 18-23.

[3] IV. 5. 12-13.

Sunayād Vītahavyastu	*tasmād Kshemāśvaḥ, tasmāt*
Vītahavyātmajo Dhṛitiḥ	*Dhṛitiḥ, Dhṛiter Bahulāśvaḥ,*
Dhṛitestu Bahulāśvo'bhūd	*tasya putraḥ Kṛitiḥ, Kṛitau*
Bahulāśvasutaḥ Kṛitiḥ	*santishṭhate 'yaṁ*
Tasmin santishṭhate vaṁśo	
Janakānāṁ mahātmanāṁ	*Janakavaṁśaḥ.*

It will be seen that the two Purāṇic lists do not wholly agree with each other. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* omits many names including those of Arishṭa Nemi and his immediate successors. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, or the scribe who wrote the dynastic list contained in it, may have confounded the names Arishṭa and Nemi and made one out of two kings.[1] Arishṭa is very probably identical with Ariṭṭha Janaka of the *Mahā-Janaka Jātaka*. Nemi is very probably the same as Namī of the *Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra* to whom is ascribed the same saying ("when Mithilā is on fire nothing is burned that belongs to me") which is attributed to Mahā-Janaka II, son of Ariṭṭha, in the *Mahā-Janaka Jātaka*.

With the exception of Arishṭa none of the kings in the Purāṇic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the Purāṇic lists are reliable. The identification of any of the kings in the above lists with the Vedic Janaka is the most knotty of all problems. We have already noted the arguments that can be urged in support of the identity of the contemporary of Yājñavalkya with Sīradhvaja. The mere fact that Sīradhvaja heads the Purāṇic lists cited above does not necessarily prove that he actually flourished before the other kings named in the lists. It should be remembered in this connection that Pradyota who was in reality a contemporary of Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, is

[1] *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, p. 193.

placed by the Purāṇic chroniclers or scribes some nine generations before that king, and Siddhārtha of the Ikshvāku list, a contemporary of Prasenajit of Kosala, is represented as the grandfather of the latter. The evidence of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[1] suggests that there were at times several collateral lines of Janakas who ruled contemporaneously. The problem of Sīradhvaja must, therefore, be regarded as *sub judice*. In view of the uncertainty about the identification of this king and his proper place in the dynastic list, it is not easy to determine which of the Videhan kings mentioned in the *Purāṇic* chronicles actually came *after* the contemporary of Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya. The evidence of the *Jātakas*, however, suggests that a king named Nimi, at any rate, ruled after the great Janaka, as he is called the penultimate sovereign of the dynasty. Pargiter[2] places all the kings of the Purāṇic lists from Bhānumat to Bahulāśva *before* the Bhārata war, and apparently identifies Kṛiti with Kṛitakshaṇa of the *Mahābhārata*[3] a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira. But, as there were "Janakas" even *after* Yudhishṭhira, and as "two *Purāṇas* conclude with the remark that with Kṛiti *ends* the race of the Janakas,"[4] the identification of Kṛiti, the *last* of the race, with Kṛitakshaṇa does not seem to be plausible. It is more reasonable to identify Kṛiti of the *Purāṇas* with Karāla Janaka who, as we shall see below, brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The only objection to this view is that Karāla is represented as the son of Nimi, whereas Kṛiti was the son of Bahulāśva who came long after Arishṭa-Nemi. But the title Nimi may have been borne by several kings besides Arishṭa (or his son), and Bahulāśva may have been one of them.

1 VI. 6. 7 ff.
2 AIHT, p. 149.
3 II. 4. 27.
4 AIHT, pp. 96, 330.

The Vedic texts mention besides Māthava and Janaka two other Vaideha kings, namely, Namī Sāpya and Para Āhlāra. Macdonell and Keith identify the latter with Para Āṭṇāra, king of Kosala, about whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter. Namī Sāpya is mentioned in the *Pañchaviṁśa* or *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*[1] as a famous sacrificer. His identification with king Namī of the *Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra*, Nemi of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, and Nimi of the *Makhādeva Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* and the *Nimi Jātaka*, is more or less problematical. In the last-mentioned work it is stated that a Nimi was the penultimate sovereign of the Maithila family. According to the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* and the *Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra*[2] he was a contemporary of Dummukha (Dvimukha) king of Pañchāla, Naggaji (Naggati) of Gandhāra and of Karaṇḍu (Karakaṇḍu) of Kaliṅga. This synchronism accords with Vedic evidence. Durmukha, the Pañchāla king, had a priest named Bṛihaduktha[3] who was the son of Vāmadeva.[4] Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva.[5] Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra.[6] From this it seems very probable that Durmukha was a contemporary of Nagnajit. This is exactly what we find in the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* and the *Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra*.

The *Nimi Jātaka* says that Nimi was "born to round off" the royal family "like the hoop of a chariot wheel." Addressing his predecessor the soothsayers said, "great king, this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."

[1] XXV. 10. 17-18.
[2] S.B.E., XLV. 87.
[3] *Vedic Index*, I. 370.
[4] *Ibid*, II. 71.
[5] *Ṛig-Veda*, IV. 15. 7-10.
[6] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 34.

Nimi's son Kalāra Janaka[1] is said to have actually brought his line to an end. This king is apparently identical with Karāla Janaka of the *Mahābhārata.*[2] In the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to Kauṭilya it is stated that "Bhoja, known by the name of Dāṇḍakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; so also Karāla, the Vaideha."[3] Karāla, the Vaideha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations, must be identified with Kalāra (Karāla) who, according to the *Nimi Jātaka,* brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The downfall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy.

There is reason to believe that the Kāsi people had a share in the overthrow of the Videhan monarchy. Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajātaśatru, king of Kāsi, could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Videhan king's fame. The passage "*Yathā Kāśyo vā Vaidehov-Ograputra ujjyam dhanur adhijyaṁ kṛitvā dvau vāṇa-vantau sapatnātivyādhinau haste kṛitv-opatishṭhed*"[4] probably refers to frequent struggles between the kings of Kāsi and Videha. The *Mahābhārata*[5] refers to the old story (*itihāsam purātanam*) of a great battle between Pratardana, king of Kāsi according to the *Rāmāyaṇa,*[6] and Janaka, king of Mithilā. It is stated in the Pāli

[1] *Makhādeva Sutta* of the *Majjhima nikāya,* II. 82; *Nimi Jātaka.*

[2] XII. 302. 7.

[3] The evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* is confirmed by that of the *Buddha-charita* of Aśva-ghosha (IV. 80). "And so Karāla Janaka, when he carried off the Brāhmaṇa's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up his love."

[4] *Bṛihad. Upanishad,* III. 8. 2.

[5] XII. 99.1-2.

[6] VII. 48. 15.

commentary *Param-attha-jotikā* [1] that the Lichchhavis who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in Videha, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kāsi. This probably indicates that a junior branch of the royal family of Kāsi established itself in Videha.

[1] Vol. 1, pp. 158-65.

SECTION IV. THE DECCAN IN THE AGE OF THE LATER VAIDEHAS.

The expression "*Dakshiṇāpadā*" occurs in the *Ṛig Veda*[1] and refers to the region where the exile goes on being turned out. In the opinion of several scholars this simply means "the South" beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world. *Dākshiṇātya* is found in Pāṇini,[2] *Dakshiṇāpatha* is mentioned by Baudhāyana coupled with Surāshṭra.[3] It is however extremely difficult to say what Pāṇini or Baudhāyana exactly meant by *Dākshiṇātya* or *Dakshiṇāpatha*.

Whatever may have been the correct meaning of those terms it is certain that already in the age of the later Vaidehas, Nimi and Karāla (Kalāra), the Aryans had crossed the Vindhyas and even established several states in the Deccan. One of these states was **Vidarbha** or Berar, the Varadātaṭa of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. Vidarbha was certainly a famous kingdom in the time of Nimi mentioned in the *Jātakas*. We have already seen that the *Kumbha-kāra Jātaka* and the *Uttar-ādhyayana* make him a contemporary of Naggaji, Naggati or Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra. We learn from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[4] that Nagnajit was a contemporary of Bhīma, king of Vidarbha:

"*Etamu haiva prochatuḥ Parvata-Nāradau Somakāya Sāhadevyāya Sahadevāya Sārñjayāya Babhrave Daivāvṛidhāya Bhīmāya Vaidarbhāya Nagnajite Gāndhārāya.*"

"This Parvata and Nārada proclaimed to Somaka Sāhadevya, Sahadeva Sārñjaya, Babhru Daivāvṛidha, Bhīma Vaidarbha (of Vidarbha) and Nagnajit of Gandhāra."

1 X. 61. 8. *Vedic Index*, I. 337.
2 IV. 2. 98.
3 Bau. Sūtra, I. 1. 29.
4 VII. 34.

Vidarbha, therefore, existed as an independent kingdom in the time of Nimi. From the Purāṇic account of the Yadu family it appears that the eponymous hero of the Vidarbhas, was of Yadu lineage.[1] The kingdom of Vidarbha, is mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*.[2] It was famous for its *Māchalas*, perhaps a species of dog, which killed tigers[3]—"*Vidarbheṣu mācalās Sārameyā apiha Çārdulān mārayanti.*" The *Praśna Upanishad* mentions a sage of Vidarbha named Bhārgava as a contemporary of Āśvalāyana. Another sage called Vidarbhī Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.* The name Kauṇḍinya is apparently derived from the city of Kuṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha,[4] represented by the modern Kauṇḍinya-pura on the banks of Wardhā in the Chāṇḍur tāluk of Amraoti.[5]

The association of Vidarbha with Kuṇḍina clearly suggests that Vidarbha of the Vedic texts lay in the Deccan and not in some hitherto unknown region outside its boundaries as contended by a recent writer.[6] Curiously enough the same writer who characterises the provisional acceptance of the uncontradicted testimony of the *Purāṇas* and lexicons in locating tribes mentioned in Vedic literature as unhistorical, has no hesitation in identifying the Satvats of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* with the Yādavas and in placing them in the Mathurā region and adjoining districts.[7] He has not referred to any *Vedic* text which supports his conjecture regarding the identity of the Satvats and their association with the particular city named by him.

If the evidence of the *Kumbha-kāra Jātaka* has any value, then Nimi, king of Videha, mentioned in the work, Nagnajit,

[1] *Matsya Purāṇa*, 44. 36; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95, 35-36.
[2] II, 440: *Ved. Ind.*, II. 297.
[3] *JAOS*, 19, 100.
[4] Mbh., III. 73. 1-2; *Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva*, 59-60.
[5] *Gaz, Amraoti*, Vol. A, p. 406.
[6] *Indian Culture*, July, 1936, p. 12.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 15.

king of Gandhāra, and Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, must be considered to have been contemporaries of Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga. It follows from this that the kingdom of **Kaliṅga** was in existence in the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the *Brāhmaṇa* period. The evidence of the *Jātaka* is confirmed by that of the *Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra.* The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta,*[1] makes Sattabhu, king of Kaliṅga, a contemporary of Reṇu, king of Mithilā and of Dhataraṭṭha or Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi, mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*[2] There can thus be no doubt that Kaliṅga existed as an independent kingdom in the time of which the Brāhmaṇas speak. It is mentioned both by Pāṇini[3] and Baudhāyana.[4] The latter regards it as an impure country but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans.[5] According to epic tradition it comprised the whole coast from the river Vaitaraṇī[6] in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra territory at the mouth of the Godāvarī. We learn from the Jātakas that the capital of Kaliṅga was Dantapura-nagara.[7] The *Mahābhārata* mentions Rājapura as the metropolis.[8] The *Mahāvastu*[9] refers to another city named Siṁhapura. The Jaina writers mention a fourth town called Kaṁchanapura.[10]

1 *Dialogues of the Buddha,* II. 270.

2 XIII. 5. 4. 22.

3 IV. 1. 170.

4 I, i. 30-31.

5 There was a considerable Brāhmaṇa population in Kaliṅga in the days of Aśoka (*cf.* Edict XIII).

6 Mbh., III. 114. 4.

7 *Cf.* Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 361, *Danta-pura-vāsakāt* ; Dantakūra, Mbh., V, 48, 76. The name of the city probably survives in that of the fort of Dantavaktra near Chicacole in the Gañjām District. Many other Kaliṅga capitals stood in the same district, *e. g.,* Siṁhapura (Singupuram) near Chicacole, Dubreuil, *A.H.D.,* p. 94, Kaliṅga-nagara (Mukhaliṅgam on the Vaṁśadharā, *Ep. Ind.,* IV. 187); Kaliṅgapātam is preferred in *Ind. Ant.,* 1887, 132; JBORS, 1929, pp. 623 f. But the arguments adduced are not all plausible.

8 XII. 4. 3.

9 Senart's edition, p. 432.

10 *Ind. Ant.,* 1891, p. 375.

The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* refers to another southern realm, namely, **Assaka**, on the God(h)āvarī,[1] which existed in the time of the monarchs Reṇu and Dhata-raṭṭha (Dhṛitarāshṭra). It was ruled by king Brahmadatta who had his capital at Potana.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* alludes[2] to princes of the south who are called **Bhojas** and whose subjects are called *Satvats*: "*dakshiṇasyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Satvatāṁ rājāno Bhaujyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Bhoj-etye-nān-abhishiktan-āchakshata*—" "in the southern region whatever kings there are of the Satvats, they are anointed for *Bhaujya*; 'O Bhoja' they style them when consecrated (in accordance with the action of the deities)." In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats, and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an *Aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice are referred to. These Satvats must have been living near Bharata's realm, *i.e.*, near the Ganges and the Yamunā.[4] But in the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* they probably moved farther to the south. They are placed in the southern region (*dakshiṇā diś*) beyond the "fixed middle region"—the land of the Kurus, Pañchālas and some adjoining tribes. The Pañchāla realm, according to epic testimony,[5] extended as far south as the Chambal. The Satvat people of the "southern region" mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, therefore, in all probability, lived beyond that river. Their kings were called Bhojas. This account of the Satvats and the Bhojas, deduced from the Brāhmaṇic statements, accords strikingly with Purāṇic evidence. It is stated in the

1 *Sutta Nipāta*, 977. SBE, X, ptii, 184.
2 VIII. 14.
3 XIII. 5.4.21.
4 *Cf. Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5.4, 11.
5 Mbh, 138. 74 : *Dakshiṇāṁśchāpi Pāñchālān yāvach Charmaṇvatī nadī.*

Purāṇas that the Sātvat(a)s and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yadu family which dwelt at Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā.[1] We are further told by the same authorities that they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha.[2] We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and the last mentioned territory. A place called Bhojakaṭa, is included within Vidarbha both by the *Harivaṁśa* [3] and the *Mahābhārata*.[4] The Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojakaṭa territory included the Ilichpur district in Berar or Vidarbha.[5] Dr. Smith says, " The name Bhojakaṭa, ' castle of the Bhojas,' implies that the province was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka." [6] Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* [7] calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja.[8] But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to several Bhoja kings of the south. A line of Bhojas must have ruled in **Daṇḍaka**. A passage in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* [9] runs thus :—

" *Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kanyām abhimanyamānas sabandhu-rāshṭro vinanāśa* "—a Bhoja known as Dāṇḍakya, or king of Daṇḍaka, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom. We learn from the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* [10] that the kingdom of Daṇḍaki (Daṇḍaka) had its

1 *Matsya*, 43. 48; 44. 46-48; *Vāyu*, 94. 52; 95, 18; 96. 1-2; *Vishṇu*, IV. 13. 1-6.

2 *Mat.*, 44. 36; *Vāyu*, 95. 35-36.

3 *Vishṇu Parva*, 60. 32.

4 V. 157. 15-16.

5 *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 329.

6 In *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, 262-263, Bhojakaṭa is identified with Bhat-kuli in the Amraoti district.

7 V. 39-40.

8 *Cf.* also Mbh., V. 48. 74; 157. 17

9 Ed. 1919, p. 11.

10 No. 522.

capital at Kumbhavatī. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] the name of the metropolis was Madhumanta, while the *Mahāvastu*[2] places it at Govardhana (Nāsik).

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that there were, in the age of the later Vaidehas, and the treatises called Brāhmaṇas, many kingdoms in the south, both Aryan and non-Aryan, namely, the Bhoja kingdoms, one of which was Vidarbha, and another, probably, Daṇḍaka, as well as Assaka and Kaliṅga. With the exception of these organised states the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India was occupied by non-Aryan (*dasyu*) tribes such as the Andhras, Śavaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mūtibas.[3] In the opinion of Dr. Smith the **Andhras** were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. Mr. P. T. Śrīnivās Iyengar argues that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe and that the extension of Andhra power was from the west to the east down the Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā valleys.[4] Dr. Bhandarkar points out that the Serivāṇij Jātaka places Andhapura, *i.e.*, the *pura* or capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavāha which he identifies with the modern Tel or Telingiri.[5] But if "Seri"[6] or *Śrī-rājya* refers to the Gaṅga kingdom of Mysore, Telavāha may have been another name of the Tuṅgabhadrā-Kṛishṇā, and Andhapura identical with Bezvāḍa.[7] The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava ruler Śiva-skanda-varman prove that the Andhra country

[1] VII. 92. 18.

[2] Senart's Edition, p. 363.

[3] *Ait. Br.*, VII. 18.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, pp. 276-78.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 71.

[6] 'Seri' may also refer to Śrī Vijaya, Śrī Vishaya, or Sumatra.

[7] The Telavāha may also be connected with the "Ter" river in South India (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII. 29).

(*Andhrāpatha*) embraced the Krishṇā District and had its centre at Dhaññakaḍa or Bezvāḍa.[1]

The **Śavaras** and the Pulindas are described in the *Matsya* and the *Vāyu Purāṇas* as *Dakshiṇā-patha-vāsinaḥ*, inhabitants of the Deccan, together with the Vaidarbhas and the Daṇḍakas :

Teshām pare janapadā Dakshiṇā-patha-vāsinaḥ
* * * *
Kārūshāśchа sah-aishīkā Āṭavyāḥ Śavarās tathā
Pulindā Vindhya-Pushikā (?) Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha [2]
Ābhīrāḥ saha cha-ishīkāḥ Āṭavyāḥ Śavarāścha ye
Pulindā Vindhya-Mūlikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha [3]

The *Mahābhārata* also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Śavaras in the Deccan :

Dakshiṇā-patha-janmānaḥ sarve naravar-Āndhrakāḥ
Guhāḥ Pulindāḥ Śavarāś Chuchukā Madrakaiḥ (?) *saha*.[4]

The precise position and extent of the country of the Śavaras cannot be shown. They are usually identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy, and are probably represented by the Savaralu, or Sauras of the Vizagapatam Hills, and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory.[5]

The capital of the **Pulindas** (Pulinda-nagara) probably lay to the south-east of Daśārṇa,[6] *i.e.*, the Vidiśā or Bhilsa region.[7]

The location of the territory of the **Mūtibas**, another *Dasyu* tribe mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* along

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VI. 88.
[2] *Matsya*, 114. 46-48.
[3] *Vāyu*, 45. 126.
[4] *Mbh.*, XII. 207. 42.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, 1879, p. 282; Cunn. *AGI*, new ed., pp. 583, 586; The *Imp. Gaz. The Indian Empire*, I, 384.
[6] *Mbh.*, II. 5-10.
[7] *Meghadūta*, 24-25.

with the Andhras, Pulindas, and Śavaras, is not so certain. Pliny refers to a tribe called "Modubae," and places them beyond the "Modo-galingae," who inhabited a very large island in the Ganges. The Modubae are associated with the Uberae, perhaps identical with the Śavaras of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. In the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[1] the Mūtibas are called Mūchīpa or Mūvīpa. It is not altogether improbable that the Mūchīpas are the people who appear in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[2] under the designation of Mūshika. A comparison of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* with the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* betrays a good deal of confusion with regard to the second and third consonants of the name. It was, therefore, perfectly natural for later generations to introduce further variations. The Mūshikas were probably settled on the banks of the river Musi on which Hyderabad now stands.[3]

[1] XV. 26. 6.
[2] 57. 46.
[3] Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 366.

CHAPTER III. MAHĀJANAPADAS AND KINGSHIP

SECTION I. THE SIXTEEN MAHĀJANAPADAS.

The Vedic texts do not throw much light on the political history of the period which elapsed from the fall of the Videhan monarchy, probably early in the sixth century B.C., to the rise of Kosala under Mahākosala, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra, about the middle of that century. But we learn from the Buddhist *Aṅguttara Nikāya* that during this period there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the "*Solasa Mahājanapada.*" [1] These states were :—

1. Kāsi	9. Kuru
2. Kosala	10. Pañchāla
3. Aṅga	11. Machchha (Matsya)
4. Magadha	12. Śūrasena
5. Vajji (Vṛiji)	13. Assaka (Aśmaka)
6. Malla	14. Avanti
7. Chetiya (Chedi)	15. Gandhāra
8. Vaṁsa (Vatsa)	16. Kamboja

These *Mahājanapadas* flourished together during a period posterior to Karāla-Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala, because one of them, Vajji, apparently rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely, Kāsi, lost its independence before the time of Mahākosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan empire in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.

The Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* [2] gives a slightly different list of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* :

[1] P.T.S., I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260. The *Mahāvastu* (I. 34) gives a similar list, but omits Gandhāra and Kamboja, substituting in their place Śibi and Daśārṇa.

[2] *Saya* xv, *Uddesa I* (Hoernle, the *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix); W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie Der Inder*, 225.

1.	Aṅga	9.	Paḍha (Pāṇḍya?)
2.	Baṅga (Vaṅga)	10.	Lāḍha (Rāḍha)
3.	Magaha (Magadha)	11.	Bajji (Vajji)
4.	Malaya	12.	Molī (Māli)
5.	Mālava (ka)	13.	Kāsī
6.	Achchha	14.	Kosala
7.	Vachchha (Vatsa)	15.	Avāha
8.	Kochchha (Kachchha?)	16.	Sambhuttara (Sumhottara?)

It will be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāsi, and Kosala are common to both the lists. Mālava of the *Bhagavatī* is probably identical with Avanti of the *Aṅguttara*. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the *Bhagavatī* are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the *Bhagavatī* clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara*.[1] We shall, therefore, accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka.

Of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* **Kāsi** was probably at first the most powerful. We have already seen that Kāsi probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy. Several *Jātakas* bear witness to the superiority of its capital Benares over the other cities, and the imperial ambition of its rulers. The *Guttila Jātaka*[2] says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India. It extended over twelve leagues[3] whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent.[4] Several Kāsi

[1] Mr. E. J. Thomas suggests (*History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 6) that the Jaina author who makes no mention of the northern Kambojas and Gandhāras but includes several South Indian peoples in his list, "wrote in South India and compiled his list from countries that he knew." If the writer was really ignorant of the northern peoples his Mālavas could not have been in the Pañjāb and must be located in central India. In that case his account can hardly be assigned to a very early date.

[2] No. 243.

[3] "*Dvādasa-yojanikam sakala-Bārāṇasi-nagaram*"—*Sambhava Jātaka*, No. 515; *Sarabha-miga J.*, 483; *Bhūridatta J.*, 543.

[4] *Suruchi J.*, 489; *Vidhurapaṇḍita J.*, 545.

monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of "*sabbarājunam aggarājā*," and lord of *sakala-Jambudīpa*.[1] The *Mahāvagga* also mentions the fact that Kāsi was in former times a great and prosperous realm, possessed of immense resources :

"*Bhūtapubbaṁ bhikkhave Bārāṇasiyam Brahmadatto nāma Kāsirājā ahosi aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo mahadbalo mahāvāhano mahāvijito paripuṇṇakosa-koṭṭhāgāro.*"[2]

The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kāsi, and represent Aśvasena, king of Benares, as the father of their *Tīrthankara* Pārśva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahāvīra, *i.e.*, in or about 777 B.C.

Already in the *Brāhmaṇa* period a king of Kāsi, named Dhṛitarāshṭra, attempted to offer a horse-sacrifice, but was vanquished by Śatānīka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāsis down to the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire.[3] Some of the other Kāsi monarchs were more fortunate. Thus in the *Brahāchatta Jātaka*[4] a king of Benares is said to have gone against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Sāvatthī and took the king prisoner. The *Kosambī Jātaka*[5] the *Kunāla Jātaka*,[6] and the *Mahāvagga*[7] refer to the annexation of the kingdom of Kosala by the Brahmadattas of Kāsi. The *Assaka Jātaka*[8] refers to the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka in Southern India, as a city of the kingdom of Kāsi. Evidently the reigning prince of Potali was a vassal of the sovereign of Kāsi. In the *Sona-Nanda Jātaka*[9] Manoja, king of Benares, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Aṅga and Magadha. In the *Mahābhārata*[10] Pratardana, king of Kāsi, is said to have crushed the power

1 *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*, 465; *Dhonasākha Jātaka*, 353.

2 *Mahāvagga*, X. 2. 3; *Vinaya Piṭakam*, I, 342.

3 Śat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 19. 4 No. 336. 5 No. 428. 6 No. 536.

7 S. B. E., Vol. XIII, pp 294-99. 8 No. 207. 9 No. 532. 10 XIII. 30.

of the Vītabavyas or Haihayas. In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say how far the account of the achievements of individual kings, mentioned in the *Jātakas* and the epic, is authentic. But the combined testimony of many *Jātakas* and the *Mahāvagga* clearly proves that Kāsi was at one time a great, almost an imperial power, stronger than many of its neighbours including Kosala.

Dr. Bhandarkar points out that several Kāsi monarchs, who figure in the *Jātakas*, are also mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, *e.g.*, Vissasena of *Jātaka* No. 268, Udaya of *Jātaka* No. 458, and Bhallāṭiya of *Jātaka* No. 504 are mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as Vishvaksena, Udakasena and Bhallāṭa.[1]

We learn from the *Bhojājāniya Jātaka*[2] that "all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares." We are told that on one occasion seven kings encompassed Benares.[3] Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediæval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.

The kingdom of **Kosala** seems to have been bounded on the west by Pañchāla, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river,[4] on the east by the Sadānīrā which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepāl hills. Roughly speaking, it corresponds to the modern Oudh. It included the territory of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. In the *Sutta Nipāta*[5] Buddha says, "just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of *Kosala*.[6] They are *Ādichchas*[7] by family,

[1] *Matsya*, 49. 57 *et seq.*; *Vāyu*, 99. 180 *et seq.*; *Vishṇu*, IV. 19. 13.
[2] No. 23. [3] *Jātaka*, 181. [4] Rām., II. 49. 11-12; 50. 1.
[5] S. B. E., X, Part II, 68-69.
[6] *Kosalesu niketino.* As pointed out by Rhys Davids and Stede, *Niketin* means 'having an abode,' 'being housed,' 'living in.' *cf.* J. III, 432—*dumasākhā-niketinī.*
[7] Belonging to the Āditya (Solar) race (*cf.* Lüders, Ins., 929 i). For an early reference to the Lunar family (Chandra-Suta) see the Nānāghāṭ inscription (*ASWI*, V. P. 60). For a different interpretation of the passage, see IHQ, 1931, 412.

Śākiyas by birth ; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures." This passage leaves no room for doubt that the Śākiyas or Śākyas were included among the inhabitants of Kosala. If any doubt is still entertained it is set at rest by Pasenadi's words recorded in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[1] :

"*Bhagavā pi khattiyo, aham pi khattiyo,* **Bhagavā pi Kosalako** *aham pi Kosalako, Bhagavā pi āsītiko, aham pi āsītiko.*"

The political subjection of the Śākyas to the king of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. is clear from the evidence of the *Aggañña Suttanta*[2] and the introductory portion of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*.[3] Another people who acknowledged the Kosalan sway were apparently the Kālāmas of Kesaputta.[4]

Kosala proper contained three great cities, namely, Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Sāvatthī or Śrāvastī, besides a number of minor towns like Setavyā[5] and Ukkaṭṭha.[6] Ayodhyā (Oudh) was a town on the river Sarayū. Sāketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhyā, but Professor Rhys Davids points out that both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like London and Westminster.[7] Sāvatthī is the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rāptī called Sāhēṭ-Māhēṭ, which is situated on the borders of the Gonḍa and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces.[8]

In the story of the spread of Aryan culture told in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the Kosalas appear as falling later

1 II. 124.

2 *Dīgha Nikāya*, III (P.T.S.), 83.

3 Fausboll, IV. 145.

4 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Pt. 1, 188 (P.T.S.); *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 808.

5 *Pāyāsi Suttanta.*

6 *Ambaṭṭha Sutta.*

7 *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

8 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 1924, p. 469; Smith, E.H.I., 3rd ed. p. 159.

than the Kuru-Pañchālas, but earlier than the Videhas, under the influence of Brāhmaṇical civilisation.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Purāṇas* the royal family of Kosala is represented as being descended from a king named Ikshvāku. Branches of this family are represented as ruling at Viśālā or Vaiśālī,[1] at Mithilā [2] and at Kusinārā.[3] A prince named Ikshvāku is mentioned in a passage of the *Ṛig Veda.*[4] In the *Atharva Veda* [5] either this king, or one of his descendants, is referred to as an ancient hero. The *Purāṇas* give lists of kings of the *Aikshvāka* dynasty from Ikshvāku himself to Prasenajit, the contemporary of Bimbisāra. The *names* of many of these kings are found in the Vedic literature. For example :—

Mandhātṛi Yuvanāśva [6] is mentioned in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.*[7]

Purukutsa [8] is referred to in the *Ṛig Veda.*[9] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [10] he is styled an Aikshvāka.[11]

Trasadasyu,[12] too, finds mention in the *Ṛig Veda* [13]

Tryaruṇa [14] is also mentioned in the *Ṛig Veda.*[15] In the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* [16] he is called an Aikshvāka.

Triśaṅku [17] is referred to in the *Taittirīya Upanishad.*[18]

[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 47. 11-12.

[2] Vāyu P., 89. 3.

[3] The *Kusa Jātaka*, No. 531. The *Mahāvastu* (III. 1) places an Ikshvāku king in Benares—*Abhūshi Rājā Ikshvāku Vārāṇasyāṁ mahābalo.*

[4] X. 60. 4. [5] XIV. 39. 9.

[6] *Vāyu*, 88. 67.

[7] I. 2. 10 *et seq.*

[8] *Vāyu*, 88, 72.

[9] I. 63. 7; 112. 7. 14; 174. 2. VI. 20. 10.

[10] XIII. 5. 4. 5.

[11] *Cf.* reference to the Ṛig. Ved., IV, 42, 8 in this connection.

[12] *Vāyu*, 88. 74.

[13] IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3. etc.

[14] *Vāyu*, 88. 77.

[15] V. 27.

[16] XIII. 3. 12. [17] *Vāyu*, 88, 109. [18] I. 10. 1.

Hariśchandra [1] is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [2] and is styled Aikshvāka.

Rohita, the son of Hariśchandra [3] is also alluded to in the same *Brāhmaṇa*.[4]

Bhagīratha [5] figures prominently in the *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* under the slightly different name of Bhageratha [6] and is called Aikshvāka and '*Ekarāt*' (sole ruler). Under the name of Bhajeratha he is probably referred to in the *Ṛig Veda* [7] itself.

Ambarīsha [8] is mentioned in the *Ṛig Veda*.[9]

Ṛituparṇa [10] finds mention in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.[11]

Daśaratha [12] is, according to some writers, possibly mentioned in the *Ṛig Veda*.[13]

Rāma [14] may be the person of the same name alluded to in the same *Veda*.[15]

But Daśaratha and Rāma in the Vedic passages as well as several other personages mentioned above whose *names* occur in Vedic literature, are not connected either with the Ikshvāku family or with Kosala.

Hiraṇya-nābha Kausalya,[16] is mentioned in the *Praśna Upanishad*,[17] as a *rājaputra* or prince. He is undoubtedly connected with Para Āṭṇāra (Āhlāra), the Kosalan king mentioned in a *gāthā* (song) occurring in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[18] and the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*,[19] and also in a passage of *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*.[20] The *gāthā* as quoted in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives to Para the patronymic 'Hairaṇyanābha' while

1 *Vāyu*, 88. 117. 2 VII. 13. 16. 3 *Vāyu*, 88. 119.
4 VII. 14. 5 *Vāyu*, 88. 167. 6 IV. 6. 1ff.
7 X. 60. 2. 8 *Vāyu*, 88. 171. 9 I. 100. 17.
10 *Vāyu*, 88. 173. 11 XVIII. 12 (Vol. II, p. 357).
12 *Vāyu*, 88. 183. 13 I. 126. 4. 14 *Vāyu*, 88. 184.
15 X. 93. 14. 16 *Vāyu*, 88. 207. 17 VI. 1.
18 XIII. 5. 4. 4. 19 XVI. 9. 13. 20 II. 6.

the *Śrauta Sūtra* identifies Para with Hiraṇya-nābha himself. It is difficult to say whether the original *gāthā* extolling the deeds of Para Āṭṇāra (Āhlāra) gave to that conqueror the name 'Hiraṇya-nābha' or the patronymic 'Hairaṇyanābha.' According to the *Praśna Upanishad*, Hiraṇya-nābha was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja,[1] who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Āśvalāyana.[2] If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kosala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthī mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[3] as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B.C. Consequently Hiraṇyanābha, too, must have flourished in that century.

Some of the later princes of the Purāṇic list, *e.g.*, Śākya, Suddhodana, Siddhārtha, Rāhula and Prasenajit, are mentioned in Buddhist texts. The exact relations of Hiraṇya-nābha with Prasenajit, who also flourished in the sixth century B.C., are not known. The Purāṇic chroniclers make Hiraṇyanābha an ancestor of Prasenajit, but are not sure about his position in the dynastic list.[4] They represent Prasenajit as the son and successor of Rāhula, and grandson of Siddhārtha (Buddha). This is absurd. It is clear that no genuine tradition about the parentage of Prasenajit and the position of Hiraṇya-nābha in the family tree has been preserved in the *Purāṇas*. If the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* is to be believed, Hiraṇya-nābha performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and was apparently a great conqueror. Is he identical with the great Kosalan (Mahākosala) of Buddhist writers? In the previous editions of this work I suggested that Hiraṇyanābha might be one of the group of five *Rājās* of which Prasenajit was the head according to the *Saṁyukta Nikāya*. This is possible if Hiraṇyanābha was

[1] VI. 1. [2] *Praśna*, I. 1. [3] II. 147 *et seq.* [4] AIHT., 173.

only a *Rājaputra* as the *Praśna Upanishad* tells us. But if he, and not his son, is identical with the great conqueror Para Āṭṇāra (Āhlâra), he must have been a *mahārāja*.[1] If he really flourished in the sixth century B.C., he may have been identical with 'Mahākosala,' of Buddhist texts. Direct proof is, however, lacking. A word may be added here regarding the value of the Purāṇic lists. No doubt they contain names of some real kings and princes. But they have many glaring defects, defects which are apt to be forgotten by writers who make the Purāṇic lists the basis of early Indian chronology.

(1) Branches of the Ikshvāku family (and of other lines) ruling over different territories have been mixed together, *e.g.*, Trasadasyu, king of the Pūrus,[2] Ṛituparṇa, king of the Saphālas,[3] Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu and Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, have been mentioned in such a way as to leave the impression that they formed a continuous line of princes who ruled in regular succession.

(2) Contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals have been represented as lineal descendants, *e g.*, Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, is represented as the lineal successor of Siddhārtha and Rāhula, though he was actually a contemporary of Siddhārtha, *i.e.*, the Buddha, and belonged to a different branch of the Ikshvāku family.

(3) Certain names have been omitted, *e.g.*, Vedhas, Para Āṭṇāra (unless he is identical with Hiraṇyanābha), and Mahākosala.

(4) The name of Siddhārtha (Buddha) who never ruled, has been included.

1 *Cf. Śāṅkh. Śr. Sūtra*, XVI. 9. 13 read with Jaim. Up. Br., II. 6.

2 *Ṛig Veda*, IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3.

3 *Baud. Śrauta Sūtra*, XVIII. 12 (Vol. II, p. 357). Ṛituparṇa is, however, not distinctly called an Aikshvāka. But from the rarity of the name it is possible to surmise that the epic and Purāṇic king of that designation is meant. *Cf.* also *Āpas Śr. Sūtra*, XXI. 20. 3.

It is not easy to find out all the kings of the Purāṇic list who actually ruled over Kosala The names of some of the earlier princes of the list, *e.g.*, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariśchandra, Rohita, Ṛituparṇa and a few others, are omitted from the dynastic list of the kings of Ayodhyā given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] We gather from the Vedic literature that most, if not all, of these monarchs ruled over territories lying outside Kosala. The only kings or princes mentioned in the Purāṇic list who are known from Vedic and early Buddhist texts to have reigned in Kosala, or over some outlying part of it, are Hiraṇyanābha, Prasenajit and Śuddhodana.

The Buddhist works mention a few other sovereigns of Kosala, but their names do not occur in the epic and Purāṇic lists. Some of these kings had their capital at Ayodhyā, others at Sāketa, and the rest at Śrāvastī. Of the princes of Ayodhyā, the *Ghata Jātaka* [2] mentions Kālasena. A Kosalarāja reigning in Sāketa is mentioned in the *Nandiyamiga Jātaka*.[3] Vaṅka, Mahākosala and many others[4] had their capital at Sāvatthī or Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. The last capital was Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time,[5] but Sāketa and Śravastī were included among the six great cities of India.[6]

The chronology of ancient Kosala is in a state of utmost confusion. If the *Purāṇas* are to be believed, a prince named Divākara occupied the throne of Ayodhyā in the time of Adhisīma-kṛishṇa, great-great-grandson of Parikshit. But, as has already been pointed out above, the princes who are mentioned as his successors did not form a continuous line of rulers who reigned over the same territory in regular

[1] I. 70. [2] No. 454. [3] No. 385.
[4] *E.g.*, the Kosalarāja of J. 75; Chatta (336); Sabbamitta (512); and Prasenajit.
[5] *Buddhist India*, p. 34. [6] *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, S.B.E., XI, p. 99.

succession. It is also not known when the older capitals were abandoned in favour of Śrāvastī. But it must have been some time before the accession of Prasenajit, the contemporary of Bimbisāra, and of Udayana, supposed to be a descendant of Adhisīma-krishṇa.

We learn from the *Mahāvagga*[1] that during the period of the earlier Brahmadattas of Kāsi, Kosala was a poor and tiny state with slender resources: *Dīghīti nāma Kosala rājā ahosi daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo appavāhano appavijito aparipuṇṇa-kosa-koṭṭhāgāro.*

In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., however, Kosala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with Kāsi, and afterwards with Magadha for the mastery of the *Madhya-deśa.* The history of its struggles with Kāsi is reserved for treatment in a later section. The rivalry with Magadha ended in the absorption of the kingdom into the Magadhan Empire.

Aṅga was the country to the east of Magadha. It was separated from the latter kingdom by the river Champā, probably the modern Chāndan. The Aṅga dominions, however, at one time included Magadha and probably extended to the shores of the sea. The *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*[2] describes Rājagṛiha as a city of Aṅga. The *Śānti Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*[3] refers to an Aṅga king who sacrificed on Mount Vishṇupada (at Gayā). The *Sabhāparva*[4] mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one *Vishaya* or kingdom. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* says[5] that Viṭaṅkapur, a city of the Aṅgas, was situated on the shore of the sea.

Champā, the famous capital of Aṅga, stood at the confluence of the river of the same name[6] and the Ganges.[7] Cunningham points out that there still exist near Bhāgalpur two villages, Champanagara and Champapura, which most

1 S.B.E., XVII, p. 294.
2 No. 545.
3 29, 35.
4 44.9.
5 25.35; 26.115; 82.3-16.
6 *Jātaka* 506.
7 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II. 181; *Daśakumāra Charita*, II. 2.

probably represent the actual site of the ancient capital. It is stated in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Harivaṁśa* that the ancient name of Champā was Mālinī :[1]

Champasya tu purī Champā
Yā Maliny-abhavat purā.

In the *Jātaka* stories the city is also called Kāla-Champā. The *Mahā-Janaka Jātaka*[2] informs us that Champā was sixty leagues from Mithilā. The same *Jātaka* refers to its gate, watch-tower, and walls. Down to the time of Gotama Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, the other five being Rājagṛiha, Śrāvastī, Śāketa, Kauśāmbī, and Benares.[3] Champā was noted for its wealth and commerce, and traders sailed from it to Suvarṇa-bhūmi in the Trans-Gangetic region for trading purposes.[4] Emigrants from Champā to Cochin China are supposed to have named their settlement after this famous Indian city.[5] Another important city in Aṅga was Bhaddiya.[6]

The earliest appearance of Aṅga is in the *Atharva Veda*[7] in connection with the Gandhāris, Mūjavats, and Magadhas. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells an absurd story about the origin of this *Janapada*. It is related in that epic that Madana, the god of love, having incurred the displeasure of Śiva fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape his consuming

[1] *Matsya*, 48. 97; *Vāyu*, 99. 105-06; *Hariv.*, 31. 49; *Mbh.*, XII. 5. 6-7; XIII.42.16.

[2] No. 539.

[3] *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.*

[4] *Jātaka*, Camb. Ed., VI, 539, p. 20.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, VI. 229, Itsing, 58. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 35. Nundolal Dey, *Notes on Ancient Aṅga*, JASB, 1914. For the Hindu colonisation of Champā, see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, pp. 137 ff. The oldest Sanskrit inscription (that of Vo-can) dates from about the third century A.D. The inscription mentions a king of the family of Śrī Māra-rāja.

[6] *Harvard Oriental Series*, 29. 59.

[7] V. 22 14.

anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (*Aṅga*)" has since been known by the name of Aṅga.[1] The *Mahābhārata* attributes the foundation of the kingdom to a prince named Aṅga. There may be some truth in this tradition as Aṅga Vairochana is included in the list of anointed kings in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[2]

About the dynastic history of Aṅga our information is meagre. The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* refers to king Dhataraṭṭha of Aṅga.[3] The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Gaggarā who gave her name to a famous lake in Champā. The *Purāṇas*[4] give lists of the early kings of this country. One of these rulers, Dadhivāhana, is known to Jaina tradition. The *Purāṇas* and the *Harivaṁśa*[5] represent him as the son and immediate successor of Aṅga. Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B. C. His daughter Chandanā or Chandrabālā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvīra had attained the *Kevaliship*.[6] Śatānīka, king of Kauśāmbī, attacked Champā, the capital of Dadhivāhana, and in the confusion which ensued, Chandanā fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order. Magadha was then a small kingdom.

A great struggle for supremacy was going on in early times between Aṅga and Magadha.[7] The *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*[8] describes Rājagṛiha as a city of Aṅga,

1 JASB, 1914, p. 317. For a discussion about the origin of the Aṅgas and other kindred tribes, see S. Lévi "*pre-Aryen et pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde,*" J. A., juillet-septembre, 1923.

2 VIII. 22.

3 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. 270.

4 *Matsya*, 48. 91-108; *Vāyu*, 99. 100-112.

5 32. 43.

6 *JASB*, 1914, pp. 320-21. For the story of Chandanavālā see also *Ind. Culture*, II. pp. 682 ff.

7 *Champeyya Jātaka.*

8 Cowell, VI. 133.

while the *Mahābhārata* refers to a sacrifice which an Aṅga king performed at Mt. Vishṇupada (at Gayā). These facts probably indicate that at one time the Aṅga monarch annexed Magadha. Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga, is actually known to have defeated the contemporary ruler of Magadha. Aṅga had, at this time, an ally in the king of the Vatsas who ruled at Kauśāmbī near Allahabad. Śrī Harsha speaks of a king of Aṅga named Dṛiḍhavarman being restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī.[1]

The destruction of the independent kingdom of Aṅga was effected by Bimbisāra Śreṇika, the Crown Prince of Magadha, who is said to have killed Brahmadatta, taken his capital Champā, and resided there as Viceroy till his father's death, when he returned to Rājagṛiha, the capital of his paternal territory.[2]

Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gayā districts of South Bihār. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, or old Rājagṛiha, near Rājgir among the hills in the neighbourhood of Gayā. The *Mahāvagga*[3] calls it "Giribbaja of the Magadhas" to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, *e.g.*, Girivraja in Kekaya. The *Mahābhārata* refers to it not only as Girivraja, but as Bārhadratha-pura[4] and Māgadha-pura,[5] and says that it was an impregnable city, *puraṁ durādharshaṁ samantataḥ*, being protected by five hills, Vaihāra "*Vipulaḥ śailo*," Varāha, Vṛishabha, Ṛishigiri and Chaityaka. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that the city had another name, Vasumatī.[6] The

1 *Priyadarśikā*, Act IV.

2 Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 163n (account based on the Tibetan *Dulva*), *JASB*, 1914, 321).

3 S.B-E., XIII. 150.

4 II. 24. 44.

5 *Gorathaṁ girimāsādya dadṛiśur Māgadhaṁ puram*, II. 20. 30.

6 I. 32. 8.

Life of Hiuen Tsang mentions still another name, Kuśāgra-pura.[1] Indian Buddhist writers give a seventh name, Bimbasāra-purī.[2]

In a passage of the *Ṛig Veda*[3] mention is made of a territory called Kīkaṭa ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. Yāska[4] declares that Kīkaṭa was the name of a non-Aryan country. In later works Kīkaṭa is given as a synonym of Magadha.[5]

Like Yāska the author of the *Bṛihad-dharma Purāṇa* apparently regarded Kīkaṭa as an impure country which, however, included a few holy spots :—

Kīkaṭe nāma deśe'sti Kāka-karṇākhyako nṛipaḥ
Prajānāṁ hitakṛinnityaṁ Brahma-dveshakaras tathā
tatra deśe Gayā nāma puṇyadeśo'sti viśrutaḥ
nadī cha Karṇadā nāma pitṛīṇāṁ svargadāyinī[6]
Kīkaṭe cha mṛito'pyesha pāpabhūmau na saṁśayaḥ.[7]

It is clear from these verses that Kīkaṭa included the Gayā district, but the greater part of it was looked upon as an unholy region (*pāpabhūmi*, doubtless corresponding to the *Anārya-nivāsa* of Yāska). Kāka-karṇa of line 1, may be the same as Kāka-varṇa of the Śaiśunāga family.

The name Magadha first appears in the *Atharva Veda*[8] where fever is wished away to the Gandhāris, Mūjavats,

[1] p. 113. The name is apparently derived from that of an early Magadhan Prince (*Vāyu*, 99, 224).

[2] Law, *Buddhaghosha*, 87 n.

[3] III. 53. 14.

[4] *Nirukta*, VI, 32.

[5] *Kīkaṭeshu Gayā puṇyā puṇyaṁ Rājagṛihaṁ vanam*
Chyāvanasyāśramaṁ puṇyaṁ nadī puṇyā punaḥpunā.
Vāyu, 108. 73.

cf. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 3. 24 : *Buddho nāmnāñjana-sutaḥ Kīkaṭeshu bhavishyati* ; Śrīdhara, "*Kīkaṭeshu madhye Gayā-pradeśe.*" *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*, "*Kīkaṭā Magadhāhvayāḥ.*"

[6] *Madhya-Khaṇḍam*, XXVI. 20. 22.

[7] XXVI. 47.

[8] V. 22. 14.

Aṅgas, and Magadhas. The bards of Magadha are, however, mentioned as early as the *Yajur Veda.*[1] They are usually spoken of in the early Vedic literature in terms of contempt. In the *Vrātya* book of the *Atharva Saṁhitā,*[2] the *Vrātya, i.e.*, the Indian living outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism, is brought into very special relation to the *Puṁśchalī* and the *Māgadha*, faith is called his harlot, the *Mitra* his *Māgadha.*[3] In the *Śrauta Sūtras* the equipment characteristic of the *Vrātya* is said to be given, when the latter is admitted into the Aryan Brāhmaṇical community, to the so-called Brāhmaṇas living in Magadha, *Brahmabandhu Magadhadeśīya.*[4] The Brāhmaṇas of Magadha are here spoken of in a sneering tone as *Brahmabandhu.*[5] In the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, however, the views of a *Magadhavāsī* Brāhmaṇa are quoted with respect. The Vedic dislike of the Magadhas in early times was due according to Oldenberg[6] to the fact that the Magadhas were not wholly Brāhmaṇised. Pargiter suggests[7] that in Magadha the Aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea.

With the exception of Pramaganda no king of Magadha appears to be mentioned in the Vedic literature. The earliest dynasty of Magadha according to the *Mahābhārata*[8] and the *Purāṇas* is that founded by Bṛihadratha, the son of Vasu Chaidya-Uparichara, and the father of Jarāsandha. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[9] makes Vasu himself the founder of Girivraja or Vasumatī. A Bṛihadratha is

1 *Vāj. Saṁ*, XXX. 5.

2 XV.

3 Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 112.

4 *Vedic Index*, II. 116.

5 Note also the expression *rājānaḥ kshatra-bandhavaḥ* applied to Magadhan kings in the Purāṇas (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 22).

6 *Buddha*, 400 n.

7 J.R.A.S., 1908, pp. 851-53.

8 I 63. 30.

9 I. 32. 7.

mentioned twice in the *Ṛig Veda*,[1] but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the father of Jarāsandha. The Purāṇas give lists of the Bārhadratha kings from Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva to Ripuñjaya, and apparently make Senājit, seventh in descent from Sahadeva, the contemporary of Adhisīma-kṛishṇa of the Pārikshita family and Divākara of the Ikshvāku line. But in the absence of independent external corroboration it is not safe to accept the Purāṇic chronology and order of succession of the princes as authentic.[2] The Bārhadrathas and certain princes of Central India are said to have passed away when Pulika (Puṇika) placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti,[3] *i.e.*, the Ujjain territory. As Pradyota was a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, and as the Purāṇic passage, "*Bṛihadratheshvatīteshu Vītihotresh-Avantishu*, 'when the Bṛihadrathas, Vītihotras and Avantis (or the Vītihotras in Avanti) passed away,'" suggests that the events alluded to here were synchronous, it is reasonable to conclude that the Bārhadratha dynasty came to an end in the sixth century B.C.

The Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rājagṛiha named Samudra-vijaya and his son Gaya.[4] Gaya is said to have reached perfection which has been taught by the

[1] I. 36. 18; X. 49. 6.

[2] *Cf. supra*. pp. 68f, 89, discussion about later Vaideha and Kosalan kings.

[3] *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 18; *cf.*, IHQ, 1930, p. 683. There is no reason to believe with the late authors of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* and certain corrupt passages of the *Purāṇas*, (IHQ, 1930, pp. 679, 691), that there was a Pradyota of Magadha distinct from Mahāsena of Avanti who is called Pradyota by several earlier writers, Buddhist as well as Brāhmaṇical. The use of the expression 'Avantishu' in the Purāṇic passage which refers to the dynastic revolution brought about by Pulika, the identity of the names of the Purāṇic family of Pradyota with those of the Avanti line of Māhāsena, and the mention, in reference to Pradyota of the Purāṇas, of epithets like '*Praṇatasāmanta*' and '*nayavarjita*' which remind one irresistibly of Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena of Avanti as described in Buddhist literature, leave little room for doubt that the Pradyota of the Purāṇas and Pradyota of Avanti cannot be regarded as distinct entities.

[4] S.B.E. XLV. 86.

Jinas. But very little reliance can be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late Jaina authors.

The second Magadhan dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, was the Śaiśunāga line founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha, is said to have belonged to this family. Aśvaghosha, however, in his *Buddha-charita*,[1] distinctly refers to Śreṇya, *i.e.*, Bimbisāra, as a scion, not of the Śaiśunāga dynasty, but of the **Haryaṅka-kula**, and the *Mahāvaṁsa* makes 'Susunāga' the founder of a line of rulers which succeeded that of Bimbisāra. The *Purāṇas* themselves relate that Śiśunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and will be king : —

Ashṭa-triṁśachchhatam bhāvyāḥ
Pradyotāḥ pañcha te sutāḥ
Hatvā teshāṁ yaśaḥ kṛitsnaṁ
Śiśunāgo bhavishyati.[2]

If this statement be true, then Śiśunāga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, who was, according to the evidence of the Pāli texts, which is confirmed in important details by the ancient Sanskrit poets and dramatists, a contemporary of Bimbisāra and his son. It follows that Śiśunāga must be later than those kings. But we have seen that the Purāṇas make Śiśunāga an ancestor of Bimbisāra. Thus these chronicles, in their present form, are self-contradictory. The inclusion of Vārāṇasī and Vaiśālī within Śiśunāga's dominions[3] proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in those regions. The *Mālālaṅkāravatthu* tells us that Rājagṛiha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śiśunāga. This also indicates that Śiśunāga came after

[1] XI. 2.
[2] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 99, 314.
[3] *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 21 ; S.B.E., XI, p. xvi.

the palmy days of Rājagṛiha, *i.e.*, the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, accepts the Ceylonese version and rejects the Purāṇic account of Bimbisāra's lineage. He makes Bimbisāra the founder of his dynasty, and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis. The *Mahāvaṁsa*, however, states[1] that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old. Turnour and N. L. Dey mention Bhātiyo or Bhaṭṭiya as the name of the father.[2] The Tibetans, on the other hand, call him *Mahāpadma*.[3] This ruler suffered defeat at the hands of Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga. The defeat was avenged by Bimbisāra who launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga.

The **Vajjis**, according to Professor Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (*aṭṭhakula*), of whom the *Videhans*, the *Lichchhavis*, the *Jñātṛikas* and the *Vajjis* proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted here that in a passage of the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, the *Ugras*, the *Bhogas*, the *Aikshvākas* and the *Kauravas* are associated with the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly.[4] The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,[5] too, refers to the close

1 Geiger's translation, p. 12.

2 Turnour, *Mahāwansa*, I, p. 10 ; *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, 321.

3 *Essay on Guṇāḍhya*, p. 173. The *Purāṇas* name Hemajit, Kshemajit, Kshetrojā or Kshatraujā as the father of Bimbisāra. If the Purāṇic account is correct Bhātiya or Bhaṭṭiya may have been a secondary name or epithet comparable to 'Seniya' and 'Kūṇiya' of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru respectively. But it is not safe to rely on an uncorroborated statement of the Purāṇas, particularly when there is hardly any unanimity with regard to the form of the name.

4 S.B.E., XLV, 339, *cf.* Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 139, fn. 304.

5 [illegible] III. 49 ; IV. 208.

connection of the Ugras with Vesāli, or Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vajjian confederation.

The *Videhans* had their capital at Mithilā which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepāl border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaiśālī. To this section possibly belonged the princess Triśalā, also called Videha-dattā, the mother of Mahāvīra.[1]

The *Lichchhavis* had their Capital at Vesālī (Vaiśālī) which has been identified with Besārh (to the east of the Gaṇḍak) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihār. Vesālī is probably identical with the charming city called Viśālā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* :[2]

Viśālāṁ nagarīṁ ramyāṁ divyāṁ svargopamāṁ tadā.

We learn from the introductory portion of the *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka* [3] that a triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The *Jñātrikas* were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra, the *Jina.* They had their seats at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, suburbs of Vesālī. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*,[4] however, the abode of the "Nādīkas" (identified by Jacobi with the Ñātikas or Jñatrikas)[5] is distinguished from Koṭigāma (Kuṇḍagrāma?). Though dwelling in suburban areas Mahāvīra and his fellow clansmen were known as "Vesālie," *i.e.*, inhabitants of Vesālī.[6]

[1] It is, however, possible that the designation Videhan was also used in a geographical sense to mean all Kshatriya families of Videha or North Bihār irrespective of their connection with the royal line of Mithilā. It is significant that the *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* (II. 15, § 17 ; S B.E., XXII, Intro.) places the *Saṁnivesa* of Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī *in Videha.*

[2] Ādi, 45. 10.

[3] No. 149.

[4] Ch. 2.

[5] SBE, XXII, Intro.

[6] Hoernle, *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, II, p. 4 n.

The Vajjis or *Vṛijis* are mentioned by Pāṇini.[1] Kauṭilya[2] distinguishes the Vṛijikas or Vajjis from the Lichchhivikas. Yuan Chwang[3] also distinguishes the *Fu-li-chih* (Vṛiji) country from *Fei-she-li* (Vaiśālī). It seems that Vṛijika or Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Lichchhavis, are often associated with the city of Vesālī which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy.[4] A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill[5] mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remaining clans of the confederacy resided in suburbs and villages like Kuṇḍagrāma, Kollāga, "Nādika," Vāṇiyagāma, Hatthigāma, etc.[6]

We have seen that during the Brāhmaṇa period Mithilā had a monarchical constitution. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[7] and the *Purāṇas*[8] state that *Viśālā*, too, was at first ruled by kings. The founder of the Vaiśālika dynasty is said to have been Viśāla, a son of Ikshvāku according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a

1 IV. 2. 131.

2 *Arthaśāstra*, Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 378.

3 Watters, II, 81.

4 *Cf.* *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 101 : *the Book of the Kindred Sayings, Samyutta Nikāya*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 257, 259.

5 *Life of Buddha*, p. 62.

6 For the *Ugras* and *Bhogas* see Hoernle, *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, II, p. 139 (§ 210); *Bṛih. Up.* III. 8. 2; S. B. E., XLV, 71n. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I. 26 (Nipāta I. 14.6), the Ugras are associated with Vaiśālī (*Uggo gahapati Vesāliko*). In IV. 212 they are associated with Hatthigāma. A city of Ugga is mentioned in the *Dhammapada commentary*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 30, 184. Hoernle points out (*Uvāsaga-dasāo*, II, App. III, 57) that a place called Bhoganagara, or 'City of the Bhogas' lay not very far from Vesālī and Pāvā. The association of a body of *Kauravas* with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. Kuru Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Ushasti Chākrāyāṇa had begun to settle in North Bihār long before the rise of Buddhism. For the *Aikshvākas* of North Bihār, see Pargiter, *AIHT*, 95-97.

7 I. 47. 11-17.

8 *Vāyu*, 86. 16-22; *Vishṇu*, IV. 1. 18.

descendant of Nabhāga, the brother of Ikshvāku, according to the *Purāṇas*. Viśāla is said to have given his name to the city. After him came Hemachandra, Suchandra, Dhumrāśva, Sṛiñjaya, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta, Kākutstha and Sumati. We do not know how much of the Rāmāyaṇic and Purāṇic account of the Vaiśālika kings (*nṛipas*) can be accepted as sober history. A king named Sahadeva Sārñjaya is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] as having once been called Suplan Sārñjaya and as having changed his name because of his success in performing the *Dākshāyaṇa* sacrifice. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] he is mentioned with Somaka Sāhadevya. None of these kings, however, are connected with Vaiśālī in the Vedic literature.

The Vajjian confederation must have been organised after the decline and fall of the royal house of Videha. Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the political evolution in the ancient cities of Greece where also the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics. The probable causes of the transformation in Greece are thus given by Bury: "in some cases gross misrule may have led to the violent deposition of a king; in other cases if the succession to the sceptre devolved upon an infant or a paltry man, the nobles may have taken it upon themselves to abolish the monarchy. In some cases, the rights of the king might be strictly limited, in consequence of his seeking to usurp undue authority; and the imposition of limitations might go on until the office of the king although maintained in name, became in fact a mere magistracy in a state wherein the real power had passed elsewhere. Of the survival of monarchy in a limited form we have an example at Sparta: of its survival as a mere magistracy, in the Archon Basileus at Athens."

[1] II. 4. 4. 3-4.
[2] VII. 34. 9.

The cause of the transition from monarchy to republic in Mithilā has already been stated. Regarding the change at Viśālā we know nothing.

Several scholars have sought to prove that the Lichchhavis, the most famous clan of the Vajjian confederacy, were of foreign origin. According to Dr. Smith the Lichchhavis were Tibetans in their origin. He infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead.[1] Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa held that the Lichchhavis were originally Persians and came from the Persian city of Nisibi.[2] The unsoundness of these theories has been demonstrated by several writers.[3] Early Indian tradition is unanimous in representing the Lichchhavis as Kshatriyas. Thus we read in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*: "and the Lichchhavis of Vesālī heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusināra. And the Lichchhavis of Vesālī sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying: "the Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One." In the Jaina *Kalpa Sūtra* Triśalā, sister to Cheṭaka, who is regarded by several scholars as a Lichchhavi chief of Vesālī, is styled *Kshatriyāṇī*.[4]

Manu concurs in the view that the Lichchhavis (Nichchhavis) are *Rājanyas* or *Kshatriyas*.[5]

Jhallo Mallaścha rājanyād vrātyān Nichchhivireva cha
Naṭaścha Karaṇaśchaiva Khaso Drāviḍa eva cha.

It may be argued that the Lichchhavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as Kshatriyas

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 233. We know very little about the state of civilisation in Tibet *in the early days of Buddhism*. This fact should be remembered in instituting a comparison between Tibetan and Vajjian customs (as reflected in Pāli texts).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 78.

[3] *Modern Review*, 1919, p. 50; Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, 26ff.

[4] . E., XXII, pp. xii, 227.

[5] X. 22.

when they were admitted into the fold of Brāhmaṇism like the Drāviḍians referred to in Manu's *śloka* and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of mediæval times. But unlike the Pratīhāras and Draviḍas, the Lichchhavis never appear to be very friendly towards Brāhmaṇism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brāhmaṇic creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. As a matter of fact Manu brands them as the children of the *Vrātya Rājanyas*. The great mediæval Rājput families (though some times descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were supplied with pedigrees going back to Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Yadu, Arjuna and others. A body of foreigners who were unfriendly towards the Brāhmaṇas, could hardly have been accepted as Kshatriyas. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Lichchhavis were indigenous Kshatriyas who were degraded to the position of *Vrātya* when they became champions of non-Brāhmaṇical creeds. The Pāli commentary *Paramatthajotikā* [1] contains a legend regarding the Lichchhavis which traces their origin to a queen of Benares.

The date of the foundation of the Lichchhavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was firmly established in the days of Mahāvīra and Gotama, in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and was already on the wane in the next century. A vivid description of the Lichchhavis is given by Buddha himself in the following words :[2] "Let those of the brethren who have never seen the *Tāvatiṁsa* gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis—even as a company of *Tāvatiṁsa* gods."

[1] Vol. I, pp. 158-65.
[2] S.B.E., XI, p. 32.

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Lichchhavis like prince Abhaya, Oṭṭhaddha (Mahāli), generals Sīha and Ajita, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta.[1] In the introductory portion of the *Ekapaṇṇa*[2] and *Chulla Kāliṅga*[3] *Jātakas* it is stated that the Lichchhavis of the ruling family numbered 7,707.[4] There was a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra*[5] refers to the "nine Lichchhavis"[6] as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallakis and eighteen *Gaṇarājas* of Kāsi-Kosala.[7] We learn from the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra* that an important leader

1 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Nipāta III, 74 (P. T. S., Part I, p. 220 f.); *Mahāli Sutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 198, Part III, p. 17. *Mahāvagga*, S.B.E., XVII, p. 108; *Majjhima N.*, I. 231; 68; II. 252; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, 295. For a detailed account of the Lichchhavis, see now Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*.

2 149.

3 301.

4 The *Dhammapada Commentary* (Harvard Oriental Series, 30, 168) informs us that they ruled by turns.

5 § 128.

6 These are probably the Vajji Mahallakā referred to in *Aṅguttara*, IV. 19.

7 Dr. Barua is inclined to identity the nine Lichchhavis and the nine Mallakis with the eighteen *gaṇarājas* who belonged to Kāśī Kośala. He refers in this connection to the *Kalpadrumakalikāvyākhyā* which represents the Mallakis as *adhipas* (or overlords) of Kāśī-deśa, and the "Lechchhakis" as *adhipas* of Kośala-deśa, and further describes them as *sāmantas* or vassals of Cheṭaka, maternal uncle of Mahāvīra (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 810). It is news to students of Indian history that in the days of Mahāvīra the kingdoms of Kāśī and Kośala acknowledged the supremacy of the Mallas and Lichchhavis respectively, and formed part of an empire over which Cheṭaka presided. Even Dr. Barua hesitates to accept this interpretation of the late Jaina commentator in its entirety and suggests that the nine Mallas and the nine Lichchhavis ... derived their family prestige from their original connection with the dynasties of Kāśī and Kośala. The *Paramattha-jotikā* (Khuddaka-pāṭha commentary) however connects the Lichchhavis not with the dynasty of Kośala but with that of Kāśī. The divergent testimony of these late commentators shows that they can hardly be regarded as preserving genuine tradition. There is no suggestion in any early Buddhist or Jaina *text* that either the Lichchhavis or the Mallas actually ruled over any *grāma* or *nigama* in Kāśī-Kośala (see *Indian Culture*, II, 808). The *gaṇarājas* of Kāśī-Kośala apparently refer to the Kālāmas, Śākyas and other clans in the Kosalan empire.

of this confederacy was Cheṭaka [1] whose sister Triśalā or Videha-dattā was the mother of Mahāvīra, and whose daughter Chellanā or Vedehī was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.

The great rival of Vaiśālī was Magadha. Tradition says that even in the time of the famous Bimbisāra the Vaiśālians were audacious enough to invade their neighbours across the Ganges.[2] But in the reign of Ajātaśatru the tables were turned, and the great confederacy of Vaiśālī was utterly destroyed.

The preliminaries to the conquest of Vesālī (Vaiśālī) are described in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta.*[3]

The **Malla** territory, ancient *Malla-raṭṭha,* the *Malla-rāshṭra* of the *Mahābhārata,*[4] was divided into two main parts which had for their capitals the cities of Kusāvatī or Kusinārā [5] and Pāvā. The exact site of *Kusinārā* is not yet known. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* it is stated that the *Sāla* Grove of the Mallas, the *Upavattana* (outskirt or suburb) [6] of Kusinārā, lay near the river Hiraṇyavatī. Smith identifies the Hiraṇyavatī with the Gaṇḍak and says that Kuśī-nagara (Kusinārā) was situated in Nepāl, beyond the first range of hills, at the junction of the Little, or Eastern Rāptī with the Gaṇḍak.[7] He, however, adds that the discovery in the large *stūpa* behind the *Nirvāṇa* temple near Kasiā

[1] In the opinion of several scholars Cheṭaka was a Lichchhavi. The secondary names of his sister (Videhadattā) and daughter (Vedehi) may however indicate that he was a Videhan domiciled at Vesālī. But the names may have been used also in a geographical sense.

[2] *Si-yu-ki,* Bk. IX.

[3] *S.B.E.*, XVII, p. 101; XI, pp. 1-5.

[4] VI. 9. 34.

[5] *Kusa Jātaka,* No. 531; *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha,* Part II, pp. 161-62.

[6] *JRAS,* 1906, 659.

[7] *EHI,* third ed., p. 159 n.

of an inscribed copper-plate bearing the words "[*parini*]*r vāṇa-chaitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti*,"[1] has revived and supported the old theory, propounded by Wilson and accepted by Cunningham, that the remains near Kasiā on the Chota Gaṇḍak, in the east of the Gorakhpur district, represent Kuśī-nagara.

Pāvā has been identified by Cunningham[2] with the village named Padaraona, 12 miles to the NNE of Kasiā, and separated from it by the Bādhi Nala (ancient Kukutthā). Carlleyle, however, proposes to identify Pāvā with Fāzilpur, 10 miles S.E. of Kasiā and separated from it by the Kuku.[3] In the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* we have a reference to the Mote Hall of the Pāvā Mallas named Ubbhaṭaka.

The Mallas together with the Lichchhavis are classed by Manu as *Vrātya* Kshatriyas. They, too, like the Lichchhavis, were ardent champions of Buddhism.

Like Videha, Malla had at first a monarchical constitution. The *Kusa Jātaka* mentions a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikshvāku). The name Okkāka probably indicates that like the Śākyas[4] the Malla kings also claimed to belong to the Ikshvāku family. And this is confirmed by the fact that in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* they are sometimes called Vāseṭṭhas, *i.e.*, "belonging to the Vasishṭha *gotra*."[5] The *Mahāsudassana Sutta* mentions another king named Mahāsudassana.[6] These kings, Okkāka and Mahāsudassana, may or may not have been historical individuals. The important thing to remember is that Malla-raṭṭha was at first ruled by kings. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*[7] which refers to a king of the

1 *ASI, A.R.*, 1911-12, 17 ff.; *JRAS*, 1913, 152.
2 *AGI*, 1924, 498.
3 Kukutthā; AGI, 714.
4 *Cf. Dialogues*, Part I, pp. 114-15.
5 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, pp. 162, 179, 181.
6 S.B.E., XI, p. 248.
7 II. 30. 3.

Mallas. During the monarchical period the metropolis was a great city and was styled Kusāvatī.

Before Bimbisāra's time the monarchy had been replaced by a republic,[1] and the metropolis had sunk to the level of a "little wattel and daub town," a "branch township" surrounded by jungles.[2] It was then styled Kusinārā.

The Mallas had several other important cities, namely Bhoga-nagara,[3] Anupiyā and Uruvelakappa.[4]

The relations of the Mallas with the Lichchhavis were sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly. The introductory story of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* [5] contains an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian, Commander-in-chief of the king of Kosala, and 500 kings of the Lichchhavis. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra*, however, refers to nine Mallakis as having formed a league with nine Lichchhavis, and the eighteen *Gaṇarājas* of Kāsi-Kosala.[6]

The League was evidently aimed against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru who, like Philip of Macedon, was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours. The Malla territory was finally annexed to Magadha. It certainly formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C.

Chedi was one of the countries encircling the Kurus, *parītaḥ Kurūn*, and lay near the Jumna.[7] In ancient

1 *Cf.* S.B.E., XI, p. 102; Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, 1919, p 378.

2 *Kuḍḍa-nagaraka, ujjaṅgala-nagaraka, sākhā-nagaraka.*

3 *Cf.* the Bhogas, *supra* 101n, *Sutta Nipāta*, 194; *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p. 57.

4 Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 149. *Dialogues*, Pt. III (1921), 7.

5 No. 465.

6 *Nava Mallaī nava Lechchhaī Kāsī Kosalagā aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇarāyāṇo.* The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, ed. by Hermann Jacobi, 1879, *Jinacarita*, p. 65 (§ 128). *Nava Mallatī nava Lechchhatī Kāsī Kosalakā aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇarāyāṇo*......(Dr. S. Warren, *Nirayāvaliyā Suttam*, 1879, § 26). Jacobi translates the passage thus:—

The eighteen confederate kings of Kāsī and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Lichchhavis, SBE, XXII, 1884, p. 266.

7 Mbb., I. 63. 2-58; IV. i. 11.

times it corresponded roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. In the mediæval period, however, the southern frontiers of Chedi extended to the banks of the Narmadā (*Mekalasutā*) :—

" *Nadīnāṁ Mekala-sutā nṛipāṇāṁ Raṇavigrahaḥ*
Kavīnāṁ cha Surānandaś Chedi-maṇḍala-maṇḍanaṁ " [1]

We learn from the *Chetiya Jātaka* [2] that the metropolis was Sotthivatī-nagara. The *Mahābhārata* calls the capital Śuktimatī [3] or Śukti-sāhvaya.[4] As pointed out by Mr. Nundolal Dey, Sotthivatī is the same as Śuktimatī.[5] The Great Epic mentions also a river called Śuktimatī which flowed by the capital of *Rājā* Uparichara of the *Chedi-vishaya* (district).[6] Pargiter identifies the stream with the Ken, and places the city of Śuktimatī in the neighbourhood of Banda.[7] Other towns of note were Sahajāti [8] and Tripurī, the mediæval capital of the *Janapada*.

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the *Ṛig Veda*. Their king Kasu Chaidya is praised in a *Dānastuti* (praise of gift) occurring at the end of one hymn.[9] Rapson proposes to identify him with 'Vasu' of the Epics.

1 Konow, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 182.

2 No. 422.

3 III. 20. 50.

4 XIV. 83.2.

5 Ind. Ant., 1919, p. vii of *Geographical Dictionary*.

6 I. 63. 35.

7 JASB, 1895, 255, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, p. 359.

8 Aṅguttara, III. 355 (P.T.S.). *Āyasmā Mahāchundo Chetisu viharati Sahajātiyaṁ*. Sahajāti lay on the trade route along the river Ganges (*Buddhist India*, p. 103). *Cf.* the legend on a seal-die of terra-cotta found at Bhita, 10 miles from Allahabad (*Arch. Expl. Ind.*, 1909-10, by Marshall, JRAS, 1911, 127 f.)—*Sahijitiye nigamasa*, in letters of the third century B.C. See also JBORS, XIX, 1933, 293. Tripurī stood close to the Nerbudda not far from modern Jubbalpore.

9 VIII. 5. 37-39.

The *Chetiya Jātaka* gives the following legendary genealogy of Chaidya kings :

Mahāsammata
|
Roja
|
Vararoja
|
Kalyāna
|
Varakalyāna
|
Uposatha
|
Māndhātā
|
Varamāndhātā
|
Chara
|
Upachara or Apachara

The last king, Upachara, had five sons who are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sīhapura, Uttarapañchāla and Daddarapura. This monarch is probably identical with Uparichara Vasu, the Paurava king of Chedi, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[1] whose five sons also founded five lines of kings.[2] But epic tradition associates the scions of Vasu's family with the cities of Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya (Kanauj) and Girivraja.[3]

The *Mahābhārata* speaks also of other Chedi kings like Damaghosha, his son Śiśupāla Sunītha, and *his* son Dhṛishṭaketu who reigned about the time of the Bhārata war. But the *Jātaka* and epic accounts of the early kings of Chedi are essentially legendary and, in the absence of more reliable evidence, cannot be accepted as genuine history.

[1] I. 63. 1-2. [2] I. 63. 30.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 32. 6-9; *Mahābhārata*, I. 63. 30-33.

We learn from the *Vedabbha Jātaka*[1] that the road from Kāsi to Chedi was unsafe being infested with roving bands of marauders.

Vamsa or **Vatsa** is the country of which Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam, on the Yamunā, near Allahabad, was the capital. Oldenberg[2] is inclined to identify the Vaṁsas with the Vaśas of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. But the conjecture lacks proof. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions a teacher named Proti Kauśāmbeya[3] whom Harisvāmin, the commentator, considers to be a native of the town of Kauśāmbī. Epic tradition attributes the foundation of this famous city to a Chedi prince.[4] The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a king of Kāsi.[5] It is stated in the *Purāṇas* that when the city of Hāstinapura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kauśāmbī. We have already seen that the Purāṇic tradition about the Bhārata or Kuru origin of the later kings of Kauśāmbī is confirmed by two plays attributed to Bhāsa. Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, is described in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and the *Pratijñā Yaugandharāyaṇa*[6] as a scion of the *Bhārata-kula*.

The *Purāṇas* give a list of Nichakshu's successors down to Kshemaka, and cite the following genealogical verse :—

Brahma-kshatrasya[7] *yo yonir*
vaṁśo devarshi-satkṛitaḥ
Kshemakaṁ prāpya rājānaṁ
saṁsthāṁ prāpsyati vai kalau.

1 No. 48.
2 *Śat. Br.*, XII. 2. 2. 13.
3 *Buddha*, 393 n.
4 *Rām.*, I. 32. 3-6; *Mbh.* I. 63. 31.
5 *Harivaṁśa*, 29. 73; *Mbh.*, XII. 49. 80.
6 *Svapna*, ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, p. 140; *Pratijñā*, pp. 61, 121.
7 *Cf. Brahma-Kshatriyāṇāṁ kula* of the inscriptions of the Sena kings who claimed descent from the Lunar Race to which the Bharatas, including the Kurus belonged.

"The family honoured by gods and sages (or divine sages), from which sprang Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas (or those who combined the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya status) will verily, on reaching Kshemaka, come to an end (or be interrupted) in the Kali Age."

The criticism that has been offered in this work in regard to the Ikshvāku and Magadhan lists of kings applies with equal force to the Paurava-Bhārata list. Here, too, we find mention of princes (*e.g.*, Arjuna and Abhimanyu) who can hardly be regarded as crowned *nṛipas* or monarchs. It is also by no means improbable that, as in the case of the Ikshvākus and the royal houses of Magadha and Avanti, contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals described as lineal descendants. There is, moreover, no unanimity in regard to the names of even the immediate predecessors of Udayana, the most famous among the later kings of the family. These facts should be remembered in determining the chronology and order of succession of the Bhārata dynasty of Kauśāmbī. The earliest king of the line about whom we know anything definite is Śatānīka II of the Purāṇic lists. His father's name was Vasudāna according to the *Purāṇas*, and Sahasrānīka according to 'Bhāsa.' Śatānīka himself was also styled Parantapa.[1] He married a princess of Videha as his son is called Vaidehīputra.[2] He is said to have attacked Champā, the capital of Aṅga, during the reign of Dadhivāhana.[3] His son and successor was the famous Udayana, the contemporary of Bimbisāra.

The *Bhagga* (Bharga) state of Suṁsumāragiri was a dependency of Vatsa.[4] The *Mahābhārata*[5] and the

1 *Buddhist India*, p. 3.
2 *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, Act VI, p. 129.
3 *JASB*, 1914, p. 321.
4 *Jātaka*, No. 353; *Carmichael Lec.*, 1918, p. 63.
5 II. 30. 10-11.

Harivaṁśa[1] testify to the close association of these two territories.

The **Kuru** realm was according to the *Mahā-Sutasoma Jātaka*[2] three hundred leagues in extent. The *Jātakas* say that the reigning dynasty belonged to the Yuddhiṭṭhila *gotta*, *i. e.*, the family of Yudhishṭhira.[3] The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, *i.e.*, Indraprastha or Indrapat neār the modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues.[4] We hear also of another city called Hatthinīpura,[5] doubtless the Hāstinapura of the epic, and a number of *nigamas* or smaller towns besides the capital, such as Thullakotthita, Kammāssadamma and Vāraṇāvata.

The *Jātakas* mention the following Kuru kings and princes: Dhanañjaya Korabya,[6] Koravya,[7] and Sutasoma.[8] We cannot, however, vouch for the historical existence of these personages in the absence of further evidence.

The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* mentions a king named Ishukāra ruling at the town called Ishukāra in the Kuru country.[9] It seems probable that after the removal of the elder branch of the royal family to Kauśāmbī and the decline of the Ābhipratāriṇas, the Kuru realm was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Ishukāra were apparently the most important. Later on the little principalities gave place to a *Saṅgha* or republic.[10]

1 *29.73.* No. 537.

3 *Dhūmakāri Jātaka*, No 413; *Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka*, No. 495.

4 *Jātaka* Nos. 537, 545.

5 *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits.*

6 *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, No. 276; *Dhūmakāri Jātaka*, No. 413; *Sambhava Jātaka*, No. 515; *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*, No. 545.

7 *Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka*, No. 495; *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, No. 537.

8 *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, *cf.* the *Mahābhārata*, I. 95. 75 where Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma.

9 S. B. E., XLV. 62.

10 *Arthaśāstra*, 1919, 378.

Pañchāla roughly corresponds to Rohilkhand and a part of the Central Doāb. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātakas* and the *Divyāvadāna*[1] refer to the division of this state into northern and southern. The Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) formed the dividing line.[2] According to the Great Epic, Northern Pañchāla had its capital at Ahichchhatra or Chhatravatī, the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Bareilly District, while Southern Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal.[3] A great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañchālas for the possession of Uttara Pañchāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañchāla was included in Kururaṭṭha[4] and had its capital at Hāstinapura,[5] at other times it formed a part of Kampilla-raṭṭha.[6] Sometimes kings of Kampilla-raṭṭha held court at Uttara Pañchāla-nagara, at other times kings of Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha held court at Kampilla.[7]

The history of Pañchāla from the death of Pravāhaṇa Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisāra of Magadha is obscure. The only king who may perhaps be referred to this period is Durmukha (Dummukha), the contemporary of Nimi,[8] who is probably to be identified with the penultimate sovereign of Mithilā.[9] In the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* it is stated that Dummukha's kingdom was styled Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha; his capital was not Ahichchhatra but Kampilla-nagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Karaṇḍu king of Kaliṅga, Naggaji (Nagnajit), king of Gandhāra, and

[1] P. 435.
[2] Mbh., I. 138. 70.
[3] Mbh., I. 138. 73-74.
[4] *Somanassa Jātaka*, No. 505; *Mahābhārata*, I. 138.
[5] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 435.
[6] *Brahmadatta Jātaka*, No. 323; *Jayaddisa Jātaka*, No. 513, and *Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka*, No. 520.
[7] *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*, No. 408.
[8] *Jātaka*, No. 408.
[9] *Jātaka*, No. 541.

Nimi, king of Videha. We learn from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[1] that Durmukha, the Pañchāla king, made extensive conquests. His priest was Bṛihaduktha :—

"*Etaṁ ha vā Aindraṁ Mahābhishekaṁ Bṛihaduktha Ṛishir Durmukhāya Pañchālāya provācha tasmādu Durmukhaḥ Pañchālo Rājā san vidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya.*"

"This great anointing of Indra Bṛihaduktha, the seer, proclaimed to Durmukha, the Pañchāla. Therefore, Durmukha Pañchāla, being a king, by this knowledge, went round the earth completely, conquering on every side."[2]

A great Pañchāla king named Chulani Brahmadatta is mentioned in the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka*,[3] the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*,[4] the *Svapna-vāsavadatta*[5] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[6] In the last-mentioned work he is said to have married the daughters (*Kanyāḥ*) of Kuśanābha who were made hump-backs (*Kubja*) by the Wind-god. In the *Jātaka*,, Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadatta, is said to have formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India, and the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithilā. In the *Uttar-ādhyayana* Brahmadatta is styled a Universal Monarch. The story of Brahmadatta is, however, essentially legendary, and little reliance can be placed on it. The Rāmāyaṇic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Pañchālas with the foundation of the famous city of Kanyākubja or Kanauj.

1 VIII. 23.
2 Keith, *Ṛig Veda Brāhmaṇas*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25.
3 546.
4 S.B.E., XLV. 57-61.
5 Act V.
6 I. 32.

The *Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra* mentions a king af Kāmpilya named Sañjaya who gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas.[1] We do not know what happened after Sañjaya gave up his throne. But there is reason to believe that the Pañchālas, like the Videhas, Mallas and Kurus, established a *Saṅgha* form of Government of the *Rāja-śabd-opajīvin* type.[2]

Matsya had its capital at Virāṭa-nagara or Bairāt in the modern Jaipur State.[3]

The early history of the Matsya kingdom has already been related. Its vicissitudes during the period which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisāra of Magadha are not known. It is not included by the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* among those states which had a *Saṅgha* or non-monarchical form of Government. The probability is that the monarchical constitution endured till the loss of its independence. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi. The *Mahābhārata*[4] refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over the Chedis as well as the Matsyas. It was finally absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. Some of the most famous edicts of Aśoka have been found at Bairāṭ.

The *Mahābhārata*[5] mentions a people called the Apara Matsyas who probably occupied the hill tract on the north bank of the Chambal.[6] The *Rāmāyaṇa*[7] has a reference to the Vīra Matsyas. From the Dibbida plates[8] we learn that a family of Matsyas settled in the Vizagapatam region in mediaeval times. We are told that Jayatsena, the lord of Utkala, gave to Satyamārtaṇḍa of the Matsya family in

[1] S.B.E., XLV. 80-82.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, 1919, p. 378. The Elders of this type of corporations took the title of *Rājā*.

[3] Cunn., AGI, 1924, 387 f.; IA, V. 179; *Carmichael Lec.*, 1918, p. 53. For a Virāṭanagara in South India, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. 2. 558.

[4] V. 74. 16.

[5] II. 31. 4.

[6] *JASB*, 1895, 251.

[7] II. 71. 5.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, V. 108.

marriage his daughter Prabhāvatī, and appointed him to rule over the Oḍḍavādi country. After twenty-three generations came Arjuna who ruled in 1269 A.D.

The **Surasena** country had its capital at Mathurā which, like Kauśāmbī, stood on the Yamunā. Neither Śūrasena nor Mathurā finds any mention in the Vedic literature. But the Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and their cities Methora and Cleisobora.

In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* the ruling family of Mathurā is styled the **Yadu** or Yādava family. The Yādavas were divided into various septs, namely, the Vītihotras, **Sātvatas**, etc.[1] The Sātvatas were subdivided into several branches, *e.g.*, the Daivāvṛidhas, Andhakas, Mahā-bhojas and Vṛishṇis.[2]

Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the *Ṛig Veda*. He is closely associated with Turvaśa and, in one place, with Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. This association is also implied by the epic and Purāṇic legends which state that Yadu and Turvaśu were the sons of the same parents, and Druhyu, Anu and Pūru were their step-brothers.

We learn from the *Ṛig Veda*[4] that Yadu and Turvaśa came from a distant land, and the former is brought into very special relation to the **Parśus** or Persians.[5] The Sātvatas or Satvats also appear to be mentioned in the Vedic texts. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[6] the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, are

[1] *Matsya*, 43-44; *Vāyu*, 94-96.

[2] *Vishṇu*, IV. 13.1; *Vāyu*, 96. 1-2.

[3] I, 108. 8.

[4] I. 36. 18; VI. 45. 1.

[5] VIII. 6. 46. Epigraphic evidence points to a close connection between Western Asia and India from about the middle of the second millennium B C. Ṛig Vedic Gods like Sūrya (Shurias), Marut (Maruttash), Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Nāsatyas, and even Daksha (dakash, star, CAH. I. 553) figure in the records of the Kassites and the Mitanni.

[6] XIII. 5. 4. 21.

referred to. The geographical position of Bharata's kingdom is clearly shown by the fact that he made offerings on the Yamunā and the Ganges.[1] The Satvats must have been occupying some adjoining region. The epic and Purāṇic tradition which places them in the Mathurā district is thus amply confirmed. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats seems to have migrated farther to the south, for in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] the Satvats are described as a southern people who lived beyond the Kuru-Pañchāla area, *i.e.*, beyond the river Chambal, and were ruled by **Bhoja** kings. In the Purāṇas also we find that a branch of the Satvats was styled Bhoja[3] :—

"*Bhajina-Bhajamāna-divy-Āndhaka-Devāvṛidha- Mahābhoja-Vṛishṇi-saṁjñāḥ Sātvatasya putrā babhūvuḥ*............ *Mahābhojastvati dharmātmā tasyānvaye Bhojamārtikāvatā babhūvuḥ.*"

It is further stated that several southern states, Māhishmatī, **Vidarbha**, etc., were founded by princes of Yadu lineage.[4] Not only the Bhojas, but the Devāvṛidha branch of the Sātvatas finds mention in the Vedic literature. Babhru Daivāvṛidha[5] is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[6] as a contemporary of Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and of Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra. The Andhakas and **Vṛishṇis** are referred to in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[7] In the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*[8] the Vṛishṇis are described as a *Saṅgha*, *i.e.*, a republican corporation. The *Mahābhārata*, too, refers to the Vṛishṇis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a *Saṅgha*,[9] and Vāsudeva, the Vṛishṇi prince, as a *Saṅgha-mukhya* (Elder).

1 *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 23; *Mbh.*, VII. 66. 8.
2 VIII. 14. 3.
3 *Vishṇu*, IV. 13. 1-6.
4 *Mat.*, 43. 10-29; 44. 36; *Vāyu*, 94. 26; 95. 35.
5 *Vāyu*, 96. 15; *Vishṇu*, 13. 3-5.
6 VII. 34.
7 IV. 1. 114; VI. 2. 34.
8 P. 12.
9 XII. 81. 25.

The name of the Vṛishṇi corporation has also been preserved by a unique coin.[1] It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* that Kaṁsa, like Peisistratus and others of Greek history, tried to make himself tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and that Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva, a scion of the Vṛishṇi family, killed him. The slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛishṇa is referred to by Patañjali and the *Ghata Jātaka*.[2] The latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā ("Uttara Madhurā").[3]

[1] Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 119.

[2] No. 454.

[3] The question of the historical existence of Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva has been discussed in my *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, 1st ed., pp. 26-35; 2nd ed., pp. 51 ff. and my *Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., 1923, p. 312.

Several scholars reject the identification of Kṛishṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* with the historical Kṛishṇa of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (III. 17). But we should remember that—

(*a*) Both the Kṛishṇas have the metronymic *Devakīputra*, son of Devakī.

(*b*) The teacher of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa belonged to a family (Āṅgirasa) closely associated with the Bhojas (*Ṛig Veda*, III. 53. 7), the kindreds of the Epic Kṛishṇa (*Mbh.*, II. 14. 32-34).

(*c*) The Upanishadic Kṛishṇa and his *Guru* Ghora Āṅgirasa were worshippers of *Sūrya*. We are told in the *Śāntiparva* (335. 19) that the *Sātvata-vidhi* taught by the Epic Kṛishṇa was "*Prāk-Sūrya-mukha-niḥsṛita*."

(*d*) An Āṅgirasa was the *Guru* of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa. *Āṅgirasī Śruti* is quoted as "*Śrutīnāmuttamā Śrutiḥ*" by the Epic Kṛishṇa (*Mbh.*, VIII. 69. 85).

(*e*) The Upanishadic Kṛishṇa is taught the worship of the Sun, the noblest of all lights (*Jyotir-uttamamiti*), high above all darkness (*tamasaspari*), and also the virtues of "*Tapodānam ārjjavam ahiṁsā satyavachanam*." The Epic Kṛishṇa teaches practically the same thing in the *Gītā* (XIII. 18—*Jyotishāmapi tajjyotis tamasaḥ param uchyate*; XVI. 1-2—*Dānaṁ damaścha yajñaścha svādhyāyaṁ tapa ārjjavam ahiṁsā satyam*).

The *Purāṇas* no doubt represent Sāndīpani, and not Ghora, as the great teacher of Kṛishṇa. But it is to be remembered that according to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (V. 21. 19) Kṛishṇa went to the sage Sāndīpani to learn lessons in the **science of arms** (*astraśikshā*):

Tataḥ Sāndīpaniṁ Kāśyam Avantīpuravāsinam
Astrārthaṁ jagmaturvīrau Baladeva-Janārdanau.

The *Harivaṁśa*, too, informs us (*Vishṇuparva*, 33,4 ff.) that the residence of Kṛishṇa, who was already a *śrutidhara*, with his *Guru* Sāndīpani was due to his desire of receiving

The final overthrow of the Vṛishṇis is ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas.[1] It is interesting to note in this connection that the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas are branded as *Vrātyas* in the *Droṇa Parva* of the *Mahābhārata.*[2] It is a remarkable fact that the Vṛishṇi-Andhakas and other *Vrātya* clans, *e.g.*, the Lichchhavis and Mallas, are found in historical times on the southern and eastern fringe of the "*Dhruvā Madhyamā diś*" occupied by the Kuru-Pañchālas. It is not improbable that they represent an earlier swarm of Aryans who were pushed southwards and eastwards by the Pūru-Bharatas, the progenitors of the Kuru-Pañchālas. It may be remembered in this connection that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* actually refers to the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats—the progenitors of the Vṛishṇi-Andhakas. And the Great Epic refers to the **exodus of the Yādavas from Mathurā** owing to pressure from the Paurava line of Magadha, and probably also from the Kurus.[3]

The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta, king of the Sūrasenas, in the time of Mahā Kachchāna[4] who was the

lessons in the science of the bow (*Dhanurvedachikīrshārtham*). The *Veda* that he learnt from this teacher is not termed *akhila veda*, or *Trayī*, but simply *Sāṅga-vedam*, the Veda with its auxiliary treatises. The only Veda that is expressly mentioned is the *Dhanurveda* (and not the *Trayī*) together with its four divisions (*Chatushpāda*), etc. The compilers of the *Bhāgavata* and *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇas* (*Bhāg*. X. 45. 31 ff.; BV, *Janmakhaṇḍa*, 101-102) introduce details about the study of *all* the *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, treatises on law, philosophy, polity, etc., which are not found in the relevant passage of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, which, according to critics like Bankim Chandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya, represents an earlier and more reliable tradition. Residence with Sāndīpani, therefore, does not conflict with the view that Kṛishṇa accepted the discipleship of Ghora for purposes of religious and philosophical studies (see *EHVS*, 2nd ed., pp. 73-74). Sāndīpani already knew him to be a *Srutidhara* (versed in the *Sruti* or the *Vedas*; *Harivaṁśa*, *Vishṇuparva*, 33, 6).

1 *Mahābhārata. Maushala Parva*, I. 15-22; 2. 10; *Arthaśāstra*, p. 12; *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 55-56, V, p. 138.

2 141. 15.

3 *Cf. Bahu-Kurucharā Mathurā*, Patañjali, IV. 1. 1; *GEI.*, p. 395 n.

4 M. 2. 83.

first among the chief disciples of Śākyamuni through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathurā region. A king of Śūrasena named Kuvinda is mentioned in the *Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā.* The Śūrasenas continued to be a notable people down to the time of Megasthenes. But at that time they must have formed an integral part of the Maurya Empire.

Assaka was situated on the banks of the Godāvarī.[1] The name of the territory represents the Sanskrit Aśmaka, identified by the commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmin with Mahārāshṭra. The Aśmakas are mentioned by Pāṇini.[2] As the grammarian refers to *Dākshiṇātya* [3] and Kaliṅga [4] his Aśmaka may be Assaka in the Deccan. It may, however, also denote the country of the Assakenoi [5] in North-West India referred to by Greek writers.

The capital of Assaka was Potana or Potali,[6] the Paudanya of the *Mahābhārata.*[7] Dr. Bhandarkar points out[8] that in early Pāli literature Assaka has, on the one hand, been distinguished from Mūlaka which lay to its north, and on the other from Kaliṅga. He suggests that in later times Assaka seems to have included Mūlaka, and also perhaps Kaliṅga. In the *Sona-Nanda Jātaka* we find Assaka

1 *Sutta Nipāta*, 977.

2 IV. I. 173.

3 IV. 2. 98.

4 IV. I. 178.

5 This was the view expressed in the earlier editions of this work. But if *Aśmaka* means the *stony* region the name can hardly be applied to the land of the Assakenoi. It is pointed out in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. that the name Assakenoi is connected with the Sanskrit *aśva*, and Iranian *aspa*, horse. If this interpretation be correct, Aśmaka, the *stony* region can hardly be equated with Aśvaka, the land of *horses*. The reference in the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini must, in that case, be to the southern realm of Aśmaka.

6 *Chulla-Kāliṅga Jātaka*, No. 301; D. 2. 235; Law. *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, 74.

7 I. 177. 47.

8 *Carm. Lec.*, 1918, pp. 53-54.

associated with Avanti ; this association can only be explained if we surmise that Assaka included at that time Mūlaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanti.

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[1] Aśmaka and Mūlaka appear as scions of the Ikshvāku family, and the *Mahābhārata* speaks of "*Aśmako nāma Rājarshiḥ Paudanyaṁ yo nyaveśayat.*" This probably indicates that the Aśmaka and Mūlaka kingdoms were believed to have been founded by Ikshvāku chiefs, just as Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka were founded by princes of the Yadu (Bhoja) family. The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* mentions Brahmadatta king of the Assakas who was a contemporary of Sattabhu, king of Kaliṅga, Vessabhu, king of Avanti, Bharata, king of Sovīra, Reṇu, king of Videha, Dhataraṭṭha, king of Aṅga and Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāsi.[2]

We learn from the *Assaka Jātaka*[3] that at one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kāsi, and that its prince, Assaka, was presumably a vassal of the Kāsi monarch. The *Chulla Kāliṅga Jātaka* mentions a king of Assaka named Aruṇa and his minister Nandisena, and refers to a victory which they won over the king of Kaliṅga.

Avanti roughly corresponds to Central Mālwa, Nimār and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Dr. Bhandarkar points out that this *Janapada* was divided into two parts : the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti *Dakshiṇāpatha* had its capital at Māhissatī or Māhishmatī, usually identified with the modern Māndhātā on the Narmadā.[4]

1 88. 177-178.

2 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, p. 270.

3 No. 207.

4 There is one difficulty in the way of accepting this identification. Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pāriyātra Mts. (W. Vindhyas), whereas Māhishmatī lay between the Vindhya and the Ṛiksha—to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Ṛiksha, acc. to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha (*Harivaṁśa*, II. 38. 7-19).

Buddhist and Jain writers mention two other cities of Avanti named Kuraraghara and Sudarśanapura.[1] The *Mahāgovinda Suttana* mentions Māhissatī as the capital of the Avantis, and refers to their king Vessabhu. The *Mahābhārata*, however, distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhishmatī, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmadā.[2]

The *Purāṇas* attribute the foundation of Māhishmatī, Avanti, and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* also associates the Satvats and the Bhojas, branches of the Yadu family according to the Purāṇas, with the southern realms.[3]

The *Purāṇas* style the first dynasty of Māhishmatī as Haihaya.[4] This family is referred to by such an ancient authority as the *Kauṭilîya Arthaśāstra.*[5] The Haihayas are said to have overthrown the Nāgas who must have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmadā region.[6] The *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions five branches of the Haihayas, namely Vītihotras, Bhojas, Avantis, Kuṇḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and the Tālajaṅghas.[7] When the Vītihotras and Avantis (or the Vītihotras in Avanti) passed away, an *amātya*, minister or governor, named Pulika (Puṇika), is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota in the very sight of the *Kshatriyas.*[8] In the fourth century B.C., Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

[1] Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 158; *Kathākoça*, 18.

[2] *Narmadāmabhitaḥ*, *Mbh.*, II. 31. 10.

[3] *Matsya*, 43-44; *Vāyu*, 95-96; *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 14.

[4] *Matsya*, *43*. 8-29; *Vāyu*, *94*. 5-26.

[5] *Arthaśāstra*, p. 11.

[6] *Cf.* Nāgpur.

[7] *43*. 48-49.

[8] We need not infer from this statement that the family of Puṇika sprang from one of the lower orders of society (*e.g.*, cowherds). The point in the Purāṇic account is that the dynastic change was brought about by an *amātya*, a civil functionary (not a *senāpati* like Pushyamitra), and that the army (*Kshatriyas*) looked on, *i.e.*, treated the matter with indifference or silent approval. In the time of Megasthenes soldiers

The kingdom of **Gandhāra**, according to *Jātaka* No. 406, included Kaśmīra as well as the Takshaśilā region. The evidence of the *Jātaka* appears to be confirmed by that of Hekataios of Miletos (B.C. 549-486) who refers to Kaspapyros (Kaśyapa-pura, *i.e.*, Kaśmir) [1] as a Gandaric city. Takshaśilā, the capital city, lay 2,000 leagues from Benares.[2]

The Purāṇas represent the Gandhāra kings as the descendants of Druhyu.[3] This king and his people are mentioned several times in the *Ṛig Veda*. In the *Vedic Index*[4] it is stated that "from the tribal grouping it is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people." Thus the Purāṇic tradition about the connection of the Gandhāras with the Druhyus accords with Vedic evidence.

Takshaśilā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in connection with the story of the Kuru king Janamejaya by whom it had been conquered. In the time of Nimi, king of Videha, of Durmukha, king of Pañchāla, and of Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Naggaji or Nagnajit.[5] We learn from the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* that his capital was Takshaśilā. The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* mentions "Dvimukha" of Pañchāla, Namī of Videha, "Naggati" of Gandhāra, and "Karakaṇḍu" of Kaliṅga, and says that "these bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Jainas."[6] As Pārśva (777 B.C.?) was probably the first historical Jina, Naggati or Nagnajit is

(*Kshatriya, khattiya-kula*) and councillors (*amātyas, amachcha-kula*) were distinct orders of society (*cf.* also Fick, Ch. VI).

1 *Cf. Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, I. 27.

2 *Telapatta Jātaka*, No. 96; *Susīma Jātaka*, No. 163.

3 *Matsya*, 48. 6; *Vāyu*, 99. 9.

4 I. 385.

5 *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*; *Ait. Br.*, VII. 34; *Śat. Br.*, VIII. 1. 4. 10. A Nagnajit also appears in the *Mahābhārata* as the Gandhārian contemporary of Kṛishṇa (V. 48. 75). But the same epic mentions Śakuni as the King of Gandhāra in the time of Kṛishṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.

6 S. B. E., XLV. 87.

probably to be placed between 777 B.C. and *cir.* 543 B.C., the date of Pukkusāti, the Gandhārian contemporary of Bimbisāra. We do not, however, say that implicit reliance can be placed on a statement of the *Uttarādhyayana.*

Nagnajit was succeeded by his son Svarjit.[1] In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Pukkusāti who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, and waged war on Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated.[2] He is also said to have been threatened in his own kingdom by the Pāṇḍavas who occupied a part of the Pañjāb as late as the time of Ptolemy. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C. Gandhāra was conquered by the king of Persia. In the Bahistān inscription of Darius, *cir.* 520-518 B.C., the Gandhārians (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Achaemenidan or Achaemenian Empire.[3]

Kamboja is constantly associated with Gandhāra in literature and inscriptions.[4] Like Gandhāra it is included in the *Uttarāpatha, i.e.*, the Far North of India.[5] It should, therefore, be clearly distinguished from "Kamvuja" in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula (*i.e.*, Cambodia),[6] and must be located in some part of North-West India close to Gandhāra. We learn from a passage of the *Mahābhārata* that a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kambojas[7]

[1] Śat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10.

[2] *Buddhist India*, p. 28; *Essay on Guṇāḍhya*, p. 176.

[3] See "*Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions*" by Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VI.

[4] Mbh., XII. 207. 43; *Aṅguttara* N., P. T. S., I. 213; 4. 252, 256, 261; Rock Edict V of Aśoka.

[5] *Cf.* Mbh., XII. 207. 43. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 163-165. The chronicle does not place Kamboja to the north of Kashmir. It simply places the territory in the Uttarāpatha, and clearly distinguishes it from the land of the Tukhāras, apparently lying further to the north.

[6] For the Hindu colony of 'Kamvuja" see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 100 ff.; B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*; R. C. Majumdar, *Champā.*

[7] Mbh., VII. 4. 5.

—"*Karṇa Rājapuraṁ gatvā Kāmbojā nirjitā-stvayā.*"[1] The association of the Kambojas with the Gandhāras enables us to identify this Rājapura with the Rājapura of Hiuen Tsang[2] which lay to the south or south-east of Punch. The western boundaries of Kamboja must have reached Kāfiristān. Elphinstone found in that district tribes like the 'Caumojee,' 'Camoze,' and 'Camoje' whose names remind us of the Kambojas.[3]

Kamboja may have been a home of Brāhmaṇic learning in the later Vedic period. The *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* actually mentions a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava. The presence of Āryas (*Ayyo*) in Kamboja is recognised in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.[4] But already in the time of Yāska the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Aryans of the interior of India, speaking a different dialect. We have further changes in later ages. And in *Bhūridatta Jātaka*[5] the Kambojas are credited with savage (Non-Aryan) customs :

ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā
Kambojakānaṁ vitathā bahunnan ti.[6]

These are your savage customs which I hate,
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.[7]

1 "Karṇa *having gone to* (*gatvā*) Rājapura" vanquished the Kambojas. The passage can hardly imply that Karṇa marched to Kamboja "*via* Rājapura." It is also futile to suggest that Rājapura had anything to do with Rājagṛiha in Bactria (as is done by a writer in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth Oriental Conference*, Patna, p. 109).

2 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 284. Cunningham (AGI, 1924, p. 148) identifies Rājapura with the chiefship of Rajaori to the south of Kashmir. The fact that the *Mahābhārata* (II. 27) makes separate mention of Kamboja and Abhisāra (with which the Rajaori region is identified) need not mean that the two were absolutely distinct entities in *all* ages. Does not the Great Epic (II. 30. 24-25) distinguish between Suhma and Tāmralipti, and does not the *Dasakumāra-charita* with equal emphasis place Dāmalipta in Suhma? The truth is that Rajaori formed only a *part* of Kamboja which included other areas as well.

3 Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Kābul*, Vol. II, pp. 375-377; *JRAS.*, 1843, 140.

4 II. 149. 5 No. 543. 6 *Jātaka*, VI. 208. 7 Cowell's *Jātaka*, VI. 110.

This description of the Kambojas agrees wonderfully with Hiuen Tsang's account of Rājapura and the adjoining countries. "From Lampa to Rājapura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions...they do not belong to India proper, but are inferior peoples of frontier, (*i.e.*, barbarian) stocks." [1]

We have seen that the metropolis of the Kambojas in the Epic period was probably Rājapura. Dvārakā mentioned by Rhys Davids as the capital in the early Buddhist period, was perhaps not really a city of Kamboja, though it happens to be mentioned in a story which also refers to Kamboja.[2] A real city of the Kambojas was apparently Nandi-nagara mentioned in Lüders' Inscriptions 176 and 472.

The Vedic texts do not mention any king of Kamboja. But, as has already been pointed out, they refer to a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava who was probably connected with this territory. In the *Mahābhārata* the Kambojas are represented as living under a monarchical constitution.[3] The Epic makes mention of the Kamboja Kings Chandra-varman and Sudakshiṇa. In later times the monarchy gave place to a Saṅgha form of government. The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*[4] mentions the Kambojas as an illustration of a "*Vārtā-śastr-opajīvin*" Saṅgha, that is to say, a corporation of agriculturists, herdsmen, traders and warriors.

[1] For the Kambojas see also S. Lévi : "*Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans I, Inde,*" J. A., 1923.

[2] *Cf.* Law : "*The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, pp. 80-83.

[3] *Cf.* I. 67 32; II 4. 22; V. 165. 1-3, etc.

[4] P. 378.

Section II. The Epic Account of the Mahājanapadas.

An interesting account of the characteristics of the peoples of most of the *Mahājanapadas* described above is to be found in the *Karṇa Parva* of the *Mahābhārata.*[1]

The Pañchālas, Kurus, Matsyas, Śūrasenas and the Chedis receive unstinted praise :

Kuravaḥ saha Pañchālāḥ Śālvā Matsyāḥ sa-Naimishāḥ
Chedayaścha mahābhāgā dharmaṁ jānanti śāśvatam
Brāhmaṁ Pañchālāḥ Kauraveyāstu dharmaṁ
Satyaṁ Matsyāḥ Śūrasenāścha yajñam.

" The Kauravas with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas and the Chedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal religion is. The Pañchālas observe the Vedas, the Kauravas observe Dharma, the Matsyas observe the truth, and the Śūrasenas perform sacrifices.''

The Magadhas are called comprehenders of signs, while the Kosalas are represented as comprehending from what they see :

Iṅgitajñāścha Magadhāḥ prekshitajñāścha Kośalāḥ.

The Aṅgas and the Gandhāras come in for a good deal of condemnation :

Āturāṇāṁ parityāgaḥ sadāra-suta-vikrayaḥ
Aṅgeshu vartate Karṇa yeshām adhipatir bhavān.

" The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karṇa, prevalent among the Aṅgas whose king thou art.''

[1] *Mahābhārata,* VIII. 45. 14-16 ; 28 ; 34.

Madrakeshu cha saṁsṛishṭaṁ
śauchaṁ Gāndhārakeshu cha,
Rāja-yājaka-yājye cha
nashṭaṁ dattaṁ havir bhavet.

" Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity among the Gāndhārakas, and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest."[1]

The verses quoted above give a fair idea of the attitude, of a poet of the western part of the *Madhyadeśa* towards most of the *Mahājanapadas* of Northern India.

[1] *Ibid*, 45, 40; 40, 29.

Section III. The Fall of Kāsi and the Ascendancy of Kosala.

Kosalo nāma muditaḥ sphīto janapado mahān
—*Rāmāyaṇa*.

The flourishing period of many of the sixteen Mahājanapadas ended in or about the sixth century B. C. The history of the succeeding period is the story of the absorption of these states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire, namely the empire of Magadha.

Kāsi was probably one of the first to fall. The *Mahāvagga* and the *Jātakas* refer to bitter struggles between Kāsi and her neighbours, specially Kosala. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them. The Kāsis seem to have been successful at first, but the Kosalas were the gainers in the end.

In the *Mahāvagga*[1] and the *Kosambī Jātaka*[2] it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, robbed Dīghati, King of Kosala, of his kingdom, and put him to death. In the *Kunāla Jātaka*[3] it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, owing to his having an army, seized on the kingdom of Kosala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. The *Brahāchatta Jātaka*[4] and the *Sona-Nanda Jātaka*[5] also refer to the victories of Kāsi kings over Kosala.

[1] S.B.E., XVII, 294-99.
[2] No. 428.
[3] No. 536.
[4] No. 336.
[5] No. 532.

Success, however, did not remain long with the Kāsis.[1] In the *Mahāsīlava Jātaka* [2] king Mahāsīlava of Kāsi is said to have been deprived of his realm by the king of Kosala. In the *Ghata Jātaka* [3] and the *Ekarāja Jātaka*,[4] Vaṅka and Dabbasena, kings of Kosala, are said to have won for their kingdom a decided preponderance over Kāsi. The final conquest of the latter kingdom was probably the work of Kaṁsa, as the epithet "*Barānasiggaho*," *i.e.*, conqueror of Benares, is a standing addition to his name.[5] The interval of time between Kaṁsa's conquest of Kāsi and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāsi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time, and even later when the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* was composed.

In the time of Mahākosala (about the middle of the sixth century B. C.) Kāsi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy. When Mahākosala married his daughter, the lady Kosalādevī, to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāsi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.[6]

In the time of Mahākosala's son and successor, Pasenadi or Prasenajit, Kāsi still formed a part of the Kosalan Empire. In the *Lohichcha Sutta* [7] Buddha asks a person named Lohichcha the following questions: "Now what think you Lohichcha? Is not king Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kāsi and Kosala?" Lohichcha replies, "Yes, that is so, Gotama." We learn from the *Mahāvagga* [8] that the Viceroy of Kāsi was a brother of Pasenadi.

The *Samyukta Nikāya* [9] mentions Pasenadi as the head of a group of five *Rājās*. One of these was probably his

1 *Cf. Jātaka* No. 100. 2 No. 51. 3 No. 355. 4 No. 303.

5 The *Seyya Jātaka*, No. 282; the *Tesakuna Jātaka*, No. 521; *Buddhist India*, p. 25.

6 *Harita Māta Jātaka*, No. 239; *Vaḍḍhaki Sūkara Jātaka*, No. 283.

7 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, 288-97.

8 S.B.E., XVII, 195.

9 *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 106.

brother who was the Viceroy of Kāsi. Among the remaining princes and chiefs we should perhaps include the chieftain Pāyāsi of Setavyā mentioned in the *Pāyāsi Suttanta,* [1] and the ruler of the Kālāmas of Kesaputta.[2]

Another *Rājā* of the group was probably the Śākya chief of Kapilavāstu. From the introductory portion of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*[3] we learn that the Śākya territory was subordinate to the Kosalan monarch.[4] The inclusion of the Śākya territory, the birthplace of Buddha, within the Kosalan empire is also proved by the *Sutta Nipāta*[5] and the *Majjhima Nikāya*[6] which describe Buddha and his people as Kosalans.

It was probably during the reign of Mahākosala, that Bimbisāra ascended the throne of Magadha. The *Mahavaṁsa*[7] tells us that "The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father." With the coronation of Bimbisāra ends the period with which this part of the work deals.

1 *Cf.* the *Vimāna-vatthu* commentary; Law, *Heaven and Hell,* 79, 83.
2 *Indian Culture,* II. 808, *Aṅguttara,* I, 188.
3 No. 465.
4 *Cf. Dialogues,* Part III, p. 80.
5 S.B.E., X, Part II, pp. 68-69.
6 Vol. II, p. 124.
7 Geiger's Translation, p. 12.

SECTION IV. KINGSHIP.

We have attempted to give in outline the political history of India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisāra. We have seen that during the major part of this period the prevailing form of Government was monarchical. No political history of this age is complete unless we know something about the rank, power and status of the monarchs in the different parts of India, their caste, the methods of their selection and consecration, the chief members of their household, and their civil and military services, and the checks, if any, on their authority.

The various **kinds of rulership** prevalent in different parts of India are thus described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* :[1]

" *Etasyām Prāchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Prāchyānāṁ rājānaḥ Sāmrājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Samrāḷ-ityenānabhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.*

Etasyāṁ Dakshiṇāyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Satvatāṁ Rājāno Bhaujyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Bhoj-etyenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.

Etasyāṁ Pratīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Nīchyānāṁ Rājāno ye'pāchyānāṁ Svārājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Svarāḷityenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.

Etasyām Udīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ Janapadā Uttara-Kurava Uttara-Madrā iti Vairājyāyaiva te' bhishichyante Virāḷ-ityenān abhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.

[1] VIII. 14.

Etasyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ Madhyamāyāṁ pratishṭhāyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Kuru-Pañchālānāṁ Rājānaḥ sa Vaś-Ośīnarāṇāṁ Rājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Rāj-etyenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu."

"In this eastern quarter, whatever kings there are of the eastern peoples, they are anointed for overlordship (*sāmrājya*) ; 'O Overlord' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In the southern quarter whatever kings there are of the Satvats, they are anointed for paramount rule (*Bhaujya*) ; 'O Paramount Ruler' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this western quarter, whatever kings there are of the southern and western peoples, they are anointed for self-rule (*svārājya*), 'O Self-Ruler' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this northern quarter, the lands of the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara Madras, beyond the Himavat, their (kings) are anointed for sovereignty (*vairājya*); 'O Sovereign' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this firm middle established quarter, whatever kings there are of the Kuru Pañchālas with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras, they are anointed for kingship; 'king' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods." [1]

Several scholars assert that *Vairājya* means a kingless state. But in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [2] a king consecrated with Indra's great unction is called *Virāṭ* and worthy of *Vairājya*. When a king consecrated with the *Punarabhisheka* (renewed anointment) ascends his *Āsandī* or throne, he prays for attaining *Vairājya* as well as other kinds of royal dignity. Sāyaṇa takes the word *Vairājyam* to mean pre-eminence among kings, *itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaiśishṭyam.*

[1] *Ṛigveda Brāhmaṇas*, translated by Keith, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25.

[2] VIII. 17.

It is also stated in the *Śukranīti*[1] that the *Virāṭ* was a superior kind of monarch. In the *Mahābhārata*[2] Kṛishṇa is called *Samrāṭ, Virāṭ, Svarāṭ* and *Sura-rāja.*[3] Dr. Keith translates the passage "*Etasyām Udīchyāṁ,*" etc., thus: "In this northern quarter, the lands of the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, beyond the Himavant, their (kings) are anointed for sovereignty; 'O sovereign' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods."

It is not easy to decide whether all the terms *Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya* and *Rājya* referred to essentially different forms of royal authority in the Brāhmaṇic period. But two terms at least, namely, *Sāmrājya* and *Rājya* are clearly distinguished by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[4] and also the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*:[5]

Rājā vai Rājasūyeneshṭvā bhavati, Samrāḍ Vājapeyenāvaraṁ hi Rājyaṁ paraṁ Sāmrājyam. Kāmayeta vai Rājā Samrāḍ bhavitum avaraṁ hi rājyaṁ paraṁ Sāmrājyam. Na Samrāṭ kāmayeta Rājā bhavitum avaraṁ hi rājyaṁ paraṁ Sāmrājyam.[6]

"By offering the *Rājasūya* he becomes *Rājā* and by the *Vājapeya* he becomes *Samrāj*, and the office of *Rājan* is the lower and that of *Samrāj* the higher; a *Rājan* might indeed wish to become *Samrāj,* for the office of *Rājan* is the lower and that of *Samrāj* the higher; but the *Samrāj* would not wish to become a *Rājā* for the office of *Rājan* is the lower, and that of *Samrāj* the higher.'"

If the Purāṇas are to be believed *Bhoja* was originally a proper name. But afterwards it came to denote a class of

1 B. K. Sarkar's Translation, p. 24.
2 XII. 43. 11.
3 *Cf.* XII. 68. 54.
4 V. 1. 1. 12-13.
5 XV. 1. 1. 2.
6 Śat. Br., V. 1. 1. 12-13.

southern kings.[1] The word Cæsar furnishes an exact parallel. Originally it was the name of a Roman dictator. But afterwards it was a title assumed by Roman Emperors. In some Vedic texts [2] *Svārājya* means uncontrolled dominion, and is opposed to *Rājya*.[3]

The king was usually, though not always, a Kshatriya. The Brāhmaṇas were considered to be unsuited for kingship. Thus we read in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* "to the king (*Rājan*) doubtless belongs the *Rājasūya*; for by offering the *Rājasūya* he becomes king, and unsuited for kingship is the Brāhmaṇa." [4]

We have, however, references to Śūdra and Āyogava kings in the Vedic texts. King Janaśruti Pautrāyaṇa is branded a Śūdra in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*.[5] King Marutta Āvikshita is styled "*Āyogava*" in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[6] *Āyogava* denotes, in legal codes, a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of a Śūdra by a Vaiśya wife.[7] The *Jātakas* refer to kings of several castes including Brāhmaṇas.[8]

Kingship was sometimes **hereditary**, as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced. Mention may be made in this connection of the Pārikshitas and the kings of Janaka's line; hereditary kingship is also suggested by the expression *Daśapurushaṁrājya*—a kingdom of ten generations—occurring in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[9] But elective monarchy was not unknown.[10] The selec-

1 'Bhoja' may also have reference to the king or chieftain as *ruler, protector* or *devourer* of his people (*Viśāmattā*).

2 *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, XIV. 5; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, 1. 11, 5, etc.

3 *Vedic Index*, II. 221.

4 *SBE*, XLI; Eggeling *Śat. Br.*, Part III, p. 4.

5 IV. 2. 1-5. Apparently Śūdra kings were not unknown in the age.

6 XIII. 5. 4. 6. 7 *Manu-saṁhitā*, X. 12. 8 *Cf. Jātakas*, 73, 432.

9 XII. 9. 3. 3.

10 Reference may be made in this connection to the passages of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* describing the choice and consecration of divine rulers (Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, 1927, p. 26) and notices of Royal election in post-Vedic texts looking back to an early period; *cf.* Mbh. I. 94. 49—*rājatve taṁ prajāḥ sarvā dharmajña iti vavrire.*

tion was made sometimes by the people and occasionally by the ministers. The choice was ordinarily limited to the members of the royal family only, as is shown by the legend in Yāska[1] of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Śaṁtanu. In the *Saṁvara Jātaka*[2] the courtiers of a king asked the latter "when you are dead, my lord, to whom shall we give the white umbrella?" "Friends," said the king, "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella. But you may give it to him that pleases your mind."

At times the **popular choice** fell on persons who did not belong to the royal family. It is stated in the *Pādañjali Jātaka*,[3] that when a certain king of Benares died, his son, Pādañjali by name, an idle lazy loafer, was set aside, and the minister in charge of things spiritual and temporal was raised to the throne. The *Sachchaṁkira Jātaka*,[4] tells a story how nobles, Brāhmaṇas and all classes slew their king and anointed a private citizen. Sometimes an outsider was chosen. The *Darīmukha Jātaka*,[5] the *Dasaṇṇaka Jātaka*,[6] and the *Sonaka Jātaka*[7] tell us how on failure of heir at Benares a prince of Magadha was elected king.

The monarch during the Brāhmaṇa period was usually allowed to have **four queens**, *viz.*, the *Mahishī*, the *Parivṛiktī*, the *Vāvātā*, and the *Pālāgalī*. The *Mahishī*, was the chief wife, being the first one married according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[8] The *Parivṛiktī* was the neglected or discarded wife, probably one that had no son. The *Vāvātā* is the favourite, while the *Pālāgalī* was the daughter of the last of the court officials.[9] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[10] however, refers to the "hundred" wives of king Hariśchandra. In the *Jātaka* period several kings kept a bigger

[1] *Nirukta* II. 10; *Ved. Ind.* II, 211.
[2] No. 462. [3] No. 247. [4] No. 73. [5] No. 378.
[6] No. 401. [7] No. 529. [8] VI. 5. 3. 1. *Ved. Ind.*, I. 478.
[9] Weber and Pischel in *Vedic Index*, 1.478. [10] VII. 13.

harem. We are told in the *Kusa Jātaka*,[1] that king Okkāko (Ikshvāku) had sixteen thousand wives among whom Sīlavatī was the chief (*aggamahesī*). The king of Benares according to the *Dasaratha Jātaka*,[2] had the same number of wives. In the *Suruchi Jātaka*,[3] a king of Mithilā says, "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithilā covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have sixteen thousand women at the least." Sixteen thousand appears to have been a stock phrase. The number is evidently exaggerated. But it indicates that the kings of the *Jātaka* period were extreme polygamists who frequently exceeded the Brāhmaṇic number of four or even a hundred queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession or election with an elaborate **ritual** which is described in several *Brāhmaṇas*, and for which the appropriate formulas (*Mantras*) are given in the Vedic *Saṁhitās*. Those who aided in the consecration of the king were called *Rājakartṛi* or *Rājakrit*, *i. e.*, "king-maker." In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the persons meant and specified are the *Sūta* (minstrel and chronicler or charioteer), and the *Grāmaṇī*, leader of the host or of the village. Prof. Rādhākumud Mookerji observes:[4] "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function." The principal ceremonies or **sacrifices of royal inauguration** were the *Vājapeya*, the *Rājasūya*, the *Punar-abhisheka* and the *Aindra Mahābhisheka*.

The *Vājapeya* (lit. "drink of strength") bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called "*Sāmrājya*," while the *Rājasūya* or royal inauguration merely conferred

[1] No. 531.
[2] No. 461.
[3] No. 489.
[4] *The Fundamental Unity of India*, p. 83.

the ordinary monarchical dignity.[1] The *Punarabhisheka*, or repeated consecration, made the king-elect eligible for all sorts of royal dignity, *viz.*, *Rājya*, *Sāmrājya*, *Bhaujya*, *Svārājya*, *Vairājya*, *Pārameshṭhya*, *Māhārājya*, *Ādhipatya*, *Svāvaśya* and *Ātishṭhatva*.[2] The object of the *Aindra Mahābhisheka* (Indra's great anointing) is thus described :

"*Sa ya ichchhed evaṁvit Kshatriyam ayaṁ sarvā jitīrjayetāyaṁ sarvāṁllokān vindetāyaṁ sarveshāṁ Rājñāṁ Śraishṭhyaṁ, Atishṭhām, Paramatām gachchheta, Sāmrājyaṁ, Bhaujyaṁ, Svārājyaṁ, Vairājyaṁ, Pārameshṭhyaṁ, Rājyaṁ, Māhārājyaṁ, Ādhipatyaṁ, ayaṁ samantaparyāyi syāt Sārvabhaumaḥ sārvāyusha ā'ntādā parārddhāt Prithivyai Samudraparyantāyā* **Ekarāḷ** *iti tametena Aindreṇa Mahābhishekeṇa kshatriyaṁ śāpayitvā'bhishiñchet.*[3]

"If he who knows thus should desire of a kshatriya, 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings and overlordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty, may he be all-encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler ;' he should anoint him with the great anointing of Indra, after adjuring him"[4]

The **Vājapeya** rites include a race of 17 chariots, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which, according to Eggeling, the ceremony perhaps

[1] *Rājya*, *cf.* Śat. Br., V. I. 1 12-13; some texts, however, make the *Rājasūya* appropriate for a universal monarch (Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 340; *Mahābhārata*, Bk. II).

[2] Ait. Br. VIII. 6. For the meaning of these terms see Keith's translation quoted below. Keith's rendering of some of the expressions, *e.g.*, *Bhaujya* and *Vairājya*, is, however, hardly satisfactory.

[3] Ait. Br. VIII. 15.

[4] Keith.

derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of a chariot wheel,[1] which is placed on the top of a long pole, by the sacrificer and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother earth. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says, "Truly he who gains a seat in the air gains a seat above others."[2] The royal sacrificer having descended from the pole, is offered a throne-seat with a goatskin spread thereon and addressed by the *Adhvaryu* (priest) in the following words: "Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord (*Yantri, Yamana*)—thou art firm and steadfast—(here I seat) thee for the tilling, for peaceful dwelling (*kshema*), for wealth (*rayi*), for prosperity (*posha*), *i. e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal."[3]

The **Rājasūya** consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances which began on the first day of *Phālguna*[4] and spread over a period of upwards of two years.[5] The rite is described at great length in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[6] Besides much mere priestly elaboration, the ritual contains traces of popular ceremonial.[7] The popular features are chiefly these:—

(1) The *Ratnināṁ havīṁshi* or presents to the bejewelled ones (or those possessed of the jewel offering), *viz.*, the chief queen and court officials;

(2) The *Abhishechanīya* or besprinkling;

[1] "A wheel-shaped garland of meal" (Keith, R. P. V. U. 339; S.B.E., xli, 31; Text *V.* 2.1.6).

[2] Śat. Br., V. 2, 1. 22.

[3] Śat. Br., V. 2, 1. 25: *The Fundamental Unity of India*, p. 80.

[4] Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxi-cxiii.

[5] SBE., XLI, p. xxvi.

[6] V. 2. 3 (*et seq.*).

[7] *Ved. Ind.*, II. 219.

(3) The *Dig Vyāsthāpana* or the king's symbolical walking towards the various quarters as an indication of his universal rule ;

(4) Treading upon a tiger skin, thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger ;

(5) Narration by the *Hotṛi* priest of the story (*ākhyāna*) of Śunaḥśepa.

(6) A mimic cow raid against a relative[1] ; or a show fight with a member of the ruling aristocracy (*Rājanya*) ;[2]

(7) Enthronement ;

(8) A game of dice in which the king is made to be the victor ;[3]

The recipients of the sacrificial honours called "*Ratninām havīṁshi*" were the **Ratnins**, *i.e.*, the chief members of the royal household and of the king's civil and military service, *viz.*—

1. The *Senānī* (Commander-in-chief).
2. The *Purohita* (Royal Chaplain).
3. The *Mahishī* (Chief Queen).
4. The *Sūta* (Charioteer).[4]
5. The *Grāmaṇī* (Leader of the Host or Village Headman).[5]
6. The *Kshattṛi* (Chamberlain)—forerunner of the *Antarvaṁśika* or Superintendent of the Seraglio of later times.[6]
7. The *Saṁgrahītṛi* (Treasurer)—forerunner of the *Sannidhātṛi*.

[1] Śat. Br., V. 4. 3. 1 *et seq.*

[2] *Cf. Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, I. 8. 15 with commentary ; SBE., XLI, 100, n. 1.

[3] Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 342.

[4] The importance of this office is shown by the cases of Sumantra and of Sanjaya who is called a *Mahāmātra* (Mbh., XV. 16. 4).

[5] *Cf.* the *Adhikṛitas* appointed for *grāmas* or villages by the paramount ruler (*Samrāṭ*) mentioned in the *Praśna Upanishad* (III. 4). The post of *Grāmaṇī* was ordinarily held by a Vaiśya (*Camb. Hist.* 131).

[6] Vidura was the *Kshattṛi* (Mbh., I. 200. 17 ; II. 66. 1, etc.) at the Kuru Court.

8. The *Bhāgadugha* (Collector of the Royal Share, *i.e.*, Taxes)—forerunner of the *Samāhartṛi*.

9. The *Akshāvāpa* (Keeper of the Dice).[1]

10. The *Go-vikartana* (lit. Cutter-up of Cattle, *i.e.*, the King's Companion in the Chase).

11. The *Pālāgala* (Courier)—forerunner of the *Dūta* (*Śāsanahara*, etc.).[2]

The most essential part of the *Rājasūya* was the **Abhisheka** or besprinkling. It began with offerings to the deities Savitā Satyaprasava, Agni Gṛihapati, Soma Vanaspati, Bṛihaspati Vāk, Indra Jyeshṭha, Rudra Paśupati, Mitra Satya and Varuṇa Dharmapati. The consecration water (*Abhishechanīyā Āpaḥ*) was made up of seventeen kinds of liquid including the water from the river Sarasvatī, sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brāhmaṇa priest, a kinsman or brother of the king-elect, a friendly *Rājanya* and a *Vaiśya*.

The two most important kinds of *Abhisheka* were the *Punar-abhisheka* and the *Aindra Mahābhisheka*.

The **Punar-abhisheka** or Renewed Anointment is described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[3] It was intended for Kshatriya conquering monarchs. The first interesting part of the ceremony was the king's ascent to the throne or *Āsandī* which was made of *Udumbara* wood with the exception of the interwoven part (*Vivayana*) which consisted of *Muñja* grass. Then came the besprinkling. Among other things the priest said : "Do thou become here the overking of kings ; the great, of the great people, the supreme ruler of men (the lady, thy mother bore)."[4]

[1] *Cf.* the position of Kaṅka (Yudhishṭhira) at the Matsya Court.

[2] Curiously enough this long list of officials does not include the *Sthapati*, probably local ruler or governor, a post held by *Uparikas* in the Gupta period (Fleet, CII, p. 120).

[3] VIII. 5-11.

[4] Keith.

"*Rājñāṁ tvam Adhirājo bhaveha ; Mahāntaṁ tvā mahīnāṁ Samrājaṁ charshaṇīnām.*"[1] The king was next required to get down from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas ; "*Brāhmaṇa eva tat Kshatraṁ vaśam eti tad yatra vai Brahmaṇaḥ Kshatraṁ vaśam eti tad rāshṭraṁ samṛiddhaṁ tad vīravadāhāsmin vīro jāyate,*[2] "verily thus the lordly power (*Kshatra*) falls under the influence of the holy power (*Brahman*). When the lordly power falls under the influence of the holy power, that kingdom is prosperous, rich in heroes ; in it a hero or heir (*Vīra*) is born."[3] Here there is provision for the prevention of royal absolutism.

Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was evidently consecrated with the *Punar-abhisheka*.[4]

The **Aindra Mahābhisheka** or Indra's great unction consisted of five important ceremonies, *viz.* :—

1. **Oath** taken by the king to the priest : "From the night of my birth to that of my death, for the space between these two, my sacrifice and my gifts, my place, my good deeds, my life and mine offspring mayest thou take, if I play thee false."[5]
2. *Ārohaṇa* (Ascending the throne).
3. *Utkrośana* (Proclamation).
4. *Abhimantraṇa* (repetition of special formulas or *Mantras*).
5. Anointing.

The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the *Aindra Mahābhisheka* : Janamejaya, Śāryāta,

[1] Ait. Br., VIII. 7.

[2] Ait. Br., VIII. 9.

[3] Keith (with slight alterations).

[4] Ait. Br., VIII 11. A second coronation of the Ceylonese king Devānaṁpiya Tissa is referred to by the chronicles (Geiger's trans. of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. xxxii).

[5] Keith.

Śatānīka, Āmbāshṭhya, Yudhāṁśraushṭi, Viśvakarmā, Sudās, Marutta, Aṅga and Bharata.[1] The first-mentioned king, and probably the third, fourth, fifth and ninth also, belonged to the post-Parikshit period.[2]

Powerful kings and princes performed another important sacrifice called the **Aśvamedha** or horse sacrifice. The *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*,[3] says that a paramount king (*Sārvabhauma Rājā*) may perform the *Aśvamedha*.[4] The *Aśva* or steed for a year roamed under guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles, a hundred sons of heralds and charioteers and a hundred sons of attendants. If the year were successfully passed the steed was sacrificed. The features of the rite included the panegyric of the king by a Kshatriya and a Brāhmaṇa lute-player, and a "circle of tales," *Pāriplava Ākhyāna*.[5] Among the kings and princes who performed the *Aśvamedha* were Janamejaya, his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena, Śrutasena, and Para Āṭṇāra, king of Kosala.

1 Ait. Br., VIII. 21-23.

2 Śatānīka defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra of Kāśi who, according to the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*, was a contemporary of Sattabhu of Kaliṅga and of Brahmadatta of Assaka. As the Deccan kingdoms are not referred to in pre-Pārikshita works, it is probable that Śatānīka and his contemporaries flourished after Parikshit. Āmbāshṭhya and Yudhāṁśraushṭi were contemporaries of Parvata and Nārada who were very near in time to Nagnajit, the contemporary of Nimi, probably the penultimate king of Videha. Aṅga was probably the immediate predecessor of Dadhivāhana who, according to Jaina evidence, flourished in the 6th century B.C.

3 XX. i. 1. Variant readings of the relevant text seem hardly acceptable.

4 Even as late as the time of Bhavabhūti (eighth century A.D.) the *Aśvamedha* was looked upon as " the super-eminent touchstone to test the might of warriors conquering the world and an indication of the conquest of all the warriors "—*—Aśvamedha iti viśvavijayināṁ Kshatriyāṇāmūrjasvalaḥ sarva-kshatriya-paribhāvī mahānutkarshanishkarshaḥ* " (*Uttara-Rāma-Ćharitam*, Act IV, translated by Vinayak Sadashiv Patvardhan). The sacrifice seems also to have been performed in early times to atone for sinful work. There was also a Vishṇuite adaptation of the famous rite—no animals being killed on the occasion, and the oblations prepared in accordance with the precepts of the *Āraṇyakas*. Reference may be made to the story of Uparichara Vasu in the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, Ch. 335-339 (Raychaudhuri, *EHVS.*, 2nd ed., 132). Regarding the significance of the *Aśvamedha*, see D. C. Sircar's note in *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 311 ff.; II, 789 ff.

5 Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii f. Hopkins, *GEI.* 365, 386.

Kingship during the Pārikshita-Janaka period was not merely a "Patriarchal Presidency." The monarch was not merely a chief noble, the first among equals, 'President of a Council of Peers.' In several Vedic texts he is represented as the master of his people. He claimed the power of giving his kingdom away to anybody he liked, and taxing the people as much as he liked. He surpassed ordinary mortals. In the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* Janaka says to Yājñavalkya, "*So'haṃ Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi māñchāpi saha dāsyāyeti.*"[1] The king is called "*Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati*" and is further described as the devourer of the people—*Viśāmattā.*[2] "*Rājā ta ekaṁ mukhaṁ tena mukhena Viśo'tsi.*"[3] In the famous laud of the *Atharva Veda* Parikshit, king of the Kurus, is extolled as a *deva* who excelled mere mortals (*martyas*).

The king, however, was **not an absolute despot** in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by the Brāhmaṇas. We have seen that the most powerful sovereigns, even those who were consecrated with the *Punarabhisheka*, had to descend from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas who formed the higher educated community of those days. We learn from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[4] and the Kauṭilīya *Arthaśāstra*[5] that even a powerful king like Janamejaya was humbled by the Brāhmaṇas. The Vṛishṇis perished on account of their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. This shows that not only kings, but republican corporations (*Saṅgha*), too, had to cultivate friendly relations with the Brāhmaṇas.

The second check was supplied by the ministers and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted regularly on important occasions. In the Vedic texts the *Sūta* and the *Grāmaṇī* are

[1] Brih. Up., IV, 4. 23. [2] Ait. Br., VIII. 17. [3] Kaush., Up., II. 6.
[4] VII. 27. [5] Ed. 1919, p. 11.

styled *Rājakartṛi* or *Rājakṛit*, *i.e.*, **King-maker,** "*Rājakṛitaḥ Sūta Grāmaṇyaḥ.*" [1] The very title indicates their importance in the body politic. They, as well as the other *Ratnins*, figure prominently in the sacrifice of royal inauguration.

The claim of the ministers and village headmen to be consulted was certainly recognised by the kings down to the time of Bimbisāra. The *Mahāvagga* says,[2] "King Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors (*Amacce Pārisajje sannipātā petvā*) and said to them: 'If you should see, my good sirs, young Dīghāvu, the son of king Dīghīti of Kosala, what would you do to him?'" The *Mahā assāroha Jātaka*[3] refers to a king who by beat of drum through the city gathered together his councillors. In the *Mahāvagga* we find the following passage:[4] "Now when Seṇiya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, was holding an asssembly of the eighty thousand *Grāmikas* (village headmen) he sent message to Soṇa Koḷivisa." The *Chulla-Sutasoma Jātaka* also refers to the eighty thousand councillors of a king headed by his general. These were asked to elect a king.[5] The king-making power of the councillors is recognised also in the *Pādañjali* and *Sonaka Jātakas*.

Another check was supplied by the general body of the people (*Janāḥ*) who were distinct from the ministers and *Grāmaṇīs*, or *Grāmikas*, and who used to meet in an assembly styled **Samiti** or **Parishad** in the *Upanishads*. In the *Utkrośana* passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[6] the people (*Janāḥ*) are clearly distinguished from the *Rājakartāraḥ* among whom, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[7] were

[1] Śat. Br., III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18.
[2] SBE., XVII 304.
[3] No. 302.
[4] SBE., XVII, p. 1.
[5] Cowell's *Jātaka*, V, p. 97; 'eighty thousand' is a stock number
[6] VIII. 17.
[7] III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18.

included the *Sūta* and the *Grāmaṇī*. That the *Samiti* or *Parishad* was an assembly of the *Janāḥ*, *i.e.*, the whole people, is apparent from such expressions as "*Bhūyishṭhāḥ Kurupañchālāssmāgatā bhavitāraḥ...*",[1] "*Pañchālānāṁ Samitim eyāya*," "*Pañchālānāṁ Parishadam ājagāma*." The *Chhāndogya Upanishad*[2] mentions the *Samiti* of the Pañchāla people presided over by king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, *Śvetaketur h Āruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānāṁ Samitim eyāya; taṁ ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha*" The *Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*[3] uses the term *Parishad* instead of *Samiti*, "*Śvetaketur ha vā Āruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānāṁ Parishadamājagāma*." The analogy of the Lichchhavi *Parishā* mentioned in Buddhist works shows that the functions of the Kuru and Pañchāla *Parishads* were not necessarily confined to philosophical discussions only. The *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*[4] refers to disputations (*saṁvāda*) and witnesses (*upadrashṭṛi*) in connection with popular assemblies, and informs us that the procedure among the Kurus and the Pañchālas was different from that of Śūdras. The people took part in the ceremony of royal inauguration.[5] The *Dummedha Jātaka*[6] refers to a joint assembly of ministers, Brāhmaṇas, the gentry, and the other orders of the people.

That the people actually put a curb on royal absolutism is proved by the testimony of the *Atharva Veda*[7] where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential for the former's prosperity. We have evidence that the people sometimes expelled and even executed their princes together with unpopular officials. Thus it is stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[8] "Now Dushṭarītu Pauṁsāyana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come to

[1] "Most of the Kurupañchālas shall be assembled together," Jaim. Up. Br. III. 7. 6.

[2] V. 3. 1. [3] VI. 2. 1. [4] III. 7. 6. [5] Ait. Br., VIII. 17.

[6] No. 50. [7] VI. 88. 3.

[8] XII. 9. 3. 1 *et seq.*; Eggeling, V. 269.

him through ten generations, and the Sṛiñjayas also expelled Revottaras Pāṭava Chākra *Sthapati*."[1] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] refers to personages who were expelled from their kingdoms (*rāshṭras*) and who were anxious to recover them with the help of the Kshatriya consecrated with the *Punarabhisheka*. Such persons were the Indian counterparts of the French "emigrants" who sought to reclaim revolutionary France with the help of the troops of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns.[3] We learn from the *Vessantara Jātaka* that the king of Sivi was compelled to banish prince Vessantara in obedience to "the people's sentence."

The king was told :

The bidding of the Sivi folk if you refuse to do
The people then will act, methinks, against your son and you.

The king replied :

Behold the people's will, and I that will do not gainsay.

The *Padakusalamānava Jātaka*[4] tells a story how the town and the countryfolk of a kingdom assembled, beat the king and priest to death as they were guilty of theft, and anointed a good man as king. A similar story is told in the *Sachchaṁkira Jātaka*.[5] We are told in the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka* that the people of one kingdom killed the minister, deposed the king, made him an outcaste and anointed a prince as king. The ex-king was not allowed to enter into

[1] For the designation '*Sthapati*,' see *ante*, 142, and *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 131; *Fleet* CII. 120.

[2] VIII. 10.

[3] *Cf.* Lodge, *Modern Europe*, p. 517.

[4] No. 432.

[5] No. 73.

the capital city. Fick[1] and, following him, Dr. D R. Bhandarkar, point out that in the *Telapatta Jātaka* a king of Takshaśilā says that he has no power over the subjects of his kingdom. This is in striking contrast with the utterance of Janaka quoted above, "*Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi,*" etc. Evidently the royal power had declined appreciably, at least in the north-west, since the days of Janaka.

The more important **attributes of kingship** are referred to in the "*Utkrośana*" passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*[2] The monarch is there described as "*Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati,*" *i.e.*, sovereign lord of all beings, "*Viśāmattā,*" *i.e.*, devourer of the people, "*Amitrāṇām hantā,*" *i.e.*, destroyer of enemies, "*Brāhmaṇānām goptā,*" *i.e.*, protector of the Brāhmaṇas, and *Dharmasya goptā*, *i.e.*, guardian of the laws. In the expressions quoted here we have reference to the king's sovereignty and *imperium*, his power of taxation, his military functions, his relations with the hierarchy, and his judicial duties.

[1] *The Social Organisation in North-East India*, trans. by Dr. S. K. Maitra, pp. 113-114.

[2] VIII. 17.

PART II

Political History of Ancient India

PART II

From the Coronation of Bimbisāra to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. FOREWORD.

The following pages deal with the political history of India from the time of Bimbisāra to that of the Guptas.

For this period we are fortunately in possession of authentic historical materials in addition to literary tradition to which reference has already been made in the first part of the book. These materials are derived principally from the following sources: Inscriptions, coins, accounts left by foreign observers and works of Indian authors of known date and authenticity. Inscriptions engraved on stone and copper undoubtedly form the most copious and important source. Hardly less important are the coins which constitute almost the sole evidence of the history of certain dynasties of the second and first centuries B.C. Foreign accounts, especially the records of Greek diplomats and navigators and of Chinese annalists and pilgrims, are especially valuable in connection with the vexed question of Indian chronology. Works of Indian writers of known date, that illumine the darkness of our period and afford interesting glimpses into political history are extremely rare and comprise the *Mahābhāshya* (Great Commentary) of Patañjali, the

Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha and the *Harsha-charita* (Deeds of Harsha) of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

For the history of the period from Bimbisāra to Aśoka I cannot claim much originality. The subject has been treated by Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Smith, and a flood of new light has been thrown on the history of particular dynasties by Professors Geiger, Bhandarkar, Rapson, Jayaswal, Jackson, Herzfeld, Hultzsch and others. I have made use of the information contained in their works, and have supplemented it with fresh data gathered mainly from epical and Jaina sources. I have also tried to present old materials in a new shape, and my conclusions are not unoften different from those of former writers.

In the chapter on the Later Mauryas I have examined the causes of the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire, and have tried to demonstrate the unsoundness of the current theory that "the fall of the Maurya authority was due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmans." [1]

My treatment of the history of the Early Post-Mauryan and Scythian periods, though not entirely original, is different in many respects from that of previous authors. I have not been able to accept the current views with regard to the history and chronology of several dynasties, notably of the Early Sātavāhanas, the Greeks of Śākala, and the Śaka-Pahlavas of the *Uttarāpatha* or North-West India.

In my account of the Gupta period I have made use of the mass of fresh materials accumulated since the publication of the works of Bühler, Fleet, Smith and Allan. The relations of Samudra Gupta with the Vākāṭakas have been discussed, and an attempt has been made to present a connected history of the Later Guptas.[2]

[1] The Chapter on the Later Mauryas was published in the *JASB.*, 1920.
The Chapter on the Later Guptas was published in the *JASB.*, 1920.

Section II. Local Autonomy and Imperial Unity.

The chief interest of the political history of the post-Bimbisārian Age lies in the interaction of two opposing forces, *viz.*, the ideal of local (*Jānapada*) autonomy and the attempt at imperial unity. The former ideal is best expressed in the words of Manu—*sarvam paravaśaṁ duḥkham, sarvam ātmavaśaṁ sukham,*[1] "subjection to others is full of misery, subjection to self leads to happiness." The love of local self-rule was in part fostered by geographical conditions. The intersection of the land of India by deep rivers and winding chains of mountains flanked by sandy deserts or impenetrable forests, developed a spirit of isolation and cleft the country asunder into small political units whose divergences were accentuated by the infinite variety of local conditions. But the vast riparian plain of the north and the extensive plateau in the interior of the Deccan Peninsula, decked with green by the life-giving streams that flow from the majestic heights of the Himālayas and the Western Ghats, fostered an opposite tendency—an inclination towards union and coalescence. The desire for union under one political authority became manifest as early as the Brāhmaṇa period and found expression in passages like the following :—

"May he (the king) be all-encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler (*Ekarāṭ*)."

The ideal persists throughout our period and inspired poets and political philosophers who spoke of the thousand *Yojanas* (leagues) of land that stretch from the Himālayas to the sea as the proper domain of a single universal emperor (*Chakravarti-kshetra*) and eulogised monarchs who protected the earth decked with the Ganges, as with a pearl necklace,

[1] *Manusaṁhitā*, IV. 160.

adorned with the Himavat and the Vindhya, as with two earrings, and robed with a swinging girdle in the shape of the rocking oceans.

The imperial ideal had to contend with the centrifugal forces of *Jānapada* autonomy. It could hardly have been realised in practice but for the presence of a new factor in Indian politics—the danger threatening from foreign invaders. It was only when the "earth was harassed by the barbarians" (*Mlechchhairudvejyamānā*) that she sought refuge in the strong arms of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the first great historical emperor of India—whose dominions undoubtedly transcended the limits of *Āryāvarta*. Among the early empire-builders of the south was a prince who rid his country of the Scythians, Greeks and Parthians (*Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nishūdana*). And the rulers who revived the imperial glory of Magadha in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., were warriors who humbled the pride of the Scythian "Son of Heaven" and braved the wrath of the Śaka king in his own city. According to sacred legends Vishṇu in the shape of a Boar had rescued the earth in the aeon of universal destruction. It is significant that the worship of the Boar Incarnation became widely popular in the Gupta-Chalukya period. The poet Viśākhadatta actually identifies the man in whose arms the earth found refuge when harassed by the *Mlechchhas*, who "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of his country, with the *Vārāhītanu* (Boar form) of the Self-Existent Being. Great emperors both in the north and the south recalled the feats of the Great Boar and the mightiest ruler of a dynasty that kept the Arabs at bay for centuries actually took the title of *Ādivarāha* or the Primeval Boar. The Boar Incarnation then symbolized the successful struggle of Indians against the devastating floods issuing from tne regions outside their borders that threatened to overwhelm their country and civilisation in a common ruin.

CHAPTER II

The Rise of Magadha

Sarvamūrddhābhishiktānāmesha mūrddhni jvalishyati
prabhāharo'yaṁ sarveshāṁ jyotishāmiva bhāskaraḥ
enamāsādya rājānaḥ samṛiddha-balavāhanāḥ
Vināśamupayāsyanti śalabhā iva pāvakam.
—*Mahābhārata.*[1]

Section I. The Age of Bimbisāra.

Under the vigorous kings of the race of Bimbisāra and Nanda, Magadha played the same part in ancient Indian history which Wessex played in the annals of pre-Norman England, and Prussia in the history of modern Germany. It was about the middle of the sixth century B.C., that Bimbisāra or Śreṇya (Śreṇika) of the **Haryanka-kula** (called also Seṇiya Bimbisāra), son of a petty *Rājā* of South Bihār, the real founder of the Magadhan *imperial* power, mounted his ancestral throne. The *Mahāvaṁsa*[2] tells us that "the virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father—two and fifty years he reigned." We learn from the *Sutta Nipāta*[3] that the Magadhan capital was at this time at Rājagaha or Rājagṛiha, "the Giribbaja (Girivraja) in Magadha."

The early Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on the political condition of India in the time of Bimbisāra. There were, as Prof. Rhys Davids observes, "besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics four kingdoms

1 II. 19. 10-11.

2 Geiger's translation, p. 12. Bimbisāra was not the founder of the dynasty to which he belonged. But it was he who, judging from available evidence, launched it on a career of conquest and expansion in the historical period.

3 SBE., X. II. 67.

of considerable extent and power."[1] In addition to these there were a number of smaller kingdoms and some non-Aryan principalities. The most important amongst the **republics** were the Vajjians of Vaiśāli and the Mallas of Kusinārā (Kuśīnagara) and Pāvā.[2] An account of both these peoples has already been given. Among the smaller republics Rhys Davids mentions the Śākyas of Kapilavastu,[3] the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of Suṁsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana.

The **Sākyas** were settled in the territory bordered on the north by the Himālayas, on the east by the river Rohiṇī,[4] and on the west and south by the Rāptī.[5] They claimed to belong to the solar (*Āditya*) race and Ikshvāku family, and, as we have already seen, acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Kosala. The **Koliyas** were their eastern neighbours. The introductory portion of the *Kunāla Jātaka* says that the Śākya and Koliya tribes had the river Rohiṇī, which flows between Kapilavastu and the capital of the Koliyas, confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. "Once upon a time in the month *Jeṭṭhamūla* when the crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from amongst the dwellers of both cities assembled together." Then followed a scramble for water. From the mutual recriminations which ensued we learn that the Śākyas had the custom of marrying their own sisters.

1 *Buddhist India*, p. 1.

2 Twelve miles from Kusinārā (Cunningham, *AGI.*, revised ed., 1924, p. 498; old ed., p. 434). Between Pāvā and Kusinārā there was a stream called Kukutthā, the Cacouthes of the Classical writers.

3 Piprāwā in the north of the Bastī district, or Tilaura Kōṭ and neighbouring ruins in the Tarāi about 10 miles to the NW. of Piprāwā. (Smith, EHI., third ed., p. 159.) For the institutions of the city, see *Bud. Ind.*, p. 19.

4 A tributary of the Rāptī (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 96).

5 Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 161; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 95-96.

In the *Tīrthayātrā* section of the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*[1] mention is made of a place called Kapilāvaṭa. It is not altogether improbable that we have here a Brāhmaṇical reference to the capital of the Śākyas.

The **Bhaggas** (Bhargas) are known to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] and the *Ashṭādhyāyī*.[3] The former work refers to the Bhārgāyaṇa prince Kairiśi Sutvan. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C., the Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom; for we learn from the preface to the *Dhonasākha Jātaka*,[4] that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana, king of the Vatsas, dwelt in Suṁsumāragiri and built a palace called *Kokanada*. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* also testify to the close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhargas (Bhaggas):

" *Vatsabhūmiñcha Kaunteyo vijigye balavān balāt*
Bhargāṇāmadhipañchaiva Nishādādhipatiṁ tathā."[5]

"(Bhīmasena) the mighty son of Kuntī, conquered by force the Vatsa country and the lord of the Bhargas and then the lord of the Nishādas."

" *Pratardanasya putrau dvau Vatsa-Bhargau babhūvatuḥ.*[6]

" Pratardana had two sons, Vatsa and Bharga."

Regarding the **Bulis** and the **Kālāmas** we know very little. The *Dhammapada commentary*[7] refers to the Buli territory as the kingdom of Allakappa, and says that it was 10 leagues in extent. From the story of its king's intimate relationship with king Veṭhadīpaka it may be presumed that Allakappa lay not far from Veṭhadīpa, the home of a famous Brāhmaṇa in the early days of Buddhism,

[1] III. 84. 31.
[2] VIII. 28.
[3] IV. I. 111, 177.
[4] No. 353.
[5] *Mbh.*, II. 30. 10-11.
[6] *Hariv.*, 29. 73.
[7] Harvard Oriental Series, 28, p. 247.

who made a cairn over the remains of the Buddha in his native land.[1] The Kālāmas were the clan of the philosopher Ālāra.[2] The name of their *nigama* (town) Kesaputta, reminds us of the Keśins, a people mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] and probably also in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini,[4] and connected with the Pañchālas and Dālbhyas who appear in the *Ṛig Veda*,[5] as settled on the banks of the Gomatī. Kesaputta itself seems to have been situated in Kosala,[6] and no doubt acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of that powerful state.

The **Moriyas** were undoubtedly the same clan which gave Magadha its greatest dynasty.[7] Pipphalivana, the Moriya capital, is apparently identical with the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, where stood the famous Embers Tope.[8] Fa Hien tells us that the Tope lay 12 Yojanas (54 miles?) to the west of Kusinārā.[9]

Among the **smaller kingdoms** may be mentioned Gandhāra ruled by Pukkusāti, Roruka (in Sauvīra or the Lower Indus Valley) governed by Rudrāyaṇa,[10] Śurasena ruled by Subāhu Avantiputta, and Aṅga under the sway of Dṛiḍhavarman.

The most famous amongst the **non-Aryan principalities** was the realm of the Yakkha **Alavaka.**[11] This little

1 Majumdar Śāstrī connects Veṭhadīpa with Kasia (AGI, 1924, 714); *cf.* Fleet in JRAS, 1906, p. 900n; Hoey suggests that Veṭhadīpa is Bettiah in the Champaran District of Bihār.

2 *Buddhacharita*, XII. 2.

3 *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 186.

4 VI. 4. 165.

5 V. 61.

6 The *Aṅguttara* (P.T.S., I, 188; Nipāta III, 65).

7 "Then did the Brāhmaṇa Cāṇakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Candagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas." Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 27.

8 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 135; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 23-24; Cunningham, *AGI.*, *old ed.*, pp. 429, 433.

9 *Legge*, *Fa Hien*, p. 79. Watters, I, 141. *Cf.* JRAS., 1903. 368.

10 *Divyāvadāna*, p. 545.

11 *Sutta Nipāta*, SBE., X, II. 29-30.

state was situated near the Ganges and was probably identical with the Chanchu territory visited by Hiuen Tsang. Cunningham and Smith identify the country with the Ghāzipur region.[1] It had Ālavī[2] for its capital. This city seems to be identical with the town of Ālabhiyā mentioned in the *Uvāsagadasāo*.[3] Near it there was a large forest.[4] According to Hoernle the name of the kingdom represents the Sanskrit *Aṭavī* which means a forest. The same scholar points out that in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* Ālavī is mentioned in a list of twenty names of cities including Bārāṇasī, Sāvatthī, Vesālī, Mithilā, Ālavī, Kosambhī, Ujjenī, Takkasilā, Champā, Sāgala, Suṁsumāragira, Rājagaha, Kapilavatthu, Sāketa, Indapaṭṭa, Ukkaṭṭha,[5] Pāṭaliputtaka, Jettuttara,[6] Saṁkassa and Kusinārā. The *Chullavagga*[7] mentions the Aggālava shrine at Ālavī. In the *Uvāsagadasāo* the king of Ālabhiyā is named *Jiyasattū* (Jitaśatru, conqueror of enemies). But *Jiyasattū* seems to have been a common designation of kings like the epithet *Devānampiya* of a later age. The name is given also to the rulers of **Sāvatthī**, Kampilla, Mithilā, **Champā**, Vāṇiyagāma, Bārāṇasī and Polasapura, who were contemporaries of Mahāvīra.[8] Buddhist writers refer to other Yakkha principalities besides Ālavaka.[9]

The most important factors in the political history of the period were, however, neither the republics nor the

[1] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 61, 340.

[2] *Sutta Nipāta*; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 275.

[3] II, p. 103; Appendix, pp. 51-53.

[4] *Cf. The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 160.

[5] A town in the Kingdom of Kosala (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 108).

[6] Near Chitor (N. L. Dey).

[7] VI. 17.

[8] *Cf.* Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, pp. 6, 64, 100, 103, 106, 118, 166. In the *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa* (ed. *G. Śāstri*, p 645), a king of Gauḍa is styled "*Jitaśatru.*" It is absurd to suggest, as does Hoernle (p 103 n), that Jiyasattū, Prasenajit and Cheḍaga were identical. *Cf. Indian Culture*, II, 806.

[9] *Cf. Sutta Nipāta*, S.B.E., Vol. X, II, p. 45.

Yakkha (Yaksha) principalities but the **four great kingdoms** of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha.[1]

In **Kosala** king Mahākosala had been succeeded by his son Pasenadi or Prasenajit. The new king preserved unimpaired the extensive heritage received from his father, and ruled Kāsi and Kosala. He also exercised suzerainty over the Śākya and Kālāma territories. We have already seen that the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* refers to him as the head of a group of five Rājās, "on one occasion when the Exalted One was at Sāvatthī, five *Rājās*, the Pasenadi being the chief among them, were indulging in various forms of amusement." [2]

In her interesting article, "*Sage and King in Kosala-Saṁyutta,*" Mrs. Rhys Davids admirably sums up the character of Pasenadi. "He is shown combining like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of a good 'family man,' indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, a magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also is both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not."[3] We learn from the *Ambaṭṭha* and

[1] These were ruled, according to the Tibetans, by Prasenajit, son of Brahmadatta (Mahākosala), Udayana, son of Śatānīka, Pradyota, son of Anantanemi (Puṇika or Puṇaka), and Bimbisāra, son of Mahāpadma respectively (*Essay on Guṇāḍhya*, p. 173). There is no unanimity among ancient writers regarding the names of the parents of Bimbisāra and some of his royal contemporaries.

[2] For the identification of the Rājās, see Part I *ante*, 131f.

[3] *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 134.

Lohichcha Suttas[1] that Pasenadi was a patron of the Brāhmaṇas, and gave them spots on royal domains with power over them as if they were kings. He was also a friend of the Buddha and his followers, and made monasteries for their habitation.[2]

He had many queens, one of whom was, according to the *Dhammapada commentary*, a princess of Magadha. More famous among the royal consorts were Mallikā, daughter of the chief of garland-makers in Sāvatthī, and Vāsabha Khattiyā born to a Śākya named Mahānāman from a slave woman. He had a daughter called Vajirā or Vajīrī Kumāri,[3] and a son named Viḍūḍabha whose mother was Vāsabha Khattiyā. Prince Viḍūḍabha at first appears to have served as his father's *Senāpati* or *General.*[4] Afterwards he succeeded to the throne[5] and perpetrated a ferocious massacre of the Śākyas.

Hoernle in the *Uvāsagadasāo*[6] refers to Mṛigadhara, who is said to have been the first minister of Prasenajit or Pasenadi. Dr. Bhandarkar refers to another minister called Siri-Vaḍḍha. A third important official was Dīgha Chārāyaṇa.[7] He is probably identical with Dīrgha Chārāyaṇa mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* as an author of a treatise on kingly duties,[8] and by Vātsyāyana

1 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 108, 288.

2 *Gagga Jātaka*, No. 155.

3 *Majjhima*, II, p. 110.

4 For the employment of princes as *Senāpati*, see Kauṭilya (Mysore edition, 1919), p. 34 ; *cf.* 346.

5 Viḍūḍabha's name is generally omitted in Purāṇic manuscripts. The Purāṇas, however, mention a king named Suratha. Pargiter points out (*D.K.A.*, 12, n 63) that one manuscript of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* gives the name *Viḍuratha* instead of Suratha. But that prince is represented as the great-grandson of Prasenajit. Similarly the Purāṇas represent Udāyin as the grandson of Ajātaśatru. These instances emphasize the need for a critical handling of the Purāṇic lists.

6 II, Appendix, p. 56.

7 *Majjhima*, *N.*, II, p. 118.

8 *Cf.* *Nītivijita Chārāyaṇaḥ*, *Ep. Indica*, III, p. 210.

as an author of the science of Erotics. His uncle Bandhula was a general.

The Buddhist texts throw some light on the foreign and internal affairs of Pasenadi's reign. The *Majjhima Nikāya*[1] tells us that the Kosalan monarch was on friendly terms with Seṇiya Bimbisāra and the *Visālikā* Lichchhavī. But he was much troubled by marauders like Aṅgulimāla. We read in the *Mahāvagga*[2] that certain *Bikkhus* travelling on the road from Sāketa to Sāvatthī were killed by robbers. Then the king's soldiers came and caught some of the ruffians. In another passage[3] of the *Mahāvagga* it is stated that a residence of the *Bikkhus* in the Kosala country was menaced by savages.

In the **Vatsa** kingdom king Śatānīka Parantapa was succeeded by his son Udayana who is the hero of many Indian legends.[4] The commentary on the *Dhammapada* gives the story of the way in which Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avanti, became his wife. It also mentions two other queens of the Vatsa king, *viz.*, Māgandiyā, daughter of a Kuru Brāhmaṇa, and Sāmāvatī. The *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* attributed to Bhāsa, and some other works, mention another queen named Padmāvatī who is represented as sister to king Darśaka of Magadha. The *Priyadarśikā* speaks of Udayana's marriage with Āraṇyakā, the daughter of Dṛiḍhavarman, king of Aṅga. The *Ratnāvalī* tells the story of the love of the king of

1 II, p. 101.

2 S. B. E., XIII, p. 220.

3 P. 261.

4 For a detailed account of the legends, see "*Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihatkathā*," by Prof. Félix Lacôte, translated by Rev. A. M. Tabard. See also *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1920-21 ; Gune, "*Pradyota, Udayana, and Sreṇika—A Jaina Legend* ;" J. Sen, "The Riddle of the Pradyota Dynasty" (I. H. Q., 1930, pp. 678-700); Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, *Priyadarśikā*, lxii ff. ; Aiyangar Com. Vol., 352 ff.

Vatsa and of Sāgarikā, an attendant of his queen Vāsavadattā. Stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti in the time of Kālidāsa as we learn from the *Meghadūta*: "*prāpy Āvantim Udayana-kathā-kovida grāmavṛiddhān.*" The *Jātakas* throw some sidelight on the character of this king. In the preface to the *Mātaṅga Jātaka* it is related that in a fit of drunken rage he had Piṇḍola tortured by having a nest of ants tied to him. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* of Somaveda, a writer of the eleventh century A.D., contains a long account of Udayana's *Digvijaya*.[1] The *Priyadarśikā* of Śrīharsha[2] speaks of the king's victory over the lord of Kaliṅga, and the restoration of his father-in-law Dṛiḍhavarman to the throne of Aṅga. It is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables. It seems that Udayana was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Aṅga and Magadha.

The throne of **Avanti** was at this time occupied by Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena whose sons Gopālaka and Pālaka and daughter Vāsavadattā, the chief queen of Udayana, are known to the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana* and some other works. Another prince of the family, Kumārasena, finds mention in the *Harsha-charita*. Regarding the character of Pradyota the *Mahāvagga* says that he was cruel.[3] The *Purāṇas* tell us that he was "*nayavarjita*," *i.e.*, destitute of good policy. The same authorities observe that "he will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him—*sa vai pranata sāmantaḥ*." That he was a king feared by his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[4] that Ajātaśatru, son of

[1] Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 148 ff.

[2] Act IV. Udayana's capital, Kauśāmbī, stood on the banks of the Kālindī or Jumna (Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, *Priyadarśikā*, lxxvi, following *Bṛihatkathā Śloka Saṁgraha*).

[3] S.B.E., XVII, p. 187.

[4] III. 7.

Bimbisāra, fortified Rājagṛiha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota.[1]

Magadha, as we have already seen, was ruled by Bimbisāra himself. He maintained friendly relations with his northern and western neighbours. He received an embassy and a letter from Pukkusāti (Pushkarasārin), the king of Gandhāra. When Pradyota was suffering from jaundice the Magadhan king sent the physician Jīvaka. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the ruling families of Madra, Kosala[2] and Vaiśālī. These marriages were of great importance for the history of Magadha. They paved the way for the expansion of the kingdom both westward and northward. Bimbisāra's Kosalan wife brought a Kāsi village producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.[3] According to the *Thusa Jātaka*[4] and the *Mushika Jātaka*[5] the Kosalan princess was the mother of Ajātaśatru. The preface to the *Jātakas* says, "At the time of his (Ajātaśatru's) conception there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra." In the *Saṁyukta Nikāya*[6] Pasenadi of Kosala calls Ajātaśatru his nephew. On page 38 of the *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, however, Maddā (Madrā) appears as the name of Ajātaśatru's mother. The Jaina writers, on the other hand, represent Chellaṇā,

[1] According to a Jaina legend Pradyota went forth to attack Rājagṛiha even during the lifetime of Bimbisāra. He was foiled by the cunning of Prince Abhaya (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1920-21, 3). Pradyota was also unsuccessful in his war with Pushkarasārin, king of Taxila, and was only saved from disaster by the outbreak of hostilities between Pushkarasārin and the Pāṇḍavas (*Essay on Guṇāḍhya*, 176).

[2] According to the *Dhammapada commentary* (Harvard, 29, 60; 30, 225) Bimbisāra and Pasenadi were connected by marriage, each having married a sister of the other. Bimbisāra's chief consort was Khemā.

[3] *Jātaka*, Nos. 239, 283, 492.

[4] No 338.

[5] No 373.

[6] *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 110.

daughter of Chetaka of Vaiśālī, as the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. The *Nikāyas* call Ajātaśatru Vedehiputta. This seems to confirm the Jaina tradition because Vaiśālī was situated in Videha. Buddhaghosha, however, resolves "*Vedehi*" into *Veda-Iha*, *Vedena Ihati* or intellectual effort.[1] In this connection we should remember that even Kosalan monarchs had sometimes the epithet *Vaideha*.[2] It is difficult to come to a final decision with regard to the parentage of the mother of Ajātaśatru from the data at our disposal.

Disarming the hostility of his powerful western and northern neighbours by his shrewd policy, Bimbisāra could devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Aṅga which he annexed after defeating Brahmadatta.[3] The annexation of Aṅga by Bimbisāra is proved by the evidence of the *Mahāvagga*[4] and of the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* in which it is stated that the revenues of the town of Champā have been bestowed by King Bimbisāra on the Brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa. We learn from Jaina sources[5] that Aṅga was governed as a separate province under the Magadhan Crown Prince with Champā as its capital. Thus by war and policy Bimbisāra added Aṅga and a part of Kāsi to the Magadhan dominions, and launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga. We learn from the *Mahāvagga* that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000[6] townships, the overseers (*Gāmikas*) of which used to meet in a great assembly.

1 *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 109 n.

2 *Cf. Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 190, 491; Para Āṭṇāra is called both *Vaideha* and *Kausalya*.

3 JASB., 1914, p. 321.

4 SBE., XVII, p. 1.

5 Hemachandra, the author of the *Sthavirāvalī*; *cf.* also the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* and the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra* (ed. Warren, p. 3). King (*rāyā*) Kuṇiya, son of King Seṇiya by Chellaṇādevī, ruled in Champānagarī in Bhāratavarsha, which is in Jambudvīpa.

6 Apparently a stock number.

The victories of Bimbisāra's reign were probably due in large measure to the vigour and efficiency of his administration. We are informed by the *Chullavagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[1] that he exercised a rigid control over his High Officers, dismissing those who advised him badly and rewarding those whose advice he approved of. The Highest Officers (*Mahāmātras*) were divided into three classes, *viz.*, (1) *Sabbatthaka* (the officer in charge of general affairs), (2) *Vohārika Mahāmattas* (judges) and (3) *Senā-nāyaka Mahāmattas* (generals).

The *Vinaya* texts afford us a glimpse into the activities of these *Mahāmattas* (*Mahāmātras*), and the rough and ready justice meted out to criminals. Thus we have reference not only to imprisonment in jails (*kārā*), but also to punishment by scourging, branding, beheading, tearing out the tongue, breaking ribs, etc. Information regarding activities of a different kind is given by the Chinese pilgrims. Hiuen Tsang, for instance, refers to Bimbisāra's road and causeway, and says that when Kuśāgrapura[2] (old Rājagṛiha) was afflicted by fires the king went to the cemetery and built the new city of Rājagṛiha Fa Hien, however, gives the credit for the foundation of New Rājagṛiha to Ajātaśatru.

Bimbisāra had many sons, namely, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru (Aśokachandra of the *Kathākoça*), Halla and Vehalla (born from queen Chellaṇā), Abhaya (born from queen Nandā), Sīlavat, Vimala-Koṇḍañña, and Kālaga. Ajātaśatru seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā.[3] He is said to have killed his father and seized the entire kingdom.

[1] VII. 3.5. See also *Vinaya*, I. 73, 74 f., 207, 240.

[2] Probably named after the early Magadhan King Kuśāgra (*AIHT.*, 149).

[3] *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, *Nirayāvali Sūtra*, *Pariśishṭaparvan* and the *Kathākoça*, p. 178.

Dr. Smith regards the story of the murder as 'the product of *odium theologicum*,' and shows excessive scepticism in regard to the evidence of the Pāli canon and chronicles. But the general credibility of these works has been maintained by scholars like Rhys Davids and Geiger whose conclusions seem to be confirmed in many respects by the testimony of independent classical and Jaina writers.[1]

[1] *Cf.* the Jaina attempt to whitewash Kūṇika from the stain of intentional parricide (Jacobi referring to the *Nirayāvali Sūtra* in his *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadravāhu, 1879, p. 5). According to the *Chullavagga*, VII. 3.5 Bimbisāra is said to have handed over the kingdom (Magadha or Champā?) to Ajātaśatru, the Prince.

Section II. Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.

The reign of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru was the highwater mark of the power of the Bimbisārian (Haryaṅka) dynasty.[1] He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāsi, but also absorbed the state of Vaiśālī. The traditional account of his **duel with Kosala** is given in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*[2] and the *Haritamāta, Vaḍḍhaki-Sūkara, Kummā Sapiṇḍa, Tachchha Sūkara* and the *Bhaddasāla Jātakas*. It is said that after Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, his father, the queen Kosalā Devī died of love for him. "Even after her death Ajātaśatru still enjoyed the revenues of the Kāsi village which had been given to the lady Kosalā for bath money. But Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, determined that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance and made war upon Ajātaśatru. Sometimes the uncle got the best of it, and sometimes the nephew. On one occasion the Kosalan monarch fled away in defeat; on another occasion he took Ajātaśatru prisoner. His daughter Vajirā he gave in marriage to his captive nephew and dismissed her with the Kāsi village for her bath money." It is stated in the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* that during Pasenadi's absence in a country town, Dīgha Chārāyaṇa, the Commander-in-Chief, raised prince Viḍūḍabha to the throne. The ex-king set out for Rājagaha (Rājagṛiha), resolved to take his nephew (Ajātaśatru) with him and capture Viḍūḍabha. But he died from exposure outside the gates of Rājagaha.

[1] The *Aupapātika Sūtra* applies to him the title Devānupiya (I.A. 1881. 108).

[2] *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, pp. 109-110.

The traditional account of Ajātaśatru-Kūṇika's **war with Vaiśālī** is given by Jaina writers. King Seṇiya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant *Seyaṇaga* (*Sechanaka*, the sprinkler), together with a huge necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vehalla born from his wife Chellaṇā, the daughter of Rājā Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī. His eldest son Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru), after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paümāvaī (Padmāvatī), demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their grandfather Cheṭaka in Vaiśālī, Kūṇiya having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Cheṭaka.[1] According to Buddhaghosha's commentary the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*,[2] the cause of the war was a breach of trust on the part of the Lichchhavis in connection with a mine of precious gems.

The preliminaries to the struggle between Magadha and Vaiśālī are described in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*. In the *Mahāvagga* it is related that Sunidha and Vassakāra, two ministers of Magadha, were building a fort at Pāṭaligāma in order to repel the Vajjis. The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*[3] says "the Blessed One was once dwelling in Rājagaha on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin.'

1 *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p. 7; *cf.* Tawney, *Kathākoça*, pp. 176 ff.

2 Burmese Edition, Part II, p. 99. See now B. C Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 199.

3 Trans. by Rhys Davids.

"So he spake to the Brāhmaṇa Vassakāra, the prime minister of Magadha, and said 'Come now, Brāhmaṇa, do you go to the Blessed One, and...tell him that Ajātasattu... has resolved, 'I will root out these Vajjians.' Vassakāra hearkened to the words of the king..." (and delivered to the Buddha the message even as the king had commanded).

In the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra* (*Nirayāvaliyā-Sutta*) it is related that when Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) prepared to attack Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī the latter called together the eighteen *Gaṇarājas*[1] of Kāsi and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kūṇika's demands, or go to war with him. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaiśālī are referred to in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.[2] There is thus no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kāsi-Kosala on the one hand and Vaiśālī on the other. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātaśatru including the rulers of Kāsi-Kosala and Vaiśālī offered a combined resistance. The Kosalan war and the Vajjian war were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha. This struggle reminds us of the tussle of the Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls with the rising power of Rome.

In the war with Vaiśālī Kūṇiya-Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of the *Mahāsilākanṭaga* and *ra(t)hamusala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men.[3] The

[1] Chiefs of republican clans.

[2] Vol. II, p. 101.

[3] *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 60; *Kathākoça*, p. 179.

ra(t)hamusala may be compared to the tanks used in the great European war of 1914-18.

The war is said to have synchronised with the death of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, the great teacher of the Ājīvika sect. Sixteen years later at the time of Mahāvīra's death the anti-Magadhan confederacy is said to have been still in existence. We learn from the *Kalpa Sūtra* that on the death of Mahāvīra the confederate kings mentioned in the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra* instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event.[1] The struggle between the Magadhan king and the powers arrayed against him thus seems to have been protracted for more than sixteen years. The *Aṭṭhakathā* gives an account of the Machiavellian tactics adopted by Magadhan statesmen headed by Vassakāra to sow the

[1] S.B.E., xxii, 266 (para. 128). As pointed out by Jacobi (*The Kalpasūtra of Bhadravāhu*, 6 ff.), the traditional date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is 470 years before Vikrama (58 B.C.) according to the *Śvetāmbaras*, and 605 according to the *Digambaras*. It is suggested that Vikrama of the Digambaras is intended for Śālivāhana (78 A.D.). A different tradition is, however, recorded by Hemachandra who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahāvīra Chandragupta became king :—

evam cha śrī Mahāvīre mukte varshaśate gate
pañchapañchāśadadhike Chandragupto'bhavan nṛipaḥ.

As Chandragupta's accession apparently took place between 326 and 312 B.C., the tradition recorded in Hemachandra's *Pariśishṭaparvan* would place the date of Mahāvīra's death between 481 and 467 B.C. But early Buddhist texts (*Dialogues*, III, pp. 111, 203; *Majjhima*, II, 243) make the famous Jaina teacher predecease the Buddha, and the latest date assigned by reliable tradition to the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Śākya sage is 486 B.C. (Cantonese tradition, Smith, EHI, 4th ed., p. 49). According to Ceylonese writers Śākyamuni entered into *nirvāṇa* in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru (*Ajātasattuno vasse aṭṭhame muni nibbute*, *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. II). This would place the accession of the son of Bimbisāra in 493 B.C., if the Cantonese date for the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha is accepted. Jaina writers put the interval between Kūṇika's accession and the death of their master at 16 and x years. According to Buddhist chroniclers the interval would be less than 8 years as Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha. The divergent data of the Jaina and Buddhist texts can only be reconciled if we assume that the former take as their starting point the date of the accession of Kūṇika as the *rājā* of Champā, while the Buddhists begin their calculation from a later date when Ajātaśatru mounted his ancestral throne at Rājagṛiha.

seeds of dissension among the Vaiśālians and thus bring about their downfall.[1]

The absorption of Vaiśālī and Kāsi as a result of the Kosalan and Vajjian wars probably brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious sovereign of Avanti. We have already referred to a statement of the *Majjhima Nikāya* that on one occasion Ajātaśatru was fortifying his capital because he was afraid of an invasion of his dominions by Pradyota. We do not know whether the attack was ever made. Ajātaśatru does not appear to have succeeded in humbling Avanti. The conquest of that kingdom was reserved for his successors.

It was during the reign of Ajātaśatru that both Mahāvīra and Gautama, the great teachers of Jainism and Buddhism respectively, are said have entered *nirvāṇa*. Shortly after the death of Gautama a Council is said to have been held by the monks of his Order for the recitation and collection of the Doctrine.

In the opinion of Dr. Jayaswal the Parkham statue is a contemporary portrait of king Ajātaśatru. But this view has not met with general acceptance.

[1] *Cf. Modern Review*, July, 1919, pp. 55-56. According to the *Ārya Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* (Vol. I, ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, pp. 603 f.) the dominions of Ajātaśatru embraced, besides Magadha, Aṅga, Vārāṇasī (Benares), and Vaiśālī in the north.

Section III. Ajātaśatru's successors.

Ajātaśatru was succeeded according to the *Purāṇas* by Darśaka. Prof. Geiger considers the insertion of Darśaka after Ajātaśatru to be an error, because the Pāli Canon indubitably asserts that Udāyi-bhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor. Jaina tradition recorded in the *Kathākoça* [1] and the *Pariśishṭaparvan* [2] also represents Udaya or Udāyin as the son of Kūṇika by his wife Padmāvatī, and his immediate successor.

Though the reality of the existence of Darśaka, as king of Magadha, is possibly established by the discovery of the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* attributed to Bhāsa, yet in the face of Buddhist and Jaina evidence it cannot be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies him with Nāga-Dāsaka who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisāra's line. In this connection mention may be made of a passage in Hiuen Tsang's *Si-yu-ki*, which says "To the south-west of the old *Saṅghārāma* about 100 li is the *Saṅghārāma* of Ti-lo-shi-kia......It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra rāja." [3] The name of the second *Saṅghārāma*, if correctly restored by Beal, was probably derived from that of Darśaka who is here represented as the last descendant of Bimbisāra. The evidence of the *Divyāvadāna*,[4] which omits the name of Nāga-Dāsaka altogether from the list of kings of the Bimbisārian family, however, suggests that there was hardly any unanimity

[1] P. 177.
[2] P. 42.
[3] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, p. 102.
[4] P. 369.

even among Buddhists about the historical reality of the king (Nāga-Dāsaka) and his position in the dynastic list.

Udāyin: Before his accession to the throne Udāyin or Udāyi-bhadda, the son of Ajātaśatru, seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā.[1] The *Pariśishṭaparvan* further informs us that he founded a new capital on the bank of the Ganges which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra. This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* [2] according to which Udayî built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign. The choice of Pāṭaliputra was probably due to its position in the centre of the realm which now included North Bihār. Moreover its situation at the confluence of two large rivers, the Ganges and the Soṇa, was important from the commercial as well as the strategic point of view. In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* recommends a site at the confluence of rivers for the capital of a kingdom.

The *Pariśishṭaparvan* [3] refers to the king of Avanti as the enemy of Udāyin. This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that his father had to fortify his capital in expectation of an attack about to be made by Pradyota, king of Avanti. The fall of Aṅga and Vaiśālī and the discomfiture of Kosala had left Avanti the only important rival of Magadha. This last kingdom had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics of eastern India. On the other hand, if the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* [4] is to be believed, the kingdom of Kauśāmbî was at this time annexed to the realm of Pālaka of Avanti, the son of Pradyota. The two kingdoms, Magadha and Avanti, were brought face to face with each other. The contest between the two for the mastery of

1 Jacobi, *Pariśishṭaparvan*, p. 42.

2 Also the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā* (Kern, *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, 36).

3 Pp. 45-46, Text VI, 191.

4 Tawney's Translation, Vol. II, p. 484.

northern India probably began, as we have seen, in the reign of Ajātaśatru. It must have continued during the reign of Udāyin.[1] The issue was finally decided in the time of Śiśunāga, or of Nanda as Jaina tradition seems to suggest.[2]

Udāyin's successors according to the *Purāṇas* were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin. But the Ceylonese chronicles place after Udāyi the kings named Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāga Dāsaka. Here again the Ceylonese account is partially confirmed by the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* which alludes to Muṇḍa, King of Pāṭaliputra. The *Divyāvadāna*, too, mentions Muṇḍa but omits the names of Anuruddha and Nāga Dāsaka. Dr. Bhandarkar refers to Muṇḍa's queen Bhadrādevī and treasurer Priyaka.[3] The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* by mentioning Pāṭaliputra as the capital of Muṇḍa indirectly confirms the tradition regarding the transfer of the Magadhan metropolis from Rājagṛiha to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra.

The Ceylonese chronicles state that all the kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāga-Dāsaka were parricides. The citizens

1 For a traditional account of the conflict between Udāyin and the king of Avanti, see IHQ, 1929, 399. In the opinion of Dr. Jayaswal one of the famous "Patna Statues" which, at the time of the controversy, stood in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum (*Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 29ff.), is a portrait of Udāyin. According to him the statue bears the following words :

Bhage ACHO chhonidhiśe.

He identifies *ACHO* with king Aja mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* list of Śaiśunāga kings, and with Udāyin of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* lists. Dr. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation of the inscription have not, however, been accepted by several scholars including Dr. Barnett, Mr. Chanda and Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Dr. Smith, however while unwilling to dogmatize, was of opinion that the statue was pre-Maurya. In the third edition of his *Asoka* he considers Dr. Jayaswal's theory as probable. The characters of the short inscription on the statue are so difficult to read that it is well-nigh impossible to come to a final decision. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved. Cunningham described the statue as that of a *Yaksha*. According to him the figure bore the words " *Yakhe Achusanigika*." Mr. Chanda's reading is : *Bha* (?) *ga Achachha nivika* (the owner of inexhaustible capital, *i. e.*, Vaiśravaṇa). See *Indian Antiquary*, March, 1919. Dr. Majumdar reads : *Gate (Yakhe?) Lechchhai* (*vi*) *40. 4.* (Ind. Ant., 1919).

2 *Ind. Ant.*, II. 362.

3 Aṅg. III. 57.

became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an *amātya* (official) named Susu Nāga (**Śiśunāga**) to the throne.

The new king seems to have been acting as the Magadhan Viceroy at Benares. The *Purāṇas* tell us that "placing his son at Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode." The employment of *amātyas* as provincial governors or district officers need not cause surprise. The custom was prevalent as late as the time of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman I.

The Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga took away the glory of the Pradyotas proves the correctness of the Ceylonese tradition that he came after Bimbisāra who was a contemporary of Pradyota. In view of this we cannot accept the other Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga was the progenitor of Bimbisāra's family. It may be argued that as Śiśunāga had his capital at Girivraja he must have flourished before Udāyin who was the first to remove the capital to Pāṭaliputra. But the fact that Kālāśoka, the son and successor of Śiśunāga, had also to transfer the royal residence from Rājagṛiha to Pāṭaliputra [1] shows that one of his predecessors had reverted to the old capital. Who this predecessor was is made clear by the Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga "will make Girivraja his own abode." The inclusion of Benares within Śiśunāga's dominions also proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāśi.

From a statement in the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu*, a Pāli work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, it appears that Śiśunāga had a royal residence at Vaiśālī which ultimately became his capital.[2] "That

[1] SBE., XI, p. xvi.

[2] SBE., XI, p. xvi. If the *Dvātriṁśat puttalikā* is to be believed Vesālī (Vaiśālī) continued to be a secondary capital till the time of the Nandas.

monarch (Susunāga), not unmindful of his mother's origin,[1] re-established the city of Vesālī, and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rājagaha lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered.'' This passage which says that Rājagṛiha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śiśunāga, proves that Śiśunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagṛiha, *i.e.*, the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.[2]

The most important achievement of Śiśunāga seems to have been the annihilation of the power and prestige of the **Pradyota dynasty of Avanti.** Pradyota, the first king of the line, had been succeeded, according to tradition, by his sons Gopāla and Pālaka after whom came Viśākha and Āryaka. The name of Gopāla is omitted in the *Purāṇas* with the possible exception of the *k* Vishṇu manuscript, where it finds mention instead of Pālaka.[3] The accession of the latter synchronised, according to Jaina accounts, with the passing away of Mahāvīra. He is reputed to have been a tyrant. Viśākha bhūpa (*i.e.*, king Viśākha, called Viśākha-yūpa in most Purāṇic texts) may have been a son of Pālaka.[4] The absence of any reference to this prince in non-Purāṇic accounts that have hitherto been available, may suggest that he was set aside in favour of Āryaka who occupied the throne, as a result of a popular outbreak, almost immediately after the fall of Pālaka. The Purāṇas place after Āryaka or Ajaka a king named Nandivardhana, or

1 Susunāga, according to the *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* (Turnour's *Mahāvaṁsa*, xxxvii), was the son of a Lichchhavi rājā of Vaiśālī. He was conceived by a *nagara-śobhinī* and brought up by an officer of state.

2 The fact that the son of Śiśunāga (Kālāśoka) ruled in Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī, shows that he came after Udāyin, the founder of Pāṭaliputra, and Ajātaśatru, the conqueror of Vaiśālī.

3 That Gopāla was reckoned as a ruler seems clear from the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XIX. 57; *Journal of Indian History*, XI, iii, " Some Problems about the Pradyotas of Avanti."

4 DKA., 19 n29. The *Kalki Purāṇa* (I. 3. 32f.) mentions a king named Viśākhayūpa who ruled at Māhiśmatī near the southern frontier of ancient Avanti.

Vartivardhana, and add that Śiśunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and be king. Dr. Jayaswal identifies Ajaka and Nandivardhana of the Avanti list with Aja-Udāyin and Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list of Śaiśunāga kings. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says on the other hand that Āryaka or Ajaka was the son of Gopāla, the elder brother of Pālaka.[1] 'Nandivardhana' and 'Vartivardhana' are apparently corruptions of Avantivardhana, the name of a son of Pālaka according to the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*,[2] of Gopāla, according to the Nepalese *Bṛihat Kathā*.[3] The important thing to remember is that the Pradyota dynasty was humbled by Śiśunāga. Whether the Śaiśunāga victory over Avanti took place almost immediately after Pālaka, when a revolution placed Āryaka, a ruler about whose origin there is hardly any unanimity, on the throne of Ujjain, or two generations later, cannot be precisely determined at the present moment.

Śiśunāga[4] was succeeded according to the *Purāṇas* by his son **Kākavarṇa**, according to the Ceylonese chronicles by his son **Kālāśoka**. Professors Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar suggest that Kālāśoka, "the black Aśoka" and Kākavarṇa, "the crow-coloured" are one and the same person. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the *Aśokāvadāna* which places Kākavarnin after Muṇḍa, and does not mention Kālāśoka.[5] The two most important events of the reign of Kālāśoka are the holding of the second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī, and the retransfer of the capital to Pāṭaliputra. Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita*[6] gives a curious

[1] *Carm. Lec.* 1918, 64f. But J. Sen rightly points out (IHQ, 1930, 699) that in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* Āryaka is represented as a cow-boy who was raised to the throne after the overthrow of the tyrant Pālaka.

[2] Tawney's translation, II, 485. *Cf. Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 311.

[3] *Essay on Guṇāḍhya*, 115.

[4] The *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā* contains an interesting notice of this king and says that he prohibited the use of cerebrals in his harem.

[5] *Divyāvadāna*, 369; Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. xli. *Cf.* p. 95 *ante*.

[6] Edited by Kāśināth Pāṇḍurang Parab, 4th Ed., 1918, p. 199.

legend concerning the death of Kākavarṇa (Kālāśoka). It is stated there that Kākavarṇa Śaiśunāgi had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The story about the tragic end of this king is, as we shall see later on, confirmed by Greek evidence.

The successors of Kālāśoka were his ten sons who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. Their names according to the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* were Bhadrasena, Koraṇḍavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, **Nandi-vardhana** and Pañchamaka.[1] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests that Nandivardhana of the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* is most probably Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list.[2]

[1] The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 369) gives the following list of the successors of Kākavarṇin: Sahali Tulakuchin. Mahāmaṇḍala and Prasenajit. After Prasenajit the crown went to Nanda.

[2] Dr. Jayaswal opined that the headless "Patna statue" which stood, at the time when he wrote, in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum, was a portrait of this king. According to him the inscription on the statue runs as follows :—

Sapa (or Sava) khate Vaṭa Naṁdi.

He regarded *Vaṭa Naṁdi* as an abbreviation of Vartivardhana (the name of Nandivardhana in the *Vāyu* list) and Nandivardhana. Mr. R. D. Banerji in the June number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1919, said that there cannot be two opinions about the reading *Vaṭa Naṁdi*. Mr. Chanda, however, regarded the statue in question as an image of a *Yaksha* and read the inscription which it bore as follows : —

Yakha sa (?) rvaṭa naṁdi.

Dr. Majumdar said that the inscription might be read as follows :—

Yakhe saṁ vajināṁ 70.

He placed the inscription in the second century A. D., and supported the *Yaksha* theory propounded by Cunningham and upheld by Mr. Chanda. He did not agree with those scholars who concluded that the statue was a portrait of a Śaiśunāga sovereign simply because there were some letters in the inscription under discussion which might be construed as a name of a Śaiśunāga king. Referring to Dr. Jayaswal's suggestion that the form *Vaṭa Naṁdi* was composed of two variant proper names (Vartivardhana and Naṁdivardhana)—he said that Chandragupta II was also known as Devagupta, and Vigrahapāla had a second name Śūrapāla; but who had ever heard of compound names like Chandra-Deva, or Deva-chandra, and Śūra-Vigraha or Vigraha-Śūra ? (*Ind. Ant.*, 1919).

Dr. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji proposed to identify Nandivardhana, the Śaiśunāga king, with Nandarāja mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga. One of the passages containing the name of Nandarāja runs thus :

"*Paṁchame cha dāni vase Na(ṁ)da-rāja-tivasa-sata o(ghā?)ṭitam Tanasuliyavāṭā panāḍiṁ nagaraṁ pavesa (ya) ti.*"

"Now in the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 300 (or 103) years since king Nanda [1] conducted into the city from the road of Tanasulī."

Nandivardhana is identified with Nanda on the strength of Kshemendra's reference to *Pūrvananda* who, we are told, should be distinguished from the *Navanandāḥ* or New (later) Nandas, and identified with a ruler of the group represented by Nandivardhana and Mahānandin.[2] In the works of Kshemendra and Somadeva, however, Pūrvananda (*Singular*) is distinguished, not from the *Navanandāḥ*, but from Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda), the re-animated corpse of

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī took Vaṭa Naṁdi to mean *Vrātya* Naṁdi and said that the statue had most of the articles of dress as given by Kātyāyana to the *Vrātya Kshatriya*. In the *Purāṇas* the Siśunāga kings are mentioned as *Kshattra-bandhus, i. e., Vrātya Kshatriyas*. The Mahāmahopādhyāya thus inclined to the view of Dr. Jayaswal that the statue in question was a portrait of a Śaiśunāga king (*JBORS.*, December, 1919).

Mr. Ordhendu Coomar Gangoly, on the other hand, regarded the statue as a *Yaksha* image, and drew our attention to the catalogue of Yakshas in the *Mahā-māyūrī* and the passage "*Nandi cha Vardhanas chaiva nagare Nandivardhane*" (*Modern Review*, October, 1919). Dr. Barnett was also not satisfied that the four syllables which might be read as *Vaṭa Naṁdi* mentioned the name of a Śaiśunāga king. Dr. Smith, however, in the third edition of his *Asoka* admitted the possibility of Dr. Jayaswal's contention. We regard the problem as still unsolved. The data at our disposal are too scanty to warrant the conclusion that the inscription on the "Patna statue" mentions a Śaiśunāga king. The script seems to be late

1 Barua suggests (*Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, p. 13), that the canal was ' opened out by King Nanda."

2 *The Oxford History of India*, Additions and Corrections; *JBORS*, 1918, 91.

king Nanda.[1] The *Purāṇas* and the Ceylonese authorities know of the existence of only one Nanda line. Those works are unanimous in taking *nava* to mean *nine* (and not *new*).[2] They represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Śaiśunāga line—a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas. Moreover, as Mr. Chanda points out,[3] the *Purāṇas* contain nothing to show that Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kaliṅga. On the contrary, we are distinctly told by those authorities that when the kings of the Śaiśunāga dynasty and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha 32 kings reigned in Kaliṅga in succession synchronously. It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought "all under his sole sway" and "uprooted all *Kshatriyas*." So we should identify Naṁdarāja of the Hāthigumphā inscription who held possession of Kaliṅga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons.

We learn from the *Purāṇas* as well as the Ceylonese Chronicles that the Śaiśunāga dynasty was supplanted by the Nanda line.

[1] *Cf. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, Durgāprasād and Parab's edition, p. 10.

[2] *Cf.* Jacobi, *Parisishtaparva*, App. p 2 : '*Naṁdavaṁse* Navamo *Naṁdarāyā*...'

[3] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. I, p. 11.

Section IV. The Chronology of the Bimbisāra (Haryaṅka)-Śiśunāga Group.

There is considerable disagreement between the *Purāṇas* and the Ceylonese Chronicles regarding the chronology of the kings of the Bimbisārian (or Haryaṅka) and Śaiśunāga dynasties. Even Dr. Smith is not disposed to accept all the dates given in the *Purāṇas*. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar observes,[1] " they (the *Purāṇas*) assign a period of 363 years to ten consecutive reigns, *i.e.*, at least 36 years to each reign which is quite preposterous." According to the Ceylonese Chronicles Bimbisāra ruled for fifty-two years, Ajātaśatru for 32 years, Udaya for 16 years, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa for 8 years, Nāgadāsaka for 24 years, Susunāga for 18 years, Kālāśoka for 28 years and Kālāśoka's sons for 22 years. Gautama Buddha died in the eighth year of Ajātasatru,[2] *i.e.*, in the (52+8=)60th year after the accession of Bimbisāra. The event happened in 544 B.C. according to a Ceylonese reckoning, and in 486 B.C. according to a Cantonese tradition of 489 A.D., based on a ' dotted record ' brought to China by Saṁgha-bhadra. The date 544 B.C. can, however, hardly be reconciled with a statement in the Ceylonese chronicles that Aśoka Maurya was consecrated 218 years after the Buddha had passed into *nirvāṇa*. This fact and certain Chinese and Chola synchronisms led Geiger and a few other scholars to think that the era of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication and that the true date of the death of the Buddha is 483 B.C.[3]—a result closely approaching that to which the Cantonese tradition leads us.

1 *Carm. Lec.*, 1918, p. 68.

2 *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. 2 (p. 12 of translation).

3 *Mahāvaṁsa*, trans, p. xxviii; JRAS, 1909, pp. 1-34.

The Chola synchronisms referred to by these scholars are, however, not free from doubt and it has been pointed out by Geiger himself that the account in Chinese annals of an embassy which one king of Ceylon named Mahānāman sent to the emperor of China in 428 A.D., does not speak in favour of his revised chronology. The traditional date of Menander which is 500 A.B., works out more satisfactorily with a *Nirvāṇa* era of 544 B.C., than with an era of 483 or 486 B.C. In regard to the Maurya period, however, calculations based on the traditional Ceylonese reckoning will place the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 544—162=382 B.C., and the coronation of Aśoka Maurya in 544—218=326 B.C. These results will be completely at variance with the evidence of Greek writers and the testimony of the inscriptions of Aśoka himself. Classical writers represent Chandragupta as a contemporary of Alexander (326 B.C.) and of Seleukos (312 B.C.). Aśoka in his thirteenth Rock Edict speaks of certain Hellenistic kings as alive. As one at least of these rulers died not later than 258 B.C. (250 B.C. according to some authorities) and as rescripts on morality began to be written when Aśoka was anointed twelve years, his consecration could not have taken place after 269 B.C. (261 B.C. according to some). The date cannot be pushed back beyond 277 B.C., because his grandfather Chandragupta must have ascended the throne after 326 B.C., as he met Alexander in that year as an ordinary individual and died after a reign of 24 years, and the next king Bindusāra, the father and immediate predecessor of Aśoka, ruled for at least 25 years. 326 B.C. − 49 = 277 B.C. Aśoka's coronation, therefore, took place between 277 and 261 B.C., and as the event happened, according to an old *Gāthā* recorded by the Ceylonese chroniclers, 218 years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, the date of the Great Decease should be placed between 495 and 479 B.C. The result accords *not* with the Ceylonese date 544 B.C., but with the Cantonese date 486

B.C., and Geiger's date 483 B.C., for the *nirvāṇa*. The Chinese account of embassies which King Meghavarṇa sent to Samudra Gupta, and King Kia-Che (Kassapa) sent to China in 527 A.D., also speaks in favour of the date 486 B.C. or 483 B.C., for the Great Decease. Geiger's date, however, is not explicitly recognised by tradition. The same remark applies to the date (Tuesday, 1 April, 478 B.C.) preferred by L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai.[1] The Cantonese date, may, therefore, be accepted as a working hypothesis for the determination of the chronology of the early dynasties of Magadha. The date of Bimbisāra's accession, according to this reckoning, would fall in or about 545 B.C., which is very near to the starting point of the traditional Ceylonese *Nirvāṇa* era of 544 B.C. 'The current name of an era is no proof of origins.' It is not altogether improbable that the Buddhist reckoning of Ceylon originally started from the coronation of Bimbisāra and was later on confounded with the era of the Great Decease.

In the time of Bimbisāra Gandhāra was an independent kingdom ruled by a king named Pukkusāti. By B.C. 519 at the latest it had lost its independence and had become subject to Persia, as we learn from the Bahistān inscription of Darius. It is thus clear that Pukkusāti and his contemporary Bimbisāra lived before B.C. 519. This accords with the chronology which places his accession in or about B. C. 545.

[1] *An Indian Ephemeris*, I, Pt. 1, 1922, pp. 471 ff.

Section V. The Nandas.

We have seen that the Śaiśunāga dynasty was supplanted by the line of Nanda. The name of the first Nanda was **Mahāpadma** or Mahāpadmapati[1] according to the *Purāṇas* and **Ugrasena** according to the *Mahābodhivaṁsa*. The *Purāṇas* describe him as *Śūdrā-garbh-odbhava, i.e.*, born of a Śūdra mother. The Jaina *Pariśishṭaparvan*[2] on the other hand represents Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Jaina tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical accounts of the father of Alexander's Magadhan contemporary. Curtius says[3] "His (Agrammes,' *i.e.*, the last Nanda's) father (*i.e.*, the first Nanda) was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king." The murdered sovereign seems to have been Kālāśoka-Kākavarṇa who had a tragic end as we know from the *Harsha-charita*. Kākavarṇa Śaiśunāgi, says Bāṇa, had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The young princes referred to by Curtius were evidently the sons of Kālāśoka-Kākavarṇa. The Greek account of the rise of the family of Agrammes fits in well with the Ceylonese account of the end of the

[1] 'Sovereign of an infinite host' or 'of immense wealth' according to the commentator (Wilson, *Vishṇu P.*, Vol. IX, 184 n).

[2] P. 46. Text VI, 231-32.

[3] McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222.

Śaiśunāga line and the rise of the Nandas, but not with the Purāṇic story which represents the first Nanda as a son of the last Śaiśunāga by a Śūdra woman, and makes no mention of the young princes. The name Agrammes is probably a distorted form of the Sanskrit Augrasainya, "son of Ugrasena." Ugrasena is, as we have seen, the name of the first Nanda according to the *Māhabodhi-vaṁsa.* His son may aptly be termed Augrasainya which the Greeks corrupted into Agrammes and later on into Xandrames.[1]

The *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* call Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas (*sarva Kshatrāntaka*) and sole monarch (*ekarāṭ*) of the earth which was under his undisputed sway, which terms imply that he finally overthrew all the dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the Śaiśunāgas, *viz.*, the Ikshvākus, Pañchālas, Kāśis,[2] Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas,[3] Śūrasenas, Vītihotras, etc. The Purāṇic account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by the classical writers who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the Beas in the time of

[1] The identification of Xandrames, the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander, with Chandragupta proposed by certain writers is clearly untenable. Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, Ch. 62) clearly distinguishes between the two, and his account receives confirmation from that of Justin (Watson's tr., p. 142). Xandrames or Agrammes was the son of a usurper born after his father had become king of the Prasii, while Chandragupta was himself the founder of a new sovereignty, the first king of his line. The father of Xandrames was a barber who could claim no royal ancestry. On the other hand Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist writers are unanimous in representing Chandragupta as a descendant of a race of rulers, though they differ in regard to the identity of the family and its claim to be regarded as of pure Kshatriya stock. Jaina evidence clearly suggests that the barber usurper is identical with the *Nāpitakumāra* who founded the Nanda line.

[2] Apparently the descendants or successors of the prince whom Śiśunāga had placed in Benares.

[3] The Maithilas apparently occupied a small district to the north of the Vajjian dominions annexed by Ajātaśatru.

Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra). The inclusion of the Ikshvāku territory of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*[1] which refers to the camp of king Nanda in Ayodhyā. Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala, a province which included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas.[2] But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and too much cannot be built upon their statements. More important is the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela which mentions Nandarāja in connection with an aqueduct of Kaliṅga. The passage in the inscription seems to imply that Nandarāja held sway in Kaliṅga. A second passage of Khāravela's inscription seems to state that king Nanda carried away as trophies the statue (or footprints) of the first Jina and heirlooms of the Kaliṅga kings to Magadha.[3] In view of Nanda's possession of Kaliṅga, the conquest of Aśmaka and other regions lying further south does not seem to be altogether improbable. The existence on the Godāvarī of a city called "Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander[4]) also suggests that the Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* assigns 88 years to the reign of the first Nanda, but 88 (*Ashṭāśīti*) is probably a mistake for 28 (*Ashṭāviṁśati*), as the *Vāyu* assigns only 28 years. According to Tāranāth Nanda reigned 29 years.[5] The Ceylonese accounts inform us that the Nandas ruled only for 22 years. The Purāṇic figure 28 is probably to be taken

1 Tawney's Translation, p. 21.

2 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 3; Fleet *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 284, n. 2.

3 JBORS, 1917, December, pp. 447, 457-458.

4 Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 236.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, p. 362.

to include the period when Nanda was the *defacto* ruler of Magadha before his final usurpation of the throne.

Mahāpadma-Ugrasena was succeeded by his eight sons who were kings in succession. They ruled for twelve years according to the Purāṇas. The Ceylonese Chronicles, as we have already seen, give the total length of the reign-period of all the nine Nandas as 22 years. The Purāṇas mention only the name of one son of Mahāpadma, *viz.*, Sukalpa.[1] The *Mahābodhivaṁsa* gives the following names: Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāshṭrapāla, Govishāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and **Dhana**. The last king is called by the classical writers **Agrammes** or **Xandrames.** Agrammes is, as we have seen, probably the Greek corruption of the Sanskrit patronymic *Augrasainya.*

The first Nanda left to his sons not only a big empire but also a large army and a full exchequer. Curtius tells us that Agrammes, king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which, he said, ran up to the number of 3,000. Diodorus and Plutarch give similar accounts. But they raise the number of elephants to 4,000 and 6,000 respectively.

The enormous wealth of the Nandas is referred to by several writers. Dr. Aiyangar points out[2] that a Tamil poem contains an interesting statement regarding the wealth of the Nandas " which having accumulated first in

[1] The name has variants. One of these is Sahalya. Dr. Barua makes the plausible suggestion that the prince in question may be identical with Sahalin of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 369; Pargiter, DKA, 25 n 24; *Bauddha Dharma Kosha*, 44). The evidence of that Buddhist work in regard to the relationship between Sahalin and Kākavarṇa can, however, hardly be accepted. The work often errs in this respect. It makes Pushyamitra a lineal descendant of Aśoka (p. 433).

[2] *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89.

Pāṭali, hid itself in the floods of the Ganges." [1] Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, refers to "the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances." A passage of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* says [2] that king Nanda possessed 990 millions of gold pieces.

The *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, translated by Mr. S. C. Vasu, contains a rule [3] as an illustration of which the following passage is cited :

Nandopakramāni mānāni.

This indicates that one of the Nanda kings was credited with the invention of a particular kind of measure.

We learn from the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Mudrārākshasa* that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Kauṭilya, the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya. No detailed account of this great dynastic revolution has survived. The accumulation of an enormous amount of wealth by the Nanda kings probably implies a good deal of financial extortion. Moreover, we are told by the classical writers that Agrammes (the last Nanda) "was detested and held cheap by his subjects as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne." [4]

The Purāṇic passage about the revolution stands as follows :

Uddharishyati tān sarvān
Kauṭilyo vai dvir ashṭabhiḥ

[1] *Cf.* "The youngest brother was called Dhana Nanda, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure...He collected riches to the amount of eighty koṭis—in a rock in the bed of the river (Ganges) having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there...Levying taxes among other articles, even on skins, gums, trees, and stones he amassed further treasures which he disposed of similarly." (Turnour, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. xxxix).

[2] Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, p. 21. The *Mudrārākshasa* refers to the Nandas as '*navanavatiśatadravyakoṭīśvarāḥ* (Act III, verse 27), and '*Artharuchi*' (Act I).

[3] Sūtra II. 4. 21.

[4] McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222.

Kauṭilyaś Chandraguptaṁ tu
Tato rājye bhishekshyati.

Dr. Jayaswal [1] proposed to read *Virashṭrābhiḥ* instead of *dvir ashṭabhiḥ. Virashṭrās* he took to mean the Āraṭṭas, and added that Kauṭilya was helped by the Araṭṭas "the band of robbers" of Justin.[2] Pargiter, however, suggests [3] that *dvija-rṣabhaḥ* (the best among the twice-born, *i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas) may be the correct reading instead of "*dvirashṭabhiḥ.*"

The *Milinda-Pañho* [4] refers to an episode of the great struggle between the Nandas and the Mauryas: "there was Bhaddasāla, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Chandagutta. Now in that war, Nāgasena, there were eighty Corpse dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lakh of horses, and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred *koṭis* of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle-field." The passage contains a good deal of what is untrustworthy. But we have here a reminiscence of the bloody encounter between the contending forces of the Nandas and the Mauryas.[5]

[1] Ind. Ant., 1914, p. 124.
[2] *Cf.* Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 88, 89
[3] *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 26, n. 35.
[4] *Cf.* SBE, XXXVI, pp. 147-48.
[5] *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1914, p. 124n.

CHAPTER III. THE PERSIAN AND MACEDONIAN INVASIONS.

SECTION I. THE ADVANCE OF PERSIA TO THE INDUS.

While the kingdoms and republics of the Indian interior were gradually being merged in the Magadhan Empire, those of North-West India were passing through vicissitudes of a different kind. In the first half of the sixth century B.C. the *Uttarāpatha* beyond the *Madhyadeśa*, like the rest of India, was parcelled out into a number of small states the most important of which were Kamboja, Gandhāra and Madra. No sovereign arose in this part of India capable of welding together the warring communities, as Ugrasena-Mahāpadma had done in the East. The whole region was at once wealthy and disunited, and formed the natural prey of the strong Achaemenian monarchy which grew up in Persia.

Kurush or **Cyrus** (558-530 B.C.), the founder of the Persian Empire, is said to have led an expedition against India through Gedrosia, but had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only. [1] But he was more successful in the Kābul valley. We learn from Pliny that he destroyed the famous city of Kāpiśī. Arrian informs us [2] that " the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen (Kabul) is inhabited by the Astacenians (Āshṭakas) [3] and the Assacenian (Aśvakas), Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians,

1 H. and F., *Strabo*, III, p. 74.

2 Chinnock, *Arrian's Anabasis*, p. 399.

3 Patañjali (IV. 2.2) refers to " *Āshṭakaṁ nāma dhanva* ;" (*cf. Hashtnagar*).

and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as ruler of their land." Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces (the Kshudrakas) from India (*i.e.*, the Pañjāb) to attend them as mercenaries.

In the Behistun or Bahistān inscription of Dārayavaush or **Darius I** (*c.* 522-486 B.C.), the third sovereign of the Achaemenian dynasty, the people of Gandhāra (Gadāra) appear among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire. But no mention is there made of the Hindus (people of Sindhu or the Indus Valley) who are explicitly referred to in the Hamadan Inscription, and are included with the Gandhārians in the lists of subject peoples given by the inscriptions on the terrace at Persepolis, and around the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustum.[1] From this it has been inferred that the "Indians" (Hindus) were conquered at some date between 519 B.C. (the probable date of the Behistun or Bahistān inscription),[2] and the end of the reign of Darius in 486 B.C.[3] The preliminaries to this conquest are described by Herodotus :[4] " he (Darius) being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus [5] and the country of Paktyike (Pakthas?) [6] sailed down the river towards the

1 *Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions* by H. C. Tolman; Rapson, *Ancient India*; Herzfeld, MASI, 34, pp. 1ff.

2 In the opinion of Jackson (*Camb. Hist. India*, I, 334) the Bahistān Rock Inscription is presumably to be assigned to a period between 520 and 518 B.C. with the exception of the fifth column, which was added later. Rapson regarded 516 B.C as the probable date of the famous epigraph, while Herzfeld prefers the date 519 B.C. (MASI, No. 34, p. 2).

3 Herzfeld is, however, of the opinion that reference to the ' Thatagush ' in early Persian epigraphs shows that the Pañjāb, like Gandhāra, was Persian from the days of Cyrus the Great.

4 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 4-5.

5 *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 336.

6 *Ibid*, pp. 82, 339.

east and sunrise to the sea ; then sailing on the sea westwards, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the Sea."

Herodotus tells us that "India" constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire, and that it paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest,—360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to £1,290,000. Gandhāra was included in the seventh satrapy. The details regarding "India" left by Herodotus leave no room for doubt that it embraced the Indus Valley and was bounded on the east by the desert of Rājaputāna. "That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sunrise, of all the inhabitants of Asia, for the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands."

Khshayārshā or **Xerxes** (486-465 B. C.), the son and successor of Darius I, maintained his hold on the Indian provinces. In the great army which he led against Hellas both Gandhāra and "India" were represented. The Gandhārians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears, and the "Indians" as being clad in cotton garments and bearing cane bows with arrows tipped with iron. Among interesting relics of Persian dominion in India mention is sometimes made of a Taxila inscription in Aramaic characters of the fourth or fifth century B. C.[1] But Herzfeld points out [2] that the form *Priyadarśana* occurs in the record which should be referred to the reign of Aśoka, and not to the period of Persian rule. To the Persians is also attributed the introduction of the *Kharoshṭhī* alphabet, the "Persepolitan capital," and words like "*dipi*"

[1] JRAS., 1915, pp. 340-347.

[2] Ep. Ind., XIX. 253.

(rescript) and "*nipishṭa*" ("written") occurring in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Persian influence has also been traced in the preamble of the Aśokan edicts.

SECTION II. THE LAST OF THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ALEXANDER.

Indians figured in the army which **Darius III** Codomannus (335-330 B. C.) led against Alexander. "The Indians who were conterminous with the Bactrians as also the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdianians had come to the aid of Darius, all being under the command of Bessus, the Viceroy of the land of Bactria. They were followed by the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwell in Asia. These were not subject to Bessus but were in alliance with Darius...Barsaentes, the Viceroy of Arachotia, led the Arachotians and the men who were called mountaineer Indians. There were a few elephants, about fifteen in number belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus. With these forces Darius had encamped at Gaugamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stades distant from the city of Arbela."[1] The hold of the Achaemenians on the Indian provinces had, however, grown very feeble about this time, and the whole of north-western India was parcelled out into innumerable kingdoms and republics. A list of the more important among these states is given below :—

1. The **Aspasian** territory (Alishang-Kūnar-Bajaur valley) :

It lay in the difficult hill country north of the Kābul river watered by the Choes, possibly the modern Alishang, and the Euaspla, apparently the Kūnar. The name of the people is derived from the Irānian "*Aspa*," *i.e.*, the Sanskrit "*Aśva*" or *Aśvaka*. The Aspasians were thus the western

[1] Chinnock, *Arrian's Anabasis*, pp. 142-143.

branch of the Aśvakas (Assakenians).[1] The chieftain of the tribe dwelt in a city on or near the river Euaspla, supposed to be identical with the Kūnar, a tributary of the Kābul. Other Aspasian cities were Andaka and Arigaeum.[2]

2. The country of the **Guraeans** :

It was watered by the river Guraeus (**Gaurī** or Pañjkora, probably the Khoaspes of Curtius) and lay between the land of the Aspasians and the country of the Assakenians.

3. The Kingdom of **Assakenos** (Swat and Buner) :

It had its capital at Massaga, a " formidable fortress probably situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass but not yet precisely identified." The name of the Assakenians probably represents the Sanskrit **Aśvaka** ' land of horses,' not **Aśmaka**, ' land of stone.' The territory occupied by the tribe was also known as Suvāstu, Udyāna and, according to some, Oḍḍiyāna. The Aśvakas do not appear to be mentioned by Pāṇini unless we regard them as belonging to the same stock as the Aśmakas[3] of the south for which there is no real ground. They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*. The Assakenian king had a powerful army of 20,000 cavalry more than 30,000 infantry and 30 elephants. The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion is called by the Greeks Assakenos. His mother was Kleophis. Assakenos had a brother[4] who is called Eryx by

[1] *Camb. Hist Ind.*, 3'2. n. 3.
[2] Chinnock's *Arrian* pp. 230-231.
[3] IV. 1. 173.
[4] *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 3'8.

Curtius and Aphrikes by Diodoros.[1] There is no reason to believe that these personages had any relationship with king Śarabha, whose tragic fate is described by Bāṇa and who belonged apparently to the southern realm of the Aśmakas in the valley of the Godāvarī.

4. **Nysa** :

This was a small hill state which lay at the foot of Mt. Meros between the Kophen or Kabul river and the Indus.[2] It had a republican constitution. The city was alleged to have been founded by Greek colonists long before the invasion of Alexander.[3] Arrian says,[4] " the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came to India with Dionysus." Curiously enough a *Yona* or Greek state is mentioned along with Kamboja in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[5] as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana : " *Yona Kambojesu dveva vaṇṇā Ayyo c'eva Dāsoca* (there are only two social grades among the Yonas and the Kambojas, *viz.*, Aryan and Dāsa)."

According to Holdich the lower spurs and valleys of Kohi-Mor in the Swat country are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood.[6] At the time of Alexander's invasion the Nysaeans had Akouphis for their President. They had a Governing Body of 300 members.[7]

[1] He led the flying defenders of the famous fortress of Aornos against the Greeks (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I. 356). Aornos is identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the height of Una between the Swat and the Indus (*Alexander's Campaign on the Frontier, Benares Hindu University Magazine*, Jan., 1927). The southern side of the stronghold was washed by the Indus (*Inv. Alex.*, 271).

[2] *Inv. Alex.*, 79, 193.

[3] McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 79; Hamilton and Falconer. *Strabo*, Vol. III, p 76. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal informs me that he referred to the Nysaean Indo-Greeks in a lecture delivered as early as 1919.

[4] Chinnock's *Arrian*, p. 399.

[5] II. 149.

[6] Smith. EHI, 4th ed., p. 57. Camb. Hist., I, p. 353.

[7] *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 81.

5. **Peukelaotis:**

It lay on the road from Kābul to the Indus. Arrian tells us[1] that the Kābul falls into the Indus in the land called Peukelaotis, taking with itself the Malantus, Soastus and Guraeus. Peukelaotis represents the Sanskrit **Pushkarāvatī**. It formed the western part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra. The people of the surrounding region are sometimes referred to as the "Astakenoi" by historians. The capital is represented by the modern Mīr Ziyārat and Chārsadda, about 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swat river, the Soastus of Arrian, and the Suvāstu of the Vedic texts

The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion was Astes[2] identified with Hastī or Ashṭaka. He was defeated and killed by Hephaestion, a general of the Macedonian king.

6. **Taxila** or Takshaśilā :

Strabo says[3] "between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhilam) was Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile." The kingdom of Taxila formed the eastern part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra.

In B. C. 327 the Taxilian throne was occupied by a prince whom the Greeks called Taxiles When Alexander of Macedon arrived in the Kābul valley he sent a herald to the king of Taxila to bid him come and meet him. Taxiles accordingly did come to meet the conqueror, bringing valuable gifts. When he died his son Mophis or Omphis (Sanskrit Āmbhi) succeeded to the government. Curiously enough the reputed author of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*,

[1] Chinnock's *Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica*, p. 403.
[2] Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 228.
[3] H. and F.'s tr., III, p. 90.

himself a native of Taxila according to the *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*, refers to a school of political philosophers called Āmbhīyas, and Dr. F. W. Thomas connects them with Taxila.[1]

7. The kingdom of **Arsakes** :

The name of the principality represents the Sanskrit **Uraśā**, the modern Hazāra district. It adjoined the realm of Abisares, and was probably, like the latter, an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Uraśā is mentioned in several *Kharoshṭhī* inscriptions, and, in the time of the geographer Ptolemy, absorbed the neighbouring realm of Taxila.

8. **Abhisāra** :

Strabo observes[2] that the kingdom was situated among the mountains above the Taxila country. The position of this state was correctly defined by Stein who pointed out that *Dārvābhisāra*[3] comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jhilam and the Chināb. Roughly speaking it corresponded to the Punch and Naoshera districts in Kaśmīra, and was probably an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Abisares, the contemporary of Alexander, was a shrewd politician of the type of Charles Emanuel III of Sardinia. When the Macedonian invader arrived he informed him that he was ready to surrender himself and the land which he ruled. And yet before the battle which was fought between Alexander and the famous Poros, Abisares intended to join his forces with those of the latter.[4]

1 *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*, Introduction, p. 15.
2 H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 90.
3 *Cf.* Mbh. VII. 91 43.
4 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 276.

9. The **kingdom of the Elder Poros :**

This territory lay between the Jhilam and the Chināb and roughly corresponded to parts of the modern districts of Jhilam, Guzrāt and Shāhpur.[1] Strabo tells us[2] that it was an extensive and fertile district containing nearly 300 cities. Diodoros informs us[3] that Poros had an army of more than 50,000 foot, above 3,000 horse, about 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. He was in alliance with Embisaros, *i.e.*, the king of Abhisāra.

Poros probably represents the Sanskrit Pūru or **Paurava**. In the *Ṛig Veda* the Pūrus are expressly mentioned as on the Sarasvatī. In the time of Alexander, however, we find them on the Hydaspes (Jhilam). The *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*,[4] too, associates the 'Pauravas,' with 'Madraka' and 'Mālava.' The *Mahābhārata*,[5] also, refers to a "*Puram Paurava-rakshitam*," city protected by the Pauravas, which lay not far from Kaśmīra. It is suggested in the *Vedic Index*[6] that either the Hydaspes was the earlier home of the Pūrus, where some remained after the others had wandered east, or the later Pūrus, represent a successful onslaught upon the west from the east.

10. The country of the people called **Glauganikai**[7] (Glauganicians) by Aristobulus, and Glausians by Ptolemy :

This tract was conterminous with the dominion of Poros.[8] It included no less than seven and thirty cities, the smallest of which had not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000.

[1] It apparently included the old territory of Kekaya.

[2] H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 91.

[3] *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 274.

[4] XIV. 27. [5] II. 27, 15-17. [6] Vol. II, pp. 12-13.

[7] With the second part of the name may be compared that of the Sanakānīkas of the Gupta period. Dr. Jayaswal, who prefers the restoration of the name as Glauchukāyana, does not apparently take note of this fact.

[8] Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 276.

11. **Gandaris** :

This little kingdom lay between the Chināb and the Rāvi and (if Strabo has given the correct name of the territory) probably represented the easternmost part of the old *Mahājanapada* of Gandhāra.[1] It was ruled by the Younger Poros, nephew of the monarch who ruled the country between the Jhilam and the Chināb.

12. The **Adraistai** :[2]

They dwelt on the eastern side of the Hydraotes or the Rāvi, and their main stronghold was Pimprama.

13. **Kathaioi** or Cathaeans :

Strabo points out[3] that "some writers place Cathaia and the country of Sopeithes, one of the *nomarchs*, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Acesines, *i.e.*, the Jhilam and the Chināb); some on the other side of the Acesines and of the Hyarotis, on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander." The Kathaioi probably represent the Sanskrit Kaṭha,[4] Kantha[5] or Krātha.[6] They were the head of the confederacy of independent tribes dwelling in the area of which the principal centre was Sāngala. This town was probably situated in the Gurudāspur district, not far from Fathgarh.[7] Anspach locates it at Jandiāla to the east of Amritsar.[8]

[1] But see *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 370, n. 4; the actual name of the territory in olden times was, however, Madra.

[2] Adrijas ? Mbh., VII. 159.5.
Yaudheyān Adrijān Rājan Madrakān Mālavān api.

[3] H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 92.

[4] Jolly, SBE., VII. 15.

[5] *Cf.*, Pāṇini, II. 4. 20.

[6] Mbh., VIII. 85. 16.

[7] JRAS., 1903, p. 687.

[8] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 371.

The Kathaians enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war. Onesikritos tells us that in Kathaia the handsomest man was chosen as king.[1]

14. The **kingdom of Sophytes** (Saubhūti) :

In the opinion of Smith, the position of this kingdom is fixed by the remark of Strabo [2] that it included a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India ; Sophytes was, therefore, according to him, the "lord of the fastness of the Salt Range stretching from Jhilam to the Indus." But we have already seen that the classical writers agree in placing Sophytes' kingdom east of the Jhilam. Curtius tells us [3] that the nation ruled by Sopeithes (Sophytes), in the opinion of the "barbarians," excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs. They did not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of the parents, but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of infants might direct, for if they remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed. In contracting marriages they did not seek an alliance with high birth but made their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children was highly appreciated. Strabo informs us [4] that the dogs in the territory of Sopeithes (Sophytes) were said to possess remarkable courage. We have some coins of Sophytes bearing on the obverse the head of the king, and on the reverse the figure of a cock. According to Smith the style is suggested probably by the "owls" of Athens. Strabo calls Sophytes a *nomarch* which probably

[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 38.
[2] H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 93.
[3] *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 219.
[4] H. & F., III, p. 93.

indicates that he was not an independent sovereign, but only a viceroy of some other king.[1]

15. The kingdom of **Phegelas** or Phegeus :

It lay between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias).[2] The name of the king, Phegelas, probably represents the Sanskrit *Bhagala*—the designation of a royal race of Kshatriyas mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha*.[3]

16. The **Siboi** :

They were the inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang district below the junction of the Jhilam and the Chināb.[4] They were probably identical with the Śiva people mentioned in a passage of the *Ṛig Veda*[5] where they share with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānases, and Viśāṇins the honour of being defeated by Sudās.[6] The *Jātakas* mention a Sivi country and its cities Ariṭṭhapura[7] and Jetuttara.[8] It is probable that Śiva, Śivi and Siboi were one and the same people. A place called Śiva-pura is mentioned by the scholiast on Pāṇini as situated in the northern country.[9] It is doubtless, identical with Śibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription edited by Vogel. In the opinion of that scholar the mound of Shorkot marks the site of this city of the Śibis.[10]

The Siboi dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons. The nation had 40,000 foot soldiers in the time of Alexander.

1 Was it the Great King of W. Asia or some Indian potentate? Among other *nomarchs* mention may be made of Spitaces, a nephew and apparently a vassal of the elder Poros (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 36, 365, 367).

2 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 281.

3 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 401.

4 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 232.

5 VII. 18. 7.

6 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 381-382. A 'Śaibya' is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 23; *Vedic Index*, I. 31).

7 *Ummadanti Jātaka*, No. 527; *cf.* Pāṇini, VI. 2. 100.

8 *Vessantara Jātaka*, No. 547. See *ante*, p. 161, n 6.

9 Patañjali, IV, 2. 2; *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 382. IHQ, 1926, 758.

10 *Ep. Ind.*, 1921, p. 16.

The *Mahābhārata*[1] refers to a *rāshṭra* or realm of the Śivis ruled by the king Uśînara, which lay not far from the Yamunā.[2] It is not altogether improbable that the Uśînara country[3] was at one time the home of the Śivis. We find them also in Sind, in Madhyamikā in Rājputāna,[4] and, in the *Daśa-kumāra-charita*, on the banks of the Kāverī.[5]

17. The **Agalassoi** :

This people lived near the Siboi, and could muster an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

18. The Sudracae or **Oxydrakai** :

They were settled between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias), in the territory probably included within the Montgomery district. Their name represents the Sanskrit **Kshudraka.**[6] They were one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Pañjāb. Arrian in one passage refers to the " leading men of their cities and their provincial governors " besides other eminent men. These words afford us a glimpse into the internal condition of this and similar tribes.

19. The **Malloi** :

They occupied the valley of the lower Hydraotes (Rāvi), north of the confluence of that river and the Chināb. Their name represents the Sanskrit **Mālava.** According to Weber, Āpiśali (according to Jayaswal, Kātyāyana), speaks of the formation of the compound " *Kshaudraka-Mālavāḥ.*" Smith points out that the *Mahābhārata* couples

[1] III. 130-131.

[2] *Cf.* Siba (Cunn. *AGI.*, revised ed., pp. 160-161).

[3] *Vide* pp. 55, 56 *ante.*

[4] Vaidya, *Med. Hind. Ind.*, I, p. 162; *Carm. Lec.*, 1918, p. 173.

[5] The southern Śivis are probably to be identified with the Chola ruling family (Kielhorn, *List of Southern Inscriptions*, No. 685).

[6] Mbh., II. 52. 15; VII. 68. 9.

the tribes in question as forming part of the Kaurava host in the Kurukshetra war.[1] Curtius tells us [2] that the Sudracae and the Malli had an army consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar informs us that Pāṇini refers to the Mālavas as living by the profession of arms.[3] In later times they are found in Rājputāna, Avanti and the Mahî valley.

20. The **Abastanoi**:

Diodoros calls them the Sambastai,[4] Arrian Abastanoi, Curtius Sabarcae, and Orosius Sabagrae. They were settled on the lower Akesines (Chināb). Their name represents the Sanskrit **Ambashṭha**. The Ambashṭhas are mentioned in several Sanskrit and Pāli works. An Ambashṭha king is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [5] whose priest was Nārada. The *Mahābhārata* [6] mentions the Ambashṭhas along with the Śivis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes. The *Purāṇas* represent them as Ānava Kshatriyas and kinsmen of the Śivis.[7] In the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*,[8] the Ambashṭha country is mentioned in conjunction with Sind:

Kāśmīra-Hūn-Āmbashṭha-Sindhavaḥ.

In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*,[9] an Ambaṭṭha is called a Brāhmaṇa. In the *Smṛti* literature, on the other hand,

1 EHI., 1914, p. 94 n.; Mbh., VI. 59. 135.
2 *Invasion of Alexander*, 234.
3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 200.
4 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 292.
5 VIII. 21.
6 II. 52. 14-15.
7 Pargiter, *AIHT.*, pp. 108, 109.
8 Ed. F. W. Thomas, p. 21.
9 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 109.

Ambashṭha denotes a man of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya parentage. According to *Jātaka* IV. 363, the Ambaṭṭhas were farmers. It seems that the Ambashṭhas were a tribe who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, *viz.*, those of priests, farmers and, according to *Smṛti* writers, physicians (*Ambashṭhānāṁ chikitsitam*).[1]

In the time of Alexander, the Ambashṭhas were a powerful tribe having a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots.[2]

In later times the Ambashṭhas are found in South-Eastern India near the Mekala range, and also in Bihār and Bengal.[3]

21-22. The **Xathroi** and the **Ossadioi** :

The Xathroi are according to McCrindle[4] the **Kshatri** of Sanskrit literature mentioned in the Laws of Manu as an impure tribe, being of mixed origin. V. de Saint-Martin suggests that in the Ossadioi we have the **Vasāti** of the *Mahābhārata*,[5] a tribe associated with the Śibis and Sindhu-Sauvīras of the Lower Indus Valley.[6] Like the Abastanoi, the Xathroi and the Ossadioi seem to have occupied parts of the territory drained by the lower Akesines (Chināb) and situated between the confluence of that river with the Rāvi and the Indus respectively.

1 Manu, X. 47.

2 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 252.

3 *Cf.* Ptolemy, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII. 361 ; *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, XIV. 7 ; *Mekhalāmushṭa* of *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, LVIII. 14, is a corruption of *Mekal-Āmbashṭha*. *Cf.* also the Ambashṭha Kāyasthas of Bihār, and the Vaidyas of Bengal whom Bharata Mallika classes as Ambashṭha.

4 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 156 n.

5 VII. 19. 11 ; 89.37 ; VIII. 44.49.

6 " *Abhīshāhāḥ Śūrasenāḥ Śivayo'tha Vaśātayaḥ* " (Mbh., VI. 106'8).
" *Vaśāti Sindhu Sauvīrā itiprāyo'tikutsitāḥ.*"
' *Gāndhārāḥ Sindhu-Sauvīrāḥ Śivayo' tha Vaśātayaḥ* " (Mbh., VI. 51.14).

23-24. The **Sodrai** (Sogdoi) and the **Massanoi** :

They occupied Northern Sind below the confluence of the Pañjāb rivers. The territories of these two tribes lay on opposite banks of the Indus. The Sodrai are the **Śūdra** tribe of Sanskrit literature, a people constantly associated with the Ābhiras who were settled near the Sarasvatî.[1]

25. The kingdom of **Mousikanos** :[2]

This famous state included a large part of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the Sukkur district. The characteristics of the inhabitants of the realm of Mousikanos as noticed by Strabo are given below : [3]

"The following are their peculiarities ; to have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold nor silver, although they have **mines of these metals**. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine ;[4] for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other ; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another ; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice."

[1] Patañjali, I. 2.3 ; Mbh., VII. 19.6 ; IX. 37.1.

[2] Bevan in *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, p. 377, restores the name as Mūshika. Dr. Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* suggests Muchukarṇa. *Cf.* Maushikāra (Patañjali, IV. i. 4).

[3] H. & F., III, p. 96.

[4] This trait they shared with the Ambashṭhas (*cf.* Manu, X.47).

From the account left by Arrian it appears that the "Brāchmans," *i.e.*, the Brāhmaṇas exercised considerable influence in the country. They were the instigators of a revolt against the Macedonian invader.[1]

26. The principality of **Oxykanos** :

Curtius calls the subjects of Oxykanos the Praesti (**Proshthas** ?).[2] Oxykanos himself is styled both by Strabo and Diodoros Portikanos. Cunningham places his territory to the west of the Indus in the level country around Larkhāna.[3]

27. The principality of **Sambos** :[4]

Sambos was the ruler of a mountainous country adjoining the kingdom of Mousikanos, with whom he was at feud. His capital, called Sindimana, has been identified with Sehwan, a city on the Indus.[5]

28. **Patalene** :

It was the Indus delta, and took its name from the capital city, Patala, probably near the site of Bahmaṇābād.

Diodoros tells us[6] that Tauala (Patala) had a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan ; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. One of the kings in the time of Alexander was called Moeres.[7]

1 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 319.

2 Mhh., VI. 9.61.

3 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 158; *AGI*, Revised ed., 300.

4 Sambhu, according to Bevan (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 377). Śāmba is a possible alternative.

5 McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 404; *AGI*, Revised ed., 302 f.

6 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 296.

7 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 256.

The states described above had little tendency to unity or combination. Curtius tells us[1] that Āmbhi, king of Taxila, was at war with Abisares and Poros. Arrian informs us that Poros and Abisares were not only enemies of Taxila but also of the neighbouring autonomous tribes. On one occasion the two kings marched against the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas.[2] Arrian further tells us that the relations between Poros and his nephew were far from friendly. Sambos and Mousikanos were also on hostile terms. Owing to these feuds and strifes amongst the petty states, a foreign invader had no united resistance to fear; and he could be assured that many among the local chieftains would receive him with open arms out of hatred for their neighbours.

The Nandas of Magadha do not appear to have made any attempt to subjugate these states of the *Uttarāpatha* (North-West India). The task of reducing them was reserved for a foreign conqueror, *viz.*, Alexander of Macedon. The tale of **Alexander's conquest** has been told by many historians including Arrian, Q. Curtius Rufus, Diodoros Siculus, Plutarch and Justin. We learn from Curtius that Scythians and Dahae served in the Macedonian army.[3] The expedition led by Alexander was thus a combined Śaka-Yavana enterprise. The invader met with no such general confederacy of the native powers like the one formed by the East Indian states against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. On the contrary he obtained assistance from many important chiefs like Āmbhi of Taxila, Sangæus (Sañjaya ?) of Pushkarāvatī, Kophaios or Cophaeus (of the Kābul region ?), Assagetes (Aśvajit ?), and Sisikottos (Śaśīgupta) who got as his reward the satrapy of the Assakenians.[4] The only princes

[1] *Inv. Alex.*, p. 202.

[2] Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 279.

[3] *Inv. Alex.*, p. 208.

[4] *Inv. Alex.*, p. 112.

or peoples who thought of combining against the invader were Poros and Abisares, and the Mālavas (Malloi), Kshudrakas (Oxydrakai), and the neighbouring autonomous tribes. Even in the latter case personal jealousies prevented any effective results. Alexander met with stubborn resistance from individual chiefs and clans, notably from Astes (Hastī or Ashṭaka ?), the Aspasians, the Assakenians, the elder Poros, the Kathaians, the Malloi, the Oxydrakai, and the Brāhmaṇas of the kingdom of Mousikanos. Massaga, the stronghold of the Assakenians, was stormed with great difficulty, Poros was defeated on the banks of the Hydaspes (B. C. 326), the Malloi and the Oxydrakai were also no doubt crushed. But Alexander found that his Indian antagonists were different from the effete troops of Persia. Diodoros informs us [1] that at Massaga, where Alexander treacherously massacred the mercenaries, "the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men." Poros, when he saw most of his forces scattered, his elephants lying dead or straying riderless, did not flee—as Darius Codomannus had twice fled—but remained fighting, seated on an elephant of commanding height, and received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner.[2] The Malloi almost succeeded in killing the Macedonian king. But all this was of no avail. A disunited people could not long resist the united forces of the Hellenic world led by the greatest captain of ancient Europe. Alexander succeeded in conquering the old Persian provinces of Gandhāra and "India," but was unable to try conclusions with Agrammes king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, *i.e.*, the last Nanda king of Magadha and the other Gangetic provinces in Eastern India. Plutarch informs us that the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover

[1] *Inv. Alex.*, p. 270.
[2] *Cf.* Bury, *History of Greece for Beginners*, pp. 428-29.

they were afraid of the "Gandaritai and the Praisiai" who were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As a matter of fact when Alexander was retreating through Karmania he received a report that his satrap Philippos, governor of the Upper Indus Province, had been murdered (324 B.C.). Shortly afterwards the Macedonian garrison was overpowered. The Macedonian satrap of Sind had to be transferred to the north-west borderland beyond the Indus and no new satrap was appointed in his place. The successors of Alexander at the time of the Triparadeisos agreement in 321 B.C., confessed their inability to remove the Indian Rājās of the Pañjāb without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general. One of the Rājās, possibly Poros, was treacherously slain by an officer named Eudemos. The withdrawal of the latter (*cir.* 317 B.C.) marks the ultimate collapse of the first serious attempt of the *Yavanas* to establish an empire in India.

The only permanent **effect of Alexander's raid** seems to have been the establishment of a number of *Yavana* settlements in the *Uttarāpatha*. The most important of these settlements were :

1. The city of Alexandria (modern Charikar or Opian) in the land of the Paropanisadae, *i.e.*, the Kābul region,
2. Boukephala, on the spot whence the Macedonian king had started to cross the Hydaspes (Jhilam),
3. Nikaia, where the battle with Poros took place,
4. Alexandria at the confluence of the Chināb and the Indus, to the north-east of the countries of the Sodrai, or Sogdoi, and Massanoi, and
5. Sogdian Alexandria,[1] below the confluence of the Pañjāb rivers.

[1] *Inv. Alex.*, pp. 293, 354; Bury, *History of Greece for Beginners*, p. 433; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, *I*, 376f.

Aśoka recognised the existence of Yona (Yavana) settlers on the north-western fringe of his empire, and appointed some of them (*e.g.*, the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha)[1] to high offices of state. Boukephala Alexandria flourished as late as the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.[2] One of the Alexandrias (Alasanda) is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[3]

Alexander's invasion produced one indirect result. It helped the cause of Indian unity by destroying the power of the petty states of north-west India, just as the Danish invasion contributed to the union of England under Wessex by destroying the independence of Northumbria and Mercia. If Ugrasena-Mahāpadma was the precursor of Chandragupta Maurya in the east, Alexander was the forerunner of that emperor in the north-west.

[1] For the nationality of Tushāspha and significance of the term "Yavana," see Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, 2nd Ed., pp. 28f.

[2] Schoff's tr., p. 41.

[3] Geiger's tr., p. 194.

CHAPTER IV. THE MAURYA EMPIRE : THE ERA OF DIGVIJAYA

SECTION 1. THE REIGN OF CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA.

Mlechchhairudvejyamānā bhujayugamadhunā
saṁśritā rājamūrtteḥ
Sa Śrīmadbandhubhṛtyaśchiramavatu mahīṁ
pārthivaś Chandraguptaḥ.

—*Mudrārākshasa.*

In B.C. 326 the flood of Macedonian invasion had overwhelmed the Indian states of the Pañjāb, and was threatening to burst upon the *Madhyadeśa.* Agrammes was confronted with a crisis not unlike that which Arminius had to face when Varus carried the Roman Eagle to the Teutoburg Forest, or which Charles Martel had to face when the Saracens carried the Crescent towards the field of Tours. The question whether India was, or was not, to be Hellenized awaited decision.

Agrammes was fortunate enough to escape the onslaught of Alexander. But it is doubtful whether he had the ability or perhaps the inclination to play the part of an Arminius or a Charles Martel, had the occasion arisen. But there was at this time another Indian who was made of different stuff. This was Chandragupta, the Sandrokottos (Sandrocottus) of the classical writers. The **rise of Chandragupta** is thus described by Justin :[1]

"India after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his

[1] Watson's tr., p. 142.

governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus. This man was of mean origin but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for having offended Alexander [1] by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot; and while he was lying asleep, after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him, and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity he drew together a band of robbers,[2] and solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty.[3] Sometime after, as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord and, as tamed down to gentleness, took him on his back and became his guide in the war and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus having thus acquired a throne was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness."

The above account, shorn of its marvellous element, amounts to this, that Chandragupta, a man of non-monarchical rank, placed himself at the head of the Indians

[1] Some modern scholars propose to read 'Nandrum' (Nanda) in place of 'Alexandrum.' Such conjectural emendations often mislead students who have no access to original sources and make the confusion regarding the early career of Chandragupta worse confounded (*cf. Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 558).

[2] The original expression used by Justin has the sense of 'mercenary soldier' as well as that of 'robber.' And the former sense is in consonance with Indian tradition recorded by Hemachandra in the *Pariśishṭaparvan* (VIII, 253-54):

Dhātuvādopārjitena draviṇena Chaṇiprasūḥ
chakrepattyādi sāmagrīṁ Nandamuchchhettumudyataḥ.

i.e., Chāṇakya gathered for Chandragupta an army with wealth found underground, for the purpose of uprooting Nanda.

[3] According to the interpretation accepted by Hultzsch—'instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government.'

who chafed under the Macedonian yoke, and after Alexander's departure defeated his generals and "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of India. The verdict of the Hydaspes was thus reversed.[1]

The **ancestry of Chandragupta** is not known for certain. Hindu literary tradition connects him with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha.[2] Tradition recorded in Mediaeval inscriptions, however, represents the Maurya family (from which he sprang) as belonging to the solar race.[3] "From Māndhātṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya line." In the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*,[4] the Moris (Mauryas) are described as a Rājput clan. Jaina tradition recorded in the *Pariśishṭaparvan*[5] represents Chandragupta as the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers (*Mayūra-poshaka*).[6] The *Mahāvaṁsa*[7] calls him a scion of the *Khattiya* clan styled Moriya (Maurya). In the *Divyāvadāna*[8]

[1] The anti-Macedonian movement led by Chandragupta, and those who co-operated with him, probably began in Sind. The Macedonian Satrap of that province withdrew before 321 B.C. Āmbhi and the Paurava remained in possession of portions of the western and central Pañjāb and some adjoining regions till sometime after the Triparadeisos agreement of 321 B.C.

[2] The *Mudrārākshasa* calls him not only *Mauryaputra* (Act II, verse 6) but also *Nandānvaya* (Act IV). Kshemendra and Somadeva refer to him as *Pūrvananda-sūta*. The commentator on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (IV, 24—Wilson IX, 187) says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife named Murā, whence he and his descendants were called Mauryas. Ḍhuṇḍirāja, the commentator on the *Mudrārākshasa*, informs us on the other hand that Chandragupta was the eldest son of Maurya who was the son of the Nanda king Sarvārthasiddhi by Murā, daughter of a *Vṛishala* (Śūdra?).

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, II. 222. The *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* also connects the Mauryas with the Śākyas who, as is well known, claimed to belong to the race of Āditya (the Sun).

[4] II A, the *Mewar Residency*, compiled by Major K. D. Erskine (p. 14).

[5] Page 56.

[6] Buddhist tradition also testifies to the supposed connection between the expressions Moriya (Maurya) and Mora or Mayūra (peacock)—see Turnour, *Mahāvaṁsa* (Mahāwansa), xxxix f. Aelian informs us that tame peacocks were kept in the parks of the Maurya Palace at Pāṭaliputra. Sir John Marshall points out that figures of peacocks were employed to decorate some of the projecting ends of the architraves of the east gateway at Sāñchī (*A Guide to Sāñchī*, pp. 44, 62).

[7] Geiger's Translation, p. 27. *Moriyānaṁ Khattiyānaṁ vaṁse jāta.*

[8] Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 370.

Bindusāra, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be an anointed Kshatriya, *Kshatriya Mūrdhābhishikta*. In the same work [1] Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, calls himself a Kshatriya. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* [2] the Moriyas are represented as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana, and as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. As the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* is the most ancient of the works referred to above, and forms part of the early Buddhist canon, its evidence must be accepted as authentic. It is, therefore, practically certain that Chandragupta belonged to a Kshatriya community, *viz.*, the Moriya (Maurya) clan.

In the sixth century B.C. the **Moriyas** were the ruling clan of the little republic of Pipphalivana which probably lay between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district. They must have been absorbed into the Magadhan empire along with the other states of Eastern India. Tradition avers that they were reduced to great straits in the fourth century B.C., and young Chandragupta grew up among peacock-tamers, herdsmen and hunters in the Vindhyan forest. The classical notices of his encounter with a lion and an elephant accord well with his residence amidst the wild denizens of that sequestered region. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the **leadership of Chandragupta**. These clansmen were no longer rulers and were merely Magadhan subjects. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Justin calls Chandragupta a man of humble origin. Plutarch, as well as Justin, informs us that Chandragupta paid a visit to Alexander. Plutarch says [3] "Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander

[1] Page 409.

[2] SBE., XI, pp. 134-135.

[3] *Life of Alexander*, lxii.

himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition." From this passage it is not unreasonable to infer that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the intention of inducing the conqueror to put an end to the rule of the tyrant of Magadha. His conduct may be compared to that of Rāṇā Saṁgrāma Siṁha who invited Bābur to put an end to the *régime* of Ibrāhīm Lūdi.[1] Apparently Chandragupta found Alexander as stern a ruler as Agrammes, for we learn from Justin that the Macedonian king did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech.[2] The young Maurya apparently thought of ridding his country of both the oppressors, Macedonian as well as Indian. With the help of Kauṭilya, also called Chāṇakya or Vishṇugupta, son of a Brāhmaṇa of Taxila, he overthrew the infamous Nanda. Traditional accounts of the conflict between Chandragupta and the last Nanda are preserved in the *Milindapañho*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Mudrārākshasa*, the *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā* and the *Jaina Pariśishṭaparvan*. The *Milindapañho*[3] tells us that the Nanda army was commanded by Bhaddasāla. The Nanda troops were evidently defeated with great slaughter, an exaggerated account of which is preserved in the *Milindapañho*.

"Sometime after" his acquisition of sovereignty, Chandragupta went to war with the prefects or generals of Alexander[4] and crushed their power.

[1] Regarding the conduct of Saṁgrāma Siṁha, see Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 240, n. (2). Anne Susannah Beveridge, *the Bābur-nāma in English*, Vol. II, p. 529.

[2] As already stated the substitution of 'Nanda' for Alexander cannot be justified.

[3] SBE., Vol. XXXVI, p. 147.

[4] *Cf.* Smith, *Aśoka*, third edition, p. 14 n. For the relative date of the assumption of sovereignty and the war with the prefects see *Indian Culture*, II, No. 3, pp. 559 ff.

The overthrow of the Nandas, and the **liberation of the Pañjāb** were not the only achievements of the great Maurya. Plutarch tells us [1] that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Justin also informs us that he was "in possession of India." In his "*Beginnings of South Indian History*," [2] Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says that Māmulanār, an ancient Tamil author, makes frequent allusions to the Mauryas in the past having penetrated with a great army as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly district. The statements of this author are said to be supported by Paraṇar or Param Koṟṟanār and Kallil Āttiraiyanār. The advanced party of the invasion was composed of a warlike people called Kosar.[3] The invaders advanced from the Konkan, passing the hills Elilmalai, about sixteen miles north of Cannanore, and entered the Kongu (Coimbatore) district, ultimately going as far as the Podiyil Hill. Unfortunately the name of the Maurya leader is not given. But the expression "*Vamba Moriyar*," or Maurya upstarts,[4] would seem to suggest that the first Maurya, *i.e.*, Chandragupta, and his adherents were meant.[5]

Certain Mysore inscriptions refer to Chandragupta's rule in North Mysore. Thus one epigraph says that

[1] Alex. LXII.

[2] Chap. II.

[3] For the Kośar see *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 97 ff.

[4] *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89.

[5] Barnett suggests (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 596) that the 'Vamba Moriyar' or 'Bastard Mauryas' were possibly a branch of the Konkani Mauryas. For other suggestions, see JRAS., 1923, pp. 93-96. Some Tamil scholars hold that "the Moriyar were not allowed to enter Tamilakam, and the last point they reached was the Venkaṭa hill" (IHQ., 1928, p. 145). They also reject Dr. Aiyangar's statement about the Kośar. But the view that the arms of Chandragupta possibly reached the Pāṇḍya country in the Far South of India which abounded in pearls and gems receives some confirmation from the *Mudrārākshasa*, Act III, verse 19, which suggests that the supremacy of the first Maurya eventually extended "from the lord of mountains (the Himālayas, cooled by showers of the spray of the divine stream (Ganges) playing about among its rocks, to the shores of the southern ocean (*dakshiṇārṇava*) marked by the brilliance of gems flashing with various colours." The description, however, may be purely conventional.

Nāgakhaṇḍa in the Shikārpur Tāluq was protected by the wise Chandragupta, "an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas."[1] This is of the fourteenth century and little reliance can be placed upon it. But when the statements of Plutarch, Justin, Māmulanār, and the Mysore inscriptions referred to by Rice, are read together, they seem to suggest that the first Maurya did conquer a considerable portion of trans-Vindhyan India.

Whatever we may think of Chandragupta's connection with Southern India, there can be no doubt that he pushed his **conquests as far as Surāshṭra** in Western India. The Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman refers to his *Rāshṭriya* or High Commissioner, Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who constructed the famous Sudarśana Lake.[2]

Reference has already been made to an Aramaic Inscription from Taxila which mentions the form *Priyadarśana*, a well-known epithet of Aśoka Maurya. But it is well to remember that in the *Mudrārākshasa Piadaṁsana* is used as a designation of *Chandasiri* or Chandragupta himself.[3] Further, in Rock Edict VIII of Aśoka, his ancestors, equally with himself, are styled *Devānaṁpiya*. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that, like his famous grandson, Chandragupta, too, was known as 'Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi' (or 'Priyadarśana'), and it is not always safe to ascribe all epigraphs that make mention of Priyadarśana, irrespective of their contents, to Aśoka the Great.

[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 10. Fleet, however, is sceptical about the Jaina tradition (*Ind. Ant.*, 1892, 156 ff.).

[2] The subjugation of the whole of Northern India (*Udīchī*) from the Himālayas to the sea is probably suggested by the following passage of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (IX, 1), "*Deśaḥ Prithivī ; tasyāṁ Himavat Samudrāntaram Udīchīnaṁ yojanasahasra parimāṇam atiryak Chakravarti-Kshetram.*" *Cf. Mudrārākshasa*, Act III. Verse 19.

[3] Act VI.

The Seleukidan War.

We learn from Justin [1] that when Chandragupta was in possession of India Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander, was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos was the son of Antiochos, a distinguished general of Philip of Macedon, and his wife Laodike. After the division of the Macedonian Empire among the followers of Alexander he carried on several wars in the east. He first took Babylon,[2] and then his strength being increased by this success, subdued the Bactrians. He next made an expedition into India. Appianus says [3] that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of the Indians, who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him. Justin also observes that after making a league with Chandragupta, and settling his affairs in the east, Seleukos proceeded to join in the war against Antigonos. Plutarch supplies us with the information that Chandragupta presented 500 elephants to Seleukos. More important details are given by Strabo who says :[4]

"The Indians occupy (in part) some of the countries situated along the Indus, which formerly belonged to the Persians: Alexander deprived the Ariani of them, and established there settlements of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus in consequence of a marriage contract, and received in turn 500 elephants." "The Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they had received from the Macedonians." [5]

[1] Watson's tr., p. 143.

[2] Seleukos obtained the satrapy of Babylon first after the agreement of Triparadeisos (321 B.C.) and afterwards in 312 B.C. from which year his era is dated. In 306 B.C., he assumed the title of king (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VII, 161; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 433).

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 114, Hultzsch, xxxiv.

[4] H. & F., III, p. 125.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 78.

It will be seen that the classical writers do not give us any detailed record of the actual conflict between Seleukos and Chandragupta. They merely speak of the results. There can be no doubt that the invader could not make much headway, and concluded an alliance which was cemented by a marriage contract. In his *Aśoka*[1] Dr. Smith rightly observes that the current notion that the Syrian king 'gave his daughter in marriage' to Chandragupta is not warranted by the evidence, which testifies merely to a 'matrimonial alliance.' The Indian Emperor obtained some of the countries situated along the Indus which formerly belonged to the Persians, together with the larger portion of Ariana, "giving in exchange the comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants." Dr. Smith adduces good grounds for believing that the territory ceded by the Syrian king included the four satrapies: Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and the Paropanisadai, *i.e*, Herat, Kandahār, Makrān and Kābul. The inclusion of the Kābul valley within the Maurya Empire is proved by the inscriptions of Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, which speak of the Yonas and Gandhāras as vassals of the Empire.

Megasthenes.

We learn from the classical writers that after the war the Syrian and Indian Emperors lived on friendly terms. Athenaios tells us that Chandragupta sent presents including certain powerful aphrodisiacs to the Syrian monarch.[2] Seleukos sent an envoy to the Maurya court, whose name

[1] Third Ed., p. 15.

[2] *Inv. Alex.*, p. 405. *Cf.* Smith, EHI, 4th ed., p. 153. The treaty between Chandragupta and Seleukos ushered in a policy of philhellenism which bore fruit in the succeeding reigns. In the days of Bindusāra and Aśoka there was not only an exchange of embassies with the Hellenistic powers of the West, but the services of Greek philosophers and administrators were eagerly sought by the imperial government.

was Megasthenes. Arrian tells us [1] that Megasthenes originally lived with Sibyrtios, the satrap of Arachosia. He was sent from thence to Pāṭaliputra where he often visited the Maurya Emperor, and wrote a history on Indian affairs. The work of Megasthenes has been lost. The fragments that survive in quotations by later authors like Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus and others, have been collected by Schwanbeck, and translated by McCrindle. As Professor Rhys Davids observes, Megasthenes possessed very little critical judgment, and was, therefore, often misled by wrong information received from others. But he is a truthful witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation. The most important piece of information supplied by him is, as Rhys Davids pointed out, the **description of Pāṭaliputra** which Arrian quotes in Chapter X of his *Indica* :

"The largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land of the Prasians, where is the confluence of the river Erannobaos [2] and the Ganges, which is the greatest of rivers. The Erannobaos would be third of the Indian rivers............Megasthenes says that on the side where it is longest this city extends 80 *stades* (9½ miles) in length, and that its breadth is fifteen (1¾ miles) ; that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 *plethra* (606 feet), and in depth 30 cubits ; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates." [3]

There were many other cities in the empire besides Pāṭaliputra. Arrian says "it would not be possible to record with accuracy the number of their cities on account of their multiplicity. Those which are situated near the

[1] Chinnock's tr., p. 254.

[2] Erannobaos = Hiraṇyavâha, *i.e.*, the Śoṇa (*Harshacharita*, Pārab's ed., 1918, p. 19). *Cf. Anuśoṇaṁ Pāṭaliputram* " (Patañjali, II, 1.2). For references to " Pāṭaliputra in a Tamil classic " see *Aiyangar Com. Vol.* 355 ff.

[3] *Cf.* Patañjali, IV. 3.2 : " *Pāṭaliputrakāḥ prāsādāḥ Pāṭaliputrakāḥ prākārā iti.*"

rivers or the sea are built of wood ; for if they were built of brick they could not long endure on account of the rain and because the rivers overflowing their banks fill the plains with water. But those which have been founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, are built of brick and mortar." The most important cities of Chandragupta's empire besides the metropolis, were Taxila, Ujjain, Kauśāmbī and possibly Puṇḍranagara.[1]

Ælian gives the following account of the **palace of Chandragupta**. "In the Indian royal palace[2] where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Susa, nor Ekbatana can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison[3]), there are other wonders besides. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated ; there are shady groves and pasture ground planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven ; while some trees are native to the soil, others are brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their

[1] Puṇḍranagara has been identified with Mahāsthānagaṛh in the Bogra District of Bengal. The identification seems to be confirmed by an inscription, written in early Mauryan Brāhmī character, which has recently been discovered at Mahāsthāna. The record makes mention of *Puṁḍanagala* and its storehouse filled with coins styled *Gaṇḍakas*, *Kākanikas*, etc , and refers to a people called Saḍvargikas. (Barua, *IHQ.*, 1934, March, 57 ff; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.*, April, 1931, 83 ff.; P. C. Sen, *IHQ.*, 1933, 722 ff.). Dr. Bhandarkar reads *Sa(ṁ)va(ṁ)gīya* in the place of *Saḍvargika* which is plausibly suggested by Dr. Barua. If the record really belongs to the early Maurya period the reference to coins is interesting. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that coins of the Maurya age bear certain symbols that can be recognized (*cf. JRAS*, 1936, 437 ff.).

[2] The "*Sugāṅga*" palace was the favourite resort of Chandragupta (*JRAS.*, 1923, 587).

[3] This statement should be remembered by those modern writers who find traces of Persian influence in Maurya architecture.

numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds—because the parrot alone can imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds are artificial ponds in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats." [1]

The imperial palace probably stood close to the modern village of Kumrahār.[2] The unearthing of the ruins of the Maurya pillar-hall and palace near Kumrahār, said to have been built on the model of the throne room and palace of Darius at Persepolis, led Dr. Spooner to propound the theory that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.[3] Dr. Smith observed that the resemblance of the Maurya buildings with the Persian palace at Persepolis was not definitely established. Besides, as Professor Chanda observes, "Ethnologists do not recognize high class architecture as test of race, and in the opinion of experts the buildings of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis are not Persian in style, but are mainly dependent on Babylonian models and bear traces of the influence of Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor."

We learn from Strabo[4] that the king usually remained within the palace under the protection of **female guards**[5] (*cf. strī gaṇair dhanvibhiḥ* of the *Arthaśāstra*) and appeared in public only on four occasions, *viz.*, in time of war; to sit in his court as a judge; to offer sacrifice and to go on hunting expeditions.

[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-42.

[2] Smith, *The Oxford History of India* p. 77. Macphail, *Aśoka*. pp. 23-25.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 63 ff, 405 ff.

[4] H. & F.'s Tr., Vol. III, p. 106; *cf.* Smith, *EHI.*, 3rd ed., p. 123.

[5] The same writer tells us that these women were *bought* from their parents. In view of this statement, it is rather surprising that Megasthenes is quoted as saying that none of the Indians employed slaves. Note also the story narrated by Athenaios that Amitrochates (*i.e.*, Bindusāra) begged Antiochos Soter to *buy* and send him a professor (Monahan, *The Early History of Bengal*, pp. 164, 176, 179).

Chandragupta's Government.

Chandragupta was not only a great soldier and conqueror, he was a great administrator. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at his court, has left detailed accounts of his system of government. The edicts of his grandson, Aśoka, and the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to his minister, **Kauṭilya,** confirm in many respects the particulars of the organisation of the empire given by the distinguished envoy. The *Arthaśāstra* certainly existed before Bāṇa (seventh century A.D.) and the *Nandisūtra* of the Jainas (not later than the fifth century A.D.). But it is doubtful if, in its present shape, it is as old as the time of the first Maurya. Reference to *Chinapaṭṭa,* China silk, which, be it remembered, occurs frequently in classical Sanskrit literature, points to a later date, as China was clearly outside the horizon of the early Mauryas, and is unknown to Indian epigraphy before the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. Equally noteworthy is the use of Sanskrit as the official language, a feature not characteristic of the Maurya epoch. A date as late as the Gupta period is, however, precluded by the absence of any reference to the Denarius in the sections dealing with weights and coins. Quite in keeping with this view is the reference to the *Arthaśāstra* contained in Jaina canonical works that were reduced to writing in the Gupta age. We have already adduced grounds for believing that the *Arthaśāstra* probably existed before the second century A.D. Though a comparatively late work, it may be used, like the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman, to confirm and supplement the information gleaned from earlier sources.

The **Supreme Government** consisted of two main parts :

1. The *Rājā*, and
2. the "**Councillors**" and "**Assessors**" (*Mahāmātras*, and *Amātyas* or *Sachivas*).

The *Rājā* or sovereign was the head of the state. He was considered to be a mere mortal, though a favoured mortal, the beloved of the deities. The possession of the material resources of a great empire and control over a vast standing army gave him real power. But there was a body of **ancient rules**, *Porāṇapakiti,* which even the most masterful despot viewed with respect. The people were an important element of the state. They were looked upon as children for whose welfare the head of the state was responsible, and to whom he owed a debt which could only be discharged by good government. There was a certain amount of decentralisation, notably in the sphere of **local government**, and there was usually at the imperial headquarters, and also at the chief centres of provincial government, a body of ministers who had a right to be consulted specially in times of emergency. Nevertheless the powers of the king were extensive. He had military, judicial, legislative, as well as executive functions. We have already seen that one of the occasions when he left his palace was **war**.[1] He considered plans of military operations with his *Senāpati*[2] or Commander-in-Chief.

He also sat in his **court to administer justice**. "He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him."[3] The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* says,[4] "when in the court, he (the king) shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible

[1] *Cf.* Strabo, XV. i; and Kauṭilya, Bk. X.

[2] Kauṭ., p. 38. In the last days of the Maurya empire we find the *Senāpati* overshadowing the king and transferring to himself the allegiance of the troops.

[3] H. & F., Strabo, III, pp. 106-107.

[4] Shamasastry's translation, p. 43.

to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies. He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless and of women ;—all this in order (of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works. All urgent calls he shall hear at once."

As to the king's legislative function we should note that the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*[1] calls him "*dharma-pravartaka*," and includes **Rājaśāsana** among the sources of law. As instances of royal "Śāsanas" or rescripts may be mentioned the Edicts of Aśoka, the famous grandson of Chandragupta.

Among **executive functions** of the king, our authorities mention the posting of watchmen, attending to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, appointment of ministers, priests and superintendents, correspondence with the *Mantriparishad* or Council of Ministers, collection of the secret information gathered by spies, reception of envoys, etc.[2]

It was the king who laid down the broad lines of policy and issued rescripts for the guidance of his officers and the people. Control was maintained over the most distant officials by an army of secret reporters and overseers and, in the days of Chandragupta's grandson, by itinerant judges. Communication with them was kept up by a network of roads, and garrisons were posted at strategic points.

Kauṭilya holds that *Rājatva* (sovereignty) is possible only with assistance.[3] A single wheel can never move. Hence the king shall employ *Sachivas* and hear their opinion. The

[1] Bk. III, Chap. I.

[2] Kauṭilīya, Bk. I, Ch. xvi; xvii; Bk. VIII, Ch. i. *Cf.* Aśoka's Rock Edicts III (regulation about *alpa vyayatā* and *alpa bhāṇḍatā*), V (appointment of high officials), VI (relations with the *Parishad*, and collection of information from the *Paṭivedakā*), and XIII (diplomatic relations with foreign powers).

[3] *Cf.* Manu, VII. 55.

Sachivas or **Amātyas** of Kauṭilya correspond to the "seventh caste" of Megasthenes which assisted the king in deliberating on public affairs. This class was small in numbers, but in wisdom and justice excelled all the others.[1]

The most important amongst the *Sachivas* or *Amātyas* were undoubtedly the **Mantrins** or High Ministers, probably corresponding to the **Mahāmātras** of Aśoka's Rock Edict VI, and the "advisers of the king" referred to by Diodorus.[2] They were selected from those *Amātyas* whose character had been tested under all kinds of allurements.[3] They were given the highest salary, *viz.*, 48,000 *paṇas* per annum.[4] They assisted the king in examining the character of the *Amātyas* who were employed in ordinary departments.[5] All kinds of administrative measures were preceded by consultation with three or four of them.[6] In works of emergency (*ātyayike kārye*) they were summoned along with the *Mantriparishad.*[7] They exercised a certain amount of control over the Imperial Princes.[8] They accompanied the king to the battle-field, and gave encouragement to the troops.[9] Kauṭilya was evidently one of these *Mantrins*. Another minister (or *Pradeshṭṛi* ?) was apparently Maniyatappo, a Jaṭilian, who helped the king to "confer the blessings of peace on the country by extirpating marauders who were like unto thorns."[10] That there were at times more than one *Mantrin* is proved by the use of the plural *Mantrinaḥ*.

1 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 413.

2 II, 41.

3 *Sarvopadhā śuddān Mantrinaḥ kuryāt.—Arthaśāstra*, p. 17. For *upadhā* see also the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta.

4 Kauṭilya, p. 247. According to Smith (EHI, 3rd ed., p. 141) the value of a silver *paṇa* may be taken as not far from a shilling.

5 *Ibid*, p. 16.

6 *Ibid*, pp. 26, 28.

7 *Ibid*, p. 29. *Cf.* Aśoka's Rock Edict VI.

8 *Ibid*, p. 333. *Cf.* the *Kumārāmātyas* of the Gupta period.

9 *Ibid*, p. 368. *Cf.* the Udayagiri Inscription of Śāba.

10 Turnour's *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. xlii.

In addition to the *Mantrins* there was the **Mantri-parishad**, *i.e.*, Assembly of Councillors or Council of Ministers. The existence of the *Parishad* as an important element of the Maurya constitution is proved by the third and sixth Rock Edicts of Aśoka.[1] The members of the *Mantriparishad* were not identical with the *Mantrins*. In several passages of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the *Mantrins* are sharply distinguished from the *Mantriparishad*.[2] The latter evidently occupied an inferior position. Their salary was only 12,000 *paṇas*, whereas the salary of a *Mantrin* was 48,000. They do not appear to have been consulted on ordinary occasions, but were summoned along with the *Mantrins* when *Ātyayika kārya*,[3] *i.e.*, works of emergency had to be transacted. The king was to be guided by the decision of the majority (*Bhūyishṭhāḥ*). They also attended the king at the time of the reception of envoys.[4] From the passage "*Mantriparishadaṁ dvādaśāmātyān kurvīta*"—" the Council of Ministers should consist of twelve *Amātyas*," it appears that the *Parishad* used to be recruited from all kinds of Amātyas (not necessarily from *Mantrins*). From Kauṭilya's denunciation of a king with a "*Kshudra-parishad*,"[5] a small council, his rejection of the views of the Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas, his preference for an "*Akshudra-parishad*," a council that is not small, and his reference to Indra's *Parishad* of a thousand *Ṛishis*, it may be presumed that he wanted to provide for the needs of a growing empire. Such an empire was undoubtedly that of Chandragupta who may have been prevailed upon by his advisers to constitute a fairly big assembly.[6]

[1] Note also Pliny's reference to noble and rich Indians who sit in council with the king (Monahan, *The Early History Bengal*, 148); *cf.* Mbh. iii, 127. 8, *Amātyaparshad*; xii, 320, 139, *Amātya Samiti*.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 20, 29, 247. [3] *Cf.* Mbh., iv. 30, 8. [4] *Arthaśāstra*, p. 45. [5] P. 259.

[6] The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 372) refers to the five hundred councillors (*Pañchāmātya-śatāni*) of Bindusāra, son and successor of Chandragupta Maurya. Patañjali refers to *Chandragupta Sabhā*. But we have no indication as to its constitution.

Besides the Mantrins and the Mantriparishad, there was another class of *Amātyas* who filled the **great administrative and judicial appointments**.[1] The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* says[2] that the "*dharmopadhāśuddha*" *Amātyas*, officers purified by religious test, should be employed in **civil**[3] and **criminal**[4] **courts**; the "*arthopadhāśuddha*" *Amātyas*, officers purified by money test, should be employed as *Samāhartṛi* ("Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of the Interior") and *Sannidhātṛi* (High Treasurer and Keeper of Stores);[5] the "*kāmopadhāśuddha*" *Amātyas*, officials purified by love-test, should be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, the "*bhayopadhāśuddha*" *Amātyas*, officers purified by fear-test, should be appointed to immediate service (*āsanna kārya*), while those who are proved to be impure should be employed in mines, timber and elephant forests,[6] and manufactories. Untried *Amātyas* were to be employed in ordinary departments (*sāmānya adhikaraṇa*). Persons endowed with the qualifications required in an *Amātya* (*Amātyasampadopeta*) were appointed *Nisṛishṭārthāḥ* or Ministers Plenipotentiary, *Lekhakas* or Ministers of Correspondence, and *Adhyakshas* or Superintendents.

The statements of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* regarding the employment of *Amātyas* as the chief executive and judicial officers of the realm, are confirmed by the classical

[1] *Cf.* the *Karma-Sachivas* of the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I.

[2] P. 17. *Cf.* McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, 41, 42.

[3] Civil (*Dharmasthīya*) Courts were established "in the cities of *Saṅgrahaṇa* (in the midst of a collection of ten villages), *Droṇamukha* (in the centre of four hundred villages), *Sthāniya* (in the centre of eight hundred villages), and at places where districts met (*Janapada-sandhi*)," and consisted of three *Dharmasthas* (judges versed in the sacred law) and three *Amātyas*.

[4] A Criminal (*Kaṇṭakaśodhana*) Court consisted of 3 *Amātyas*, or 3 *Pradeshṭṛis*. The functions of the latter will be described later on.

[5] For the duties of these officers see Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, 5-6, 35; Bk. IV, 4; Bk. V, 2. For the revenue system under the Mauryas, see Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 165 ff.

[6] *Cf.* *Nāgavana* of Pillar Edict V.

writers. Strabo, for example, observes,[1] "the seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors (*Symbouloi* and *Synedroi*) of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs." Arrian also says, "from them are chosen their rulers, governors of provinces, deputies, treasurers, generals, admirals, controllers of expenditure, and superintendents of agriculture."

The **Adhyakshas** who formed the pivot of the Maurya administration, are evidently referred to by Strabo as Magistrates in the following passage :

"Of the **Magistrates**, some have the charge of the market,[2] others of the city, others of the soldiery.[3] Some[4] have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed **reservoirs from which water is distributed** by **canals**, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public **roads**, and place a **pillar at every ten stadia** to indicate the byways and distances. **Those who have charge of the city (astynomoi)** are divided into six bodies of five each.[5] Next to the Magistrates of the city is a third body of **governors**,

[1] H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103. *Cf.* Diodorus, II. 41.

[2] "District" according to the *Cambridge History of India*, I. 417.

[3] *Cf.* the *Durga-rāshṭra-daṇḍa-mukhyas* of Kauṭilya, Bk. XIII, Chs. III and V.

[4] *i.e.*, the district officials (**Agronomoi**).

[5] Each body was responsible for one of the following departments, *viz.*, (1) the mechanical arts, (2) foreign residents, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) trade, commerce, weights and measures, (5) supervision and sale of manufactured articles and (6) collection of tithes on sales. In their collective capacity they looked after public buildings, markets, harbours and temples. Prices were regulated by them.

who have the care of military affairs. This class also consists of six divisions each composed of five persons.[1]

The Magistrates in charge of the city and those in charge of military affairs are evidently the same as the **Nagarādhyakshas** and **Balādhyakshas** of the *Arthaśāstra.*[2] Dr. Smith remarks,[3] "the Boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital and the army are unknown to the author (Kauṭilya), who contemplated each such charge as the duty of a single officer. The creation of the Boards may have been an innovation effected by Chandragupta personally." But the historian overlooks the fact that Kauṭilya distinctly says: "*Bahumukhyaṁ anityaṁ chādhikaraṇaṁ sthāpayet,*" each department shall be officered by several temporary heads; [4] "*Adhyakshāḥ Saṅkhyāyaka-Lekhaka-Rūpadarśaka-Nīvīgrāhak-Ottarādhyaksha- sakhāḥ karmāṇi kuryuḥ,* "the Superintendents shall carry on their duties with the assistance of accountants, scribes coin-examiners, stock-takers and additional secret overseers." Evidently Dr. Smith notices only the *Adhyakshas* but ignores the existence of the *Uttarādhyakshas* and others.

[1] Each division or Board was responsible for one of the following departments, *viz.*, the navy, transport and commissariat (*cf. Vishṭi Karmāṇi* of Kauṭilya, Bk. X, Ch. IV), the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants. In the *Sāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* the divisions are stated to be six (CIII. 38) or eight (LIX. 41-42):

Rathā Nāgā Hayāśchaiva Pādātāśchaiva Pāṇḍava
Vishṭir Nāvaś Charāśchaiva Deśikā iti chāshṭamam
Aṅgānyetāni Kauravya prakāśāni balasya tu

"Chariots, elephants, horses, infantry, burden-carriers, ships, spies with local guides as the eighth—these are the open limbs of a fighting force, O descendant of Kuru."

The *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV, 26) refers to *Shaḍvidham balam. Cf.* Mbh. V. 96.16.

[2] Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 55. *Nagara Dhānya-Vyāvahārika-Kārmāntika-Balādhyakshāḥ Cf Balapradhānā* and *Nigamapradhānāḥ* of Mbh., V. 2. 6.

[3] EHI, 1914, p. 141. *Cf.* Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 157-64, and Stein, *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*, pp. 233 ff.

[4] *Arthaśāstra*, 1919, p. 60. On page 57 we have the following passage—**Hastyaśva-ratha-padātam-aneka-mukhyam-avasthāpayet**, *i.e.*, elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.

As in regard to the *Arthaśāstra* Smith notices only the *Adhyakshas*, so in regard to the classical accounts he takes note only of the Boards, but ignores the chiefs who are expressly mentioned in two passages,[1] *viz.*—

"One division is associated with the *Chief Naval Superintendent*," "another (division) is associated with the *person who has the charge of the bullock-teams*." The Chief Naval Superintendent and the Person in Charge of the Bullock-teams, doubtless, correspond to the *Nāvadhyaksha* and the *Go'dhyaksha* of the *Arthaśāstra*. It is a mistake to think that the *Nāvadhyaksha* of the early Hindu period was a purely civil official, for he was responsible for the destruction of *Hiṁsrikās* (pirate ships?) and the *Mahābhārata*[2] clearly refers to the navy as one of the *aṅgas* or limbs of the Royal Forces. The civil duties of the *Nāvadhyaksha* have their counterpart in those of Megasthenes' Admiral relating to the "letting out of ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize."[3]

The central popular assemblies like those that existed among the Lichchhavis, Mallas, Śākyas and other *Saṅghas* had no place in the Maurya constitution. The custom of summoning a great assembly of *Grāmikas* or village Headmen seems also to have fallen into disuse. The royal council gradually became an aristocratic body attended only by nobles and rich men.[4]

Administration of Justice

At the head of the judiciary stood the king himself. Besides the royal court there were special tribunals of justice both in cities (*nagara*) and country parts (*janapada*)

[1] H. & F., Strabo, III, p. 104.

[2] XII. lix, 41-42.

[3] Strabo, XV. 1. 46.

[4] Pliny quoted in Monahan's *Early History of Bengal*, 148.

presided over by *Vyāvahārika Mahāmātras* and *Rājūkas* respectively. Greek writers refer to judges who listened to cases of foreigners. Petty cases in villages were doubtless decided by the headmen and the village elders. All our authorities testify to the severity of the penal code. But the rigours of judicial administration were sought to be mitigated by Aśoka, grandson of Chandragupta, who meted out equal justice to all and instituted the system of itinerant *Mahāmātras* to check maladministration in the outlying provinces. Considerable discretion was, however, allowed to the *Rājūkas*. We are informed by Greek writers that "theft was a thing of very rare occurrence" among Indians. They express their surprise at this for they go on to observe that the people "have no written laws but are ignorant of writing, and conduct all matters by memory." The assertion about the Indians' ignorance of writing is hardly correct. Nearchus and Curtius record that Indians use pieces of closely woven linen and the tender bark of trees for writing on. Strabo tells us that a philosopher who has any useful suggestion to offer, commits it to writing. Attention may also be invited to the marks on Mauryan pillars intended to show the by-roads and distances.[1]

Provincial Government

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces which were subdivided into *āhāras* or *vishayas* (districts), because "No single administration could support the Atlantean load." The exact number of provinces in Chandragupta's time is unknown. In the time of his grandson, Aśoka, there were at least five, *viz.*:

1. Uttarāpatha[2] ... capital, Taxila
2. Avanti raṭṭha[3] ... ,, Ujjayinî

[1] Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 143, 157, 167 f.

[2] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 407.

[3] *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, p. 98. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XIII.

3. Dakshiṇāpatha	...	capital,	Suvarṇagiri (?)
4. Kaliṅga	...	,,	Tosali
5. Prāchya (Prasii)	...	,,	Pāṭaliputra.

Of these only the first two and the last one can be said, with any amount of certainty, to have formed parts of Chandragupta's Empire. But, it is not altogether improbable that Dakshiṇāpatha, too, was one of Chandragupta's provinces. The outlying provinces were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were styled *Kumāras*. We learn from the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* [1] that the salary of a *Kumāra* was 12,000 paṇas *per annum*.

The Home Provinces, *i.e.*, Prāchya and the Madhyadeśa (Eastern India and Mid-India), were directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of *Mahāmātras* or High Officers stationed in important cities like Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbī, etc.

Besides the Imperial Provinces Maurya India included a number of territories which enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Arrian refers to **peoples who were autonomous and cities which enjoyed a democratic Government.**[2] The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*[3] refers to a number of **Saṅghas,** *e.g.*, Kamboja, Surāshṭra, etc. The Kambojas find prominent mention as a separate unit even in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka. That Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwār) was autonomous in the time of Aśoka seems probable from the reference, in R. E. V, to various nations on the western border (*aparātā*) in addition to those named specifically,[4] and from Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh which refers to the *Rājā*, the Yavana Tushāspha, the contemporary and vassal of Aśoka. The *Yavanarāja* was probably a Greek chief

1 P. 247.

2 Monahan, *The Early History of Bengal*, 150 ; Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 413.

3 P. 378.

4 I. H. Q. 1931, 631.

of the North-West who was appointed one of the *Mukhyas* or chiefs of the Surāshṭra *Saṅgha* by Aśoka, just as Rājā Mān Singh of Amber was appointed *Subadār* of Bengal by Akbar. His title of *Rājā* probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. His relations with Aśoka remind us of the relationship subsisting between the *Rājā* of the Śākya state and Pasenadi. In the time of the first Maurya Surāshṭra had an officer named Pushyagupta, the *Vaiśya*, who is described as a *Rāshṭriya* of Chandragupta. In the *Bombay Gazetteer*,[1] the word *Rāshṭriya* was taken to mean a brother-in-law. Kielhorn, however, in the *Epigraphia Indica*,[2] took the term to mean a provincial Governor. This meaning does not seem to be quite satisfactory because we have already seen that Surāshṭra was very probably an autonomous vassal state,[3] or a confederation of vassal states, and not an Imperial Province. A *Rāshṭriya* seems to have been a sort of Imperial High Commissioner, and the position of Pushyagupta in Surāshṭra was probably like that of Lord Cromer in Egypt. Neither the *Arthaśāstra* nor the edicts of Aśoka mention clearly any class of officials called *Rāshṭriya*.[4] It is, however, probable, that the *Rāshṭriya* was identical with the *Rāshṭrapāla* whose salary was equal to that of a *Kumāra* or Prince.[5]

1 Vol. I, Part I, p. 13.

2 Vol. VIII, p. 46.

3 That Surāshṭra had its local *rājās* in the early Maurya period is also known to tradition. The commentary on the *Petavatthu*, for instance, refers to king Piṅgala of Suraṭṭha who flourished two hundred years after the *Parinirvāṇa*, and was a contemporary of Dhammāsoka (Law, *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 47 ff.).

4 The Aśokan inscriptions, however, mention the *Raṭhikas* and the *Pāli English Dictionary* edited by Rhys Davids and Stede compares *Raṭṭhika* with *Rāshṭriya*.

5 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 247. For *Rāshṭriya* see also Mbh., XII. 85, 12 ; 87. 9. According to Amara (V. 14) a *Rāshṭriya* is a *rājaśyāla* (brother-in-law of the king). But Kshirasvāmin says in his commentary that except in a play a Rāshṭriya is a *Rāshṭrādhikṛita*, *i.e.*, an officer appointed to look after or supervise the affairs of a *rāshṭra*, state or province. *Cf.* the Macedonian *episkopos* and note the position of Eudamos in relation to the Indian *Rājās* of the Pañjāb.

A hereditary bureaucracy does not seem to have come to existence in the early Maurya period at least in the territory of Surāshṭra. The assumption of the title of *Rājā* by local rulers and the grant of autonomy to the *Rājūkas* in the days of Aśoka ultimately let loose centrifugal forces which must have helped in the dismemberment of the empire.

Overseers and Spies

The classical writers refer to a class of men called Overseers (*Episkopoi*) who "overlook what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make report to the king where the Indians are ruled by a king, or the magistrates where the people have a democratic Government."[1] Strabo calls this class of men the *Ephori* or Inspectors. "They are," says he, "intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king...The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of Inspectors."[2] The Overseer of Arrian and the Inspector of Strabo may correspond to the *Rāshṭriya* of the Junāgaḍh Inscription or to the *Pradeshṭri* or the *Gūḍha-Purushas* (secret emissaries) of the *Arthaśāstra. Pradeshṭri* may be derived from *Pradiś* which means 'to point,' 'to communicate.'[3]

Strabo speaks of different classes of Inspectors. He tells us that the City Inspectors employed as their co-adjutors the city courtesans; and the Inspectors of the Camp, the women who followed it. The employment of women of easy virtue as spies is also alluded to by the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. According to that work there were two groups of spies, *viz.*:

1. *Saṁsthāḥ*, or stationary spies, consisting of secret agents styled *Kāpaṭika*, *Udāsthita*, *Gṛihapatika*, *Vaidehaka*

[1] Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 413. [2] H. and F., *Strabo*, III, p. 103.
[3] *Cf.* Thomas, JRAS., 1915, p. 97.

and *Tāpasa*, *i.e.*, fraudulent disciples, recluses, householders, merchants and ascetics.

2. *Sañchārāḥ* or wandering spies,[1] including emissaries termed *Satri*, *Tīkshṇa* and *Rashada*, *i.e.*, class-mates, fire-brands and poisoners and certain women described as *Bhikshukīs* (mendicants), *Parivrājikās* (wandering nuns), *Muṇḍas* (shavelings) and *Vṛishalīs*. It is to the last class, *viz.*, the *Vṛishalīs* that Strabo evidently refers.[2] We have also explicit references to courtesan (*Puṁśchalī*, *veśyā*, *rūpājīvā*) spies in the *Arthaśāstra*.[3]

Care of Foreigners

It is clear from the accounts of Diodorus[4] and Strabo[5] that the Maurya government took special care of foreigners. "Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any one of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned with the greatest care and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them."[6]

Village Administration in the Arthaśāstra

The administrative and judicial business of villages was carried on by the *Grāmikas*[7] who were, no doubt, assisted by

[1] *Cf.* Luders, Ins. No. 1200.

[2] A *Vṛishalī* is taken to mean a *gaṇikā* or courtesan by the author of the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* (p. 94).

[3] Pp. 221, 249, 316 of the *Arthaśāstra*.

[4] II. 42.

[5] XV. I. 50.

[6] McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 42.

[7] *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 157. 172. *Cf.* Lüders, Ins. Nos. 48, 69*a*.

the *Grāma-vṛiddhas*[1] or village elders. The omission of the *Grāmika* from the list of salaried officials given in the *Artha-śāstra*[2] is significant. It probably indicates that in the days of the author of the treatise the *Grāmika* was not a paid servant of the crown, but an elected official of the villagers. The king's servant in the village was the *Grāma-bhṛitaka.*[3] Above the *Grāmika* were the *Gopa,*[4] who looked after 5 or 10 villages, and the *Sthānika* who controlled one quarter of a *janapada* or district. The work of these officers was supervised by the *Samāhartṛi* with the help of the *Pradeshṭris.*[5] Rural administration must have been highly efficient. We are told by Greek observers that the tillers of the soil received adequate protection from all injury and would devote the whole of their time to cultivation.

Revenue and Expenditure

The cost of civil and military administration even at the centre must have been enormous. The chief sources of revenue from villages were the *Bhāga* and the *Bali*. The *Bhāga* was the king's share of the produce of the soil which was normally fixed at one-sixth, though in special cases it was raised to one-fourth or reduced to one-eighth. *Bali* seems to have been an extra impost from the payment of which certain tracts were exempted. According to Greek writers husbandmen paid, in addition to a fourth part of the produce of the soil, a land tribute because, according to their belief, "all India is the property of the crown and no private person is permitted to own land."

[1] *Artha*, pp. 48, 161, 168, 169, 178. *Cf.* Lüders, Ins. No. 1327.

[2] Bk V, Ch. III.

[3] Pp. 175, 248. There is, however, evidence to show that in early times *adhikṛitas* were appointed for villages by the paramount ruler (*Praśna Upanishad*, III.4).

[4] The Gopas proper do not find mention in early epigraphs, but Lüders, Ins. No. 1266, mentions "*Senā-gopas*."

[5] *Artha*, pp. 142, 217.

Taxes on land were collected by the *Agronomoi* who measured the land and superintended the irrigation works. Other state dues included tribute and prescribed services from traders and cattle from herdsmen. In urban areas the main sources of revenue included birth and death taxes, fines and tithes on sales. The *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali has an interesting reference to the Mauryas' love of gold which led them to deal in images of deities. The distinction between taxes levied in rural and in fortified areas respectively is known to the *Arthaśāstra* which refers to certain high revenue functionaries styled the *Samāhartṛi* and the *Sannidhātṛi*. No such officials are, however, mentioned in Maurya inscriptions. Greek writers, on the other hand, refer to 'treasurers of the state' or 'superintendents of the treasury.'

A considerable part of the revenue was spent on the army. The artisans, too, received maintenance, from the Imperial exchequer. Herdsmen and hunters received an allowance of grain in return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls. Another class which benefited from royal bounty were the philosophers among whom were included Brāhmaṇas as well as *Śramaṇas* or ascetics. Vast sums were also spent for irrigation, construction of roads, erection of buildings and fortifications, and establishment of hospitals in the days of Chandragupta's grandson.

The Last Days of Chandragupta

Jaina tradition recorded in the *Rājāvalīkathe*[1] avers that Chandragupta was a Jaina and that, when a great famine occurred, he abdicated in favour of his son Simhasena and repaired to Mysore where he died. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāverī near Seringapatam of about 900

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, 157.

A.D., describe the summit of the Kalbappu Hill, *i.e.*, Chandragiri, as marked by the footprints of Bhadravāhu and Chandragupta *Munipati*.[1] Dr. Smith observes :[2] "The Jain tradition holds the field, and no. alternative account exists." Chandragupta died about 300 B.C., after a reign of 24 years.[3]

If the *Pariśishṭaparvan* of Hemachandra is to be believed Chandragupta had a queen named Durdharā who became the mother of Bindusāra, the son who succeeded him on the throne. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, the name of the queen cannot be accepted as genuine.

[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 3-4.

[2] The *Oxford History of India*, p. 76. As already stated, Fleet is sceptical about the Jaina tradition (*Ind. Ant.*, 1892, 156 f.). According to Greek evidence Chandragupta was a follower of the sacrificial religion (see p. 225 *ante*). The epithet *Vṛishala* applied to him in the *Mudrārākshasa* suggests that in regard to certain matters he did deviate from strict orthodoxy (*Indian Culture*, II, No. 3, pp. 558 ff. See also C. J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, 135*n*, 138).

[3] For the date of Chandragupta Maurya see *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 560 ff. Buddhist tradition of Ceylon puts the date 162 years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, *i.e.*, in 382 B.C., if we take 544 B.C. to be the year of the Great Decease ; and 324 B.C. if we prefer the Cantonese date 486 B.C. for the death of the Buddha. The earlier date is opposed to Greek evidence. The date 321 B.C. accords with the testimony of Greek writers. The Jaina date, 313 B.C., for Chandragupta's accession, if it is based on a correct tradition, may refer to his acquisition of Avanti in Malwa, as the chronological datum is found in a verse where Chandragupta's name occurs in a list of successors of Pālaka, king of Avanti. *Cf.* I.H.Q., 1929, p. 402.

Section II. The Reign of Bindusāra.

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded in or about the year 300 B.C. by his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta. The name or title *Amitraghātā* (slayer of foes) is a restoration in Sanskrit[1] of the Amitrachates of Athenaios, and Allitrochades of Strabo, who is stated to have been the son of Sandrocottus. Fleet prefers the rendering *Amitrakhāda* or devourer of enemies, which is said to occur as an epithet of Indra.[2] In the *Rājāvalīkathe* the name of Chandragupta's son and successor is given as Simha-sena. From Aśoka's Rock Edict VIII (Kālsī Text) it appears probable that Bindusāra, as well as other predecessors of Aśoka, used the style *Devānaṁpiya.*

If the author of the *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa*, Hemachandra and Tāranātha are to be believed, Kauṭilya or Chāṇakya continued to serve as minister for some time after the accession of Bindusāra.[3] "Chāṇaka," says Tāranātha, "one of his (Bindusāra's) great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns, and as king he made himself master of all the

[1] *Cf.* Lassen, and Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 92). The term *Amitraghāta* occurs in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, III. 2. 2. Dr. Jarl Charpentier observes (in *Le Monde Oriental*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, May-June, 1926, p. 399), "that the Greek word Αμιτροχατης as a synonym of Bindusāra, should be rendered Amitraghāta seems clear not only from the Mahābhāṣya but also from the royal title *amitrāṇāṁ hantā* in *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 17." In JRAS., 1928, January, however, he prefers to restore Amitrochates as Amitrakhāda (p. 135). *Cf. Ṛig-veda*, X. 152.1.

[2] JRAS., 1909, p. 24.

[3] Jacobi, *Pariśishṭaparvan*, p. 62; *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, p. 364, etc. For the alleged connection of Bindusāra with another minister named Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā*, see *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 208-11. The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 372) mentions Khallāṭaka as Bindusāra's *agrāmātya* or chief minister.

territory between the eastern and western seas." The conquest of the territory between the eastern and western seas has been taken by some scholars to refer to the annexation of the Deccan.[1] But we should not forget that already in the time of Chandragupta the Maurya Empire extended from Surāshṭra to Bengal (Gangaridae), *i. e.*, from the western to the eastern sea. Tāranātha's statement need mean nothing more than the suppression of a general revolt. No early tradition expressly connects the name of Bindusāra with the conquest of the Deccan.[2] The story of the subjugation of sixteen towns may or may not be true, but we are told in the *Divyāvadāna*[3] that at least one town of note, *viz.*, Taxila, revolted during the reign of Bindusāra. The king is said to have despatched Aśoka there. While the prince was nearing Taxila with his troops the people came out to meet him, and said "we are not opposed to the prince, nor even to king Bindusāra, but the wicked ministers (*Dushṭāmātyāḥ*) insult us." The high-handedness of the Maurya officials in the outlying provinces is alluded to by Aśoka himself in his Kaliṅga Edict.[4] Addressing his *Mahāmātras* the Emperor says :

"All men are my children : and, just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. *You, however, do not grasp this truth* to its full extent.[5] Some individual, perchance,

[1] *Cf.* Smith, EHI., 3rd ed., p. 149, JRAS., 1919, 598 ; Jayaswal, *The Empire of Bindusāra*, JBORS., ii. 79ff.

[2] See however, Subramaṇiam, JRAS., 1923, p. 96, "My Guru's Guru had written in his commentary on a *Sangam* work that the Tuḷu-nāḍa was established by the son of Chandragupta," perhaps Tuliyan (Tuli = Bindu).

[3] Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 371.

[4] Smith, *Aśoka*, third edition, pp. 194-95.

[5] "You do not learn how far this (my) object reaches" (Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 95).

pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, *it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture*, and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, *many other people are deeply grieved*. In such a case you must desire to do justice[1] ...and for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons (*Mahāmātras*) as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this my purpose will comply with my instructions.[2] From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. *In the same way from Taxila.*"

Taxila made its submission to Aśoka. The Maurya prince is further represented as entering the " Svaśa rājya " (**Khaśa** according to Burnouf).[3]

Foreign Relations

In his relations with the Hellenistic powers Bindusāra pursued a pacific policy. We learn from the classical writers[4] that the king of Syria despatched to his court an ambassador named Deïmachos. Pliny[5] tells us that

1 " It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment. In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer. In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially " (Hultzsch, p. 96).

2 " I shall send out every five years (a *Mahāmātra*) who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (*viz.*, in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers) paying attention to this object....are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).' (Hultzsch, p. 97).

3 *Divyāvadāna*, p. 372. The emendation Khaśa is supported by the testimony of Tāranātha (IHQ. 1930, 334).

4 *e.g.*, Strabo.

5 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 108.

(Ptolemy II) Philadelphos, King of Egypt (B. C. 285-247), sent an envoy named Dionysios. Dr. Smith, however, points out that it is uncertain whether Dionysios presented his credentials to Bindusāra or to his son and successor, Aśoka. The same historian says [1] that Patrokles, an officer who served under both Seleukos and his son, sailed in the Indian seas and collected much geographical information which Strabo and Pliny were glad to utilize. Athenaios tells an anecdote of private friendly correspondence between Antiochos (I, Soter), king of Syria, and Bindusāra which indicates that the Indian monarch communicated with his Hellenistic contemporaries on terms of equality and friendliness. We are told on the authority of Hegesander that Amitrochates (Bindusāra), the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochos asking that king to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist, and Antiochos replied: we shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a sophist to be sold.[2] In connection with the Indian demand for Greek sophists it is interesting to recall the assertion of Dion Chrysostom that the poetry of Homer is sung by the Indians, who had translated it into their own language and modes of expression.[3] Garga and Varāhamihira testify to the honour that was paid to Greeks for their knowledge of astronomy.[4]

Bindusāra's Family

Bindusāra had many children besides Aśoka, the son who succeeded him on the throne. We learn from a passage of the Fifth Rock Edict in which the duties of the

[1] Aśoka, *third edition*, p. 19.

[2] McCrindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 409. Hultzsch, *Aśoka*, p. xxxv.

[3] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 177.

[4] *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, II. 14. Aristoxenus and Eusebius refer to the presence in Athens, as early as the fourth century B.C., of Indians who discussed philosophy with Socrates. (A note by Rawlinson quoted in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22-11-36, p. 17.)

Dharma-mahāmātras[1] are described, that Aśoka had many brothers and sisters. The *Divyāvadāna* mentions two of these brothers, namely, Susīma and Vigataśoka.[2] The Ceylonese Chronicles seem also to refer to these two princes though under different names, calling the former Sumana and the latter Tishya. Susīma-Sumana is said to have been the eldest son of Bindusāra and a step-brother of Aśoka, while Vigataśoka-Tishya is reputed to have been the youngest son of Bindusāra and a uterine brother of Aśoka, born of a Brāhmaṇa girl from Champā.[3] Hiuen Tsang mentions a brother of Aśoka named Mahendra. Ceylonese tradition, however, represents the latter as a son of Aśoka. It is possible that the Chinese pilgrim has confounded the story of Vigataśoka with that of Mahendra.[4]

Bindusāra died after a reign of 25 years according to the *Purāṇas*, and 27 or 28 years according to Buddhist tradition.[5] According to the chronology adopted in these pages his reign terminated about 273 B.C.[6]

1 "High Officers for the Establishment and Propagation of the Law of Duty."

2 Pp. 369-73; Smith, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., pp. 247 ff.

3 According to Smith the name of Aśoka's mother was Subhadrāṅgī.

4 *Cf.* Smith, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 257.

5 Hultzsch points out (p. xxxii) that Burmese tradition assigns 27 years to Bindusāra, while Buddhaghosha's *Samanta-pāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvaṁsa* in allotting 28 years to that king.

6 *Cf.* Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 73.

Section III. The Early Years of Aśoka.

Both the *Divyāvadāna* and the Ceylonese Chronicles agree that there was a **fratricidal struggle** after the death of Bindusāra. Aśoka is said to have overthrown his eldest step-brother with the help of Rādhagupta whom he made his *Agrāmātya* (Chief Minister). Dr. Smith observes,[1] "the fact that his formal consecration or coronation (*abhisheka*) was delayed for some four years [2] until 269 B.C., confirms the tradition that his succession was contested, and it may be true that his rival was an elder brother named Susīma." In this *Aśoka* [3] published a few months later, he says, "it is possible that the long delay may have been due to a disputed succession involving much bloodshed, but there is no independent evidence of such a struggle." Dr. Jayaswal[4] gave the following explanation for the delay in Aśoka's coronation: "it seems that in those days for obtaining royal *abhisheka* [5] the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession." The contention can hardly be accepted. The *Mahābhārata*, for instance, informs us that the *abhisheka* of king Vichitravīrya took place when he was a mere child who had not yet reached the period of youth:

Vichitravīryañcha tadā
Bālam aprāptayauvanam

1 *The Oxford History of India*, p. 93.

2 *Mahāvaṁsa*, Geiger's translation, p. 28.

3 Third edition.

4 JBORS., 1917, p. 438.

5 There were other kinds of *abhisheka* also, *e.g.*, those of *Yuvarāja*, *Kumāra*, and *Senāpati*, as we learn from the epics and the Kauṭilīya (trans., pp. 377, 391).

Kururājye mahābāhur
Abhyashiñchadanantaram.[1]

Dr. Smith characterises[2] the Ceylonese tales which relate that Aśoka slew many of his brothers as silly because Aśoka certainly had brothers and sisters alive in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his reign, whose households were objects of his anxious care. But we should remember that the Fifth Rock Edict refers only to the family establishments of his brothers (*olodhanesu bhātinaṁ*) as existing. This does not necessarily imply that the brothers themselves were alive. We should, however, admit that there is nothing to show, on the contrary, that the brothers were dead. The Fifth Rock Edict, in our opinion, proves nothing regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese tradition. In the Fourth Rock Edict Aśoka himself testifies to the growth of unseemly behaviour to kinsfolk and slaughter of living creatures.

The first four years of Aśoka's reign is, to quote the words which Dr. Smith uses in another connection, " one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history ; vague speculation, unchecked by the salutary limitations of verified fact, is at the best, unprofitable."

Like his predecessors[3] Aśoka assumed the title of *Devānaṁpiya*. He generally described himself as *Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi.*[4] The name Aśoka is found only in literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, *viz.*, the Māski Edict of Aśoka himself, and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman I. The name Dharmāśoka is

[1] Mbh., I. 101. 12. As the *Ādiparva* refers to Dattāmitra and *Yavana* rule in the lower Indus valley its date cannot be far removed from that of Aśoka and Khāravela.

[2] EHI, 3rd ed., p. 155.

[3] *Cf.* Rock Edict VIII, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra Texts.

[4] We have already seen that the epithet " *Piadaṁsana* " is sometimes prefixed to Chandragupta also (Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 5; Hultzsch, CII, Vol. I, p. xxx).

found in one Mediaeval epigraph, *viz.*, the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī.[1]

During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka seems to have carried on the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India, and of friendly co-operation with the foreign powers, which was in vogue after the Seleukidan war. Like Chandragupta and Bindusāra he was aggressive at home but pacific abroad. The friendly attitude towards non-Indian powers is proved by the exchange of embassies and the employment of *Yavana* officials like Tushāspha.[2] In India, however, he played the part of a conqueror. The *Divyāvadāna* credits him, while yet a prince, with the suppression of a revolt in Taxila and the conquest of the Svaśa (Khaśa ?) country. In the thirteenth year of his reign (eight years after consecration he effected the **conquest of Kaliṅga**. We do not know the exact limits of this kingdom in the days of Aśoka. But if the Sanskrit epics and *Purāṇas* are to be believed, it extended to the river Vaitaranî in the north,[3] the Amarakaṇṭaka Hills in the west[4] and Mahendragiri in the south.[5]

An account of the Kaliṅga war and its effects is given in Rock Edict XIII. We have already seen that Kaliṅga formed a part of the Magadhan dominions in the time of the Nandas. Why was it necessary for Aśoka to reconquer it ? The question admits of only one answer, *viz.*, that Kaliṅga severed its connection with Magadha after the fall of the Nandas. If the story of a general revolt in the time of Bindusāra be correct then it is not unlikely that Kaliṅga,

1 *Dharmāśoka-narādhipasya samaye Śri Dharmachakro Jino yādṛik tannaya rakshitaḥ punarayañchakre tatopyadbhutam.*

Note also the part played by the Yona named Dhammarakkhita (*Mahāvaṁsa*, trans., p. 82).

3 Mbh., III. 114. 4.

4 *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II. 39, 9.

5 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 38-43; VI, 53-54.

like Taxila, threw off the allegiance of Magadha during the reign of that monarch. It appears, however, from Pliny who probably based his account on the *Indika* of Megasthenes, that Kaliṅga was already an independent kingdom in the time of Chandragupta. In that case there can be no question of a revolt in the time of Bindusāra. Pliny says,[1] "the tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea ... the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in 'procinct of war.'"[2]

The Kaliṅga kings probably increased their army considerably during the period which elapsed from the time of Megasthenes to that of Aśoka, because during the war with Aśoka the casualties exceeded 250,000. It is, however, possible that the huge total included not only combatants but also non-combatants. The existence of a powerful kingdom so near their borders, with a big army 'in procinct of war,' could not be a matter of indifference to the kings of Magadha. Magadha learnt to her cost what a powerful Kaliṅga meant, in the time of Khāravela.

We learn from the Thirteenth Rock Edict that Aśoka made war on the Kaliṅga country and annexed it to his empire. "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were

[1] Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 338.

[2] If, as is probable, Kaliṅga included at this time the neighbouring country of Aśmaka, then Parthalis may be the same as "Potali." For an interesting account of Kaliṅga and its early capitals Dantakūra and Tosali, see Sylvain Lévi, "*Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde*," J. A., Juillet-Septembre 1923; and *Indian Antiquary*, 1926 (May), pp. 94-98. "The appellation of Kaliṅga, applied to Indians throughout the Malay world, attests the brilliant *rôle* of the men of Kaliṅga in the diffusion of Hindu civilisation." Not far from the earliest capital (Paloura-Dantapura-Dantakūra) lay the *apheterion*, "where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea." Note, in this connection, the name Ho-ling (Po-ling, Kaliṅga) applied by the Chinese to Java (Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. xlvii), an island which was known by its Sanskrit name to Ptolemy (150 A. D.) and even to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kishk.* 40. 30). For the connection of early Kaliṅga with Ceylon, see *IA.* VIII. 2, 225.

carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times that number died." Violence, slaughter, and separation from their beloved ones befell not only to combatants, but also to the *Brāhmaṇas*, ascetics, and householders.

The conquered territory was constituted a viceroyalty under a prince of the royal family stationed at Tosalī,[1] apparently situated in the Purī district. The Emperor issued two special edicts prescribing the principles on which both the settled inhabitants and the border tribes should be treated. These two edicts are preserved at two sites, now called Dhauli[2] and Jaugaḍa.[3] They are addressed to the *Mahāmātras* or High Officers at Tosalī and Samāpā.[4] In these documents the Emperor makes the famous declaration "all men are my children," and charges his officers to see that justice is done to the people.

The conquest of Kaliṅga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha, and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Aṅga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or *Digvijaya*[5]

[1] Tosalī (variant Tosala) was the name of a country as well as a city. Lévi points out that the *Gaṇḍavyūha* refers to the country (*Janapada*) of "*Amita-Tosala*" in the *Dakshiṇāpatha*, "where stands a city named Tosala." In Brāhmaṇical literature Tosala is constantly associated with (South) Kosala and is sometimes distinguished from Kaliṅga. The form Tosalei occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy. Some mediæval inscriptions (Ep. Ind., IX. 286; XV. 3) refer to *Dakshiṇa* Tosala and *Uttara* Tosala.

[2] In Purī.

[3] In Gañjam.

[4] For the identification of Samāpā, see Ind. Ant., 1923, pp. 66 ff.

[5] *Cf. sara-sake vijaye* (Bühler, cited in Hultzsch's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 25).

was over, the era of spiritual conquest or *Dhamma-vijaya* was about to begin.

We should pause here to give an account of the **extent of Aśoka's dominions** and the manner in which they were administered before the Emperor embarked on a new policy.

Aśoka mentions Magadha, Pāṭaliputra, Khalatikapavata (Barābar Hills), Kosaṁbī, Luṁmini-gāma, Kaliṅga (including Tosalī, Samāpā and Khapiṁgala or the Jaugaḍa Rock), Aṭavī (the forest tract of Mid-India perhaps identical with Ālavī of the Buddhist texts), Suvarṇagiri, Isila, Ujjayinî and Takshaśilā expressly as being among those places which were under his rule.

Beyond Takshaśilā the empire stretched as far as the confines of the realm of "*Aṁtiyako Yonarājā*," usually identified with Antiochos II Theos of Syria (261-246 B. C.), and included the wide territory round Shāhbāzgarhi [1] and Mānsahra [2] inhabited by the Yonas, Kambojas and the Gandhāras. The exact situation of this **Yona** territory has not yet been determined. The *Mahāvaṁsa* evidently refers to it and its chief city Alasanda which Geiger identifies with the town of Alexandria founded by the Macedonian conqueror near Kābul.[3] **Kamboja,** as we have already seen, corresponds to Rājapura or Rajaur near Punch in Kaśmîra and some adjoining tracts. The tribal territory of the **Gandhāras** at this time probably lay to the west of the Indus, and did not apparently include Takshaśilā which was ruled by a princely Viceroy, and was the capital of the province of Uttarāpatha.[4] The capital of Trans-Indian Gandhāra was Pushkarāvatî, identified by Coomaraswamy with the site known as Mīr Ziyārat or Balâ Hisār at the junction of the Swāt and Kābul rivers.[5]

[1] In the Peshawār District. [2] In the Hazāra District.

[3] Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 194.

[4] *Cf.* Kaliṅga Edict; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 407, *Rājño'śokasy-ottarāpathe Takshaśilā nagaraṁ*, etc.

[5] *Cf. Carm. Lec.* 1918, p. 54. *Indian and Indonesian Art*, 55.

The inclusion of **Kaśmîra** within Aśoka's empire is proved by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang's *Records* [1] and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī* [2]: Kalhaṇa says: "The faithful Aśoka, reigned over the earth. This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of *Jina* covered Śushkaletra and Vitastātra with numerous *Stūpas*. At the town of Vitastātra there stood within the precincts of the *Dharmāraṇya Vihāra* a *Chaitya* built by him, the height of which could not be reached by the eye. That illustrious king built the town of Śrînagarî. This sinless prince after removing the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of *Vijayeśvara* built in its stead a new one of stone. He...erected within the enclosure of *Vijayeśa*, and near it, two temples which were called *Aśokeśvara*." The description of Aśoka as a follower of *Jina, i.e., Buddha*, and the builder of numerous *stūpas* leaves no room for doubt that the great Maurya monarch is meant. We are told by Kalhaṇa himself that he is indebted for much of the above account to an earlier chronicler named Chhavillākara.

The inscriptions near Kālsī and those on the Rummindeī and the Nigâlî Sāgar pillars prove the inclusion of the Dehra-Dūn District and the Tarāi within the limits of Aśoka's Empire, while the monuments at Lalitapātan and Rāmpurwā attest his possession of the valley of Nepāl and the district of Champāran. Further evidence of the inclusion of the **Himālayan region** within Aśoka's empire is furnished by Rock Edict XIII which refers to the Nābhapaṁtis of Nābhaka, probably identical with Na-pei-kea of Fa Hien,[3] the birthplace of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu.[4]

[1] Watters, Vol. I, pp. 267-71. [2] I. 102-06. [3] Legge, 64.

[4] "The *Brahma(vaivarta ?)purāṇa* assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus" (Hultzsch, CII, Vol. I, p. xxxix n). Mr. M. Govinda Pai (*Aiyangar Com. Vol.* 36), however, invites attention to the Nabhakānanas, apparently a southern

According to Bühler, Rock Edict XIII mentions two vassal tribes Viśa and Vajri. Several scholars do not accept Bühler's reading, and substitute (*Rāja*) *Visayamhi*, 'in the (king's) territory,' in its place. That is no doubt the reading of the Girnar text, but according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Mr. Majumdar[1] the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra texts read *Vishavajri*. The *Kauṭilîya Arthaśāstra*[2] refers to the Vṛijikas as a *Saṅgha* along with Kamboja and other states. It is not unlikely that Vṛijika is identical with Vajri, and that like Kamboja, the Vṛijikas were a vassal state within the Maurya Empire.[3] The capital of the state was, of course, Vaiśālî. A tribe called Besatae is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*[4] and is located on the borders of the land of *This*, *i.e.*, China. It is not altogether improbable that the *Vishas* of Aśoka's Edict (provided that Bühler's reading is correct) are identical with the Besatae of the *Periplus*, and the names of the products *Bisi* and *Mahābisi*[5] were derived from them. In the commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*[6] it is stated that the twelve villages producing *Bisi* and *Mahābisi* are situated on the Himālayas. But perhaps the proper reading, even in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra texts is, as suggested by Hultzsch, *rājavishavaspi*, corresponding to '*rājavisayamhi*' of the Girnar text.

people, mentioned in the Mbh. vi. 9. 59. In connection with the northern limits of the Maurya empire attention may also be invited to the statement in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 372) about Aśoka's subjugation of the Svaśa (Khaśa ?) country. According to a legend narrated by the Chinese pilgrims (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 295) exiles from Takshaśilā settled in the land to the east of Khoten in the days of Aśoka.

[1] *The Inscriptions of Aśoka*, published by the University of Calcutta, Part I, p. 53. *Cf.* Hultzsch, *Aśoka*, pp. 68(n 6), 83(n 19).

[2] P. 378.

[3] Note also the reference to Vṛiji by the scholiast on Pāṇini (IHQ, 1926, 759).

[4] Schoff's tr., p. 48.

[5] Mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 79. *Cf.* the Mahāvṛishas of the Vedic literature.

[6] Shamasastri's translation, p. 91, n. 10.

There is, in that case, no clear reference either to the Vṛijikas or the ' Besatae' in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

We learn from the classical writers that the country of the **Gangaridae**, *i.e.*, Bengal, [1] formed a part of the dominions of the king of the Prasii, *i.e.*, Magadha, as early as the time of Agrammes, *i.e.*, the last Nanda king.[2] A passage of Pliny clearly suggests that the " Palibothri," *i. e.*, the rulers of Pāṭaliputra, dominated the whole tract along the Ganges.[3] That the Magadhan kings retained their hold on Bengal as late as the time of Aśoka is proved by the testimony of the *Divyāvadāna* [4] and of Hiuen Tsang who saw *Stūpas* of that monarch near Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa (in West Bengal), in Samataṭa (East Bengal) as well as in Puṇḍra-vardhana (North Bengal). Kāmarūpa (Assam) seems to have lain outside the empire. The Chinese pilgrim saw no monument of Aśoka in that country.

We have seen that in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly district.[5] In the time of Aśoka the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennār river near Nellore as the Tamil Kingdoms are referred to as "*Prachaṁta*" or border states and are clearly distinguished from the imperial dominions (*Vijita* or *Rāja-vishaya*), which

[1] For early references to Vaṅga, see Lévi " *Pré-Aryen et Pré-dravidien dans l'Inde.*" For its denotation, see *Manasī o Marmavāṇī*, Srāvaṇa, 1336. Several scholars find it mentioned in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. But this is doubtful. Bodhāyana brands it as an impure country and even Patañjali excludes it from *Āryāvarta*. The country was, however, Aryanised before the *Manusaṁhitā* which extends the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta to the sea, and the Jain *Prajñāpanā* which ranks Aṅga and Vaṅga in the first group of Aryan peoples. The earliest epigraphic reference to Vaṅga is probably that contained in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions.

[2] McCrindle, *Inv. Alex.*, pp. 221, 281.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1877, 339.

[4] P. 427. *Cf.* Smith's *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 255. The Mahāsthāna Inscription which is usually attributed to the Maurya period, contains no reference to Aśoka.

[5] Mr. S. S. Desikar thinks that the last point reached by the Mauryas was the Veṅkaṭa hill (IHQ., 1928, p. 145).

stretched only as far south as the Chitaldrūg District of Mysore. The major part of the Deccan was ruled by the viceregal princes of **Suvarṇagiri**[1] and **Tosalī**, the *Mahāmātras* of Isila and Samāpā and the officers in charge of the **Aṭavi** or Forest Country.[2] But certain strips of territory were occupied by vassal tribes, *e.g.*, the Andhras, Palidas (Pāladas, Pārimdas), Bhojas and Raṭhikas (Rāshṭrikas). The word Peteṅika or Pitinika mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII should not, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and some other writers, be read as a separate name but as an adjective qualifying Rāshṭrika (Edict V) and Bhoja (Edict XIII). They draw our attention to certain passages in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[3] where the term *Pettanika* occurs in the sense of one who enjoys property given by his father.[4] The view that *Pitinika* is merely an adjective of Raṭhika or Bhoja is not, however, accepted by Dr. Barua who remarks that " it is clear from the Pāli passage, as well as from Buddhaghosha's explanations, that *Raṭṭhika* and *Pettanika* were two different designations." The **Andhras** are, as we have already seen, mentioned in a passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The **Bhojas** are also mentioned in

[1] A clue to the location of this city is probably given by the inscriptions of the later Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ and Khandesh, apparently the descendants of the Southern Viceroy (*Ep. Ind.*, III. 136). As these later Maurya inscriptions have been found at Vāda in the north of the Thāṇa District (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 14) and at Wāghlī in Khāndesh (*ibid*, 284), it is not unlikely that Suvarṇagiri was situated in that neighbourhood. Curiously enough there is actually in Khandesh a place called Songir. According to Hultzsch (*CII*, p. xxxviii) Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with Kanakagiri in the Nizām's dominions, south of Maski, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara. Isila may have been the ancient name of Siddāpura.

[2] Edict XIII.

[3] III. 76, 78 and 300 (P.T.S.).

[4] Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 80. *Cf.* Hultzsch, *Aśoka*, 10; IHQ, 1925, 387. Other scholars, however, identify the Pitinikas with the Paiṭhānakas or natives of Paiṭhaṇ, and some go so far as to suggest that they are the ancestors of the Sātavāhana rulers of Paiṭhaṇ. See Woolner, *Aśoka Text and Glossary*, II, 113; also JRAS., 1923, 92. *Cf.* Barua, *Old Brāhmī Ins.*, p. 211.

that work as rulers of the south.[1] Pliny, quoting probably from Megasthenes, says that the Andarae (Andhras) possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.[2] The earliest Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavāha river which, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, is either the modern Tel or Telingiri, both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces.[3] The Palidas were identified by Bühler with the **Pulindas**[4] who are invariably associated with the Vindhyan region in the *Purāṇas* :—

Pulindā Vindhya Pushikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha[5]
Pulindā Vindhya Mūlikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha[6]

Their capital Pulinda-nagara lay not far from Bhilsā and may have been identical with Rūpnāth, the find-spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict I.[7]

Hultzsch, however, doubts the identification of the "Palidas" with the Pulindas, for the Kālsī and Girnār texts

[1] For other meanings of Bhoja, see Mbh., Ādi., 84. 22; IA. V. 177; VI. 25-28; VII. 36. 254.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 339.

[3] In historical times the Andhras are found in possession of the Krishṇā and Guṇṭūr districts as we learn from the Mayidavolu plates and other records. The earliest capital of the Andhra country or "Andhrāpatha" known from the inscriptions is apparently Dhaṁñakaḍa or Bezvāḍa. Kubiraka of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions (c. 200 B.C.) is the earliest known ruler. One recension, in the *Brāhmī* script, of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka, has recently been discovered in the Kurnool District (IHQ, 1928, 791; 1931, 817ff.; 1933, 113ff.; IA, Feb., 1932, p. 39) which falls within the "Andhra" area of the Madras Presidency. Recent discoveries of the Aśokan epigraphs include, besides the Yerraguḍi inscriptions (Kurnool District) two new rock edicts at Kopbal in the s.-w. corner of the Nizam's dominions. The Kopbal inscriptions are found on the Gavīmaṭh and the Pālkiguṇḍu Hills. They belong to the class of Minor Rock Edicts.

[4] Hultzsch, *Asoka*, 48 (n. 14). [5] *Matsya P.* 114, 48. [6] *Vāyu*, 55, 126.

[7] The Navagrāma grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 198 (A. D. 517) refers to a Pulinda-rāja-rāshṭra which lay in the territory of the Parivrājaka kings, *i.e.*, in the Ḍabhālā region in the northern part of the present Central Provinces (*Ep. Ind.*, xxi, 126).

have the variants Pālada and Pārimda—names that remind us of the **Pāradas** of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[1] and the *Harivaṁśa*.[2] In those texts the people in question are mentioned in a list of barbarous tribes along with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pahlavas, Khaśas, Māhishikas, Cholas, Keralas, etc. They are described as *muktakeśā* ("having dishevelled hair"). Some of the tribes mentioned in the list belong to the north, others to the south. The association with the Andhras in Aśokan inscriptions suggests that in the Maurya period they may have been in the Deccan. But the matter must be regarded as not definitely settled. It is interesting to note in this connection that a river Pāradā (identified with the Paradi or Par river in the Surat District) is mentioned in a Nāsik inscription.[3]

The **Bhojas** and the **Raṭhikas** (Rāshṭrikas) were evidently the ancestors of the Mahābhojas and the Mahāraṭhis of the Sātavāhana period.[4] The Bhojas apparently dwelt in Berar, and the Raṭhikas or Rāshṭrikas in Mahārāshṭra and certain adjoining tracts.[5] The former were, in later ages, connected by matrimonial alliances with chieftains of the Koṅkan.

In the west Aśoka's Empire extended to the Arabian Sea and embraced all the **Aparāntas**[6] including no doubt the vassal state (or province) of Surāshṭra which was governed by the *yavana-rāja* Tushāspha with Giri-nagara (Girnar) as his

[1] Ch. 88.

[2] I. 14.

[3] Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, lvi. Pargiter places the Pāradas in the north-west, *AIHT*, p. 268.

[4] Smith, *Asoka*, third ed., pp. 169-70.

[5] The *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 41. 10, places the Ṛishṭikas between the Vidarbhas of (Berar) and the Māhishakas of the Nerbudda valley or of Mysore. *Raṭhika* is also used as an official designation and it is in that sense that the expression seems to be used in the Yerraguḍi inscription (*Ind. Culture*, I, 310; *Aiyangar Com. Vol.* 35; IHQ, 1933, 117).

[6] Śūrpāraka, Nāsik, etc., according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* 57, 49-52.

capital. Dr. Smith says that the form of the name shows that the *Yavana-rāja* must have been a Persian. But according to this interpretation the *Yavana* Dhammadeva, the *Śaka* Ushavadāta (Ṛishabha-datta) and the *Kushān* Vāsudeva must have been all native Hindus of India. If Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names there is no wonder that some of them assumed Irāṇic appellations. There is, then, no good ground for assuming that Tushāspha was not a Greek, but a Persian.

Rapson [1] seems to think that the Gandhāras, Kambojas, Yavanas, Rāshṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pulindas and Andhras lay beyond Aśoka's dominions, and were not his subjects, though regarded as coming within his sphere of influence. But this surmise can hardly be accepted in view of the fact that Aśoka's *Dharma-mahāmātras* were employed amongst them "on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release" (Rock Edict V).[2] In the Rock Edict XIII, they seem to be included within the *Rāja-Vishaya* or the King's territory, and are distinguished from the real border peoples (*Aṁta*, *Prachaṁta*), *viz.*, the Greeks of the realm of Antiochos and the Tamil peoples of the south (*Nīcha*). But while we are unable to accept the views of Rapson, we find it equally difficult to agree with Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar [3] who denies the existence of Yonas and others as feudatory chieftains in Aśoka's dominions. The case of the *Yavana-rāja* Tushāspha clearly establishes the existence of such vassal chiefs whose peoples undoubtedly enjoyed partial autonomy though subject to the jurisdiction of special Imperial officers like the *Dharma-mahāmātras*.

[1] CHI., pp. 514, 515.

[2] 'They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free" (Hultzsch, *Aśoka*, p. 38).

[3] *Aśoka*, 28.

Having described the extent of Aśoka's empire we now proceed to give a brief account of its **administration**. Aśoka continued the Council government of his predecessors. There are references to the Emperor's dealings with the *Parishā* or *Parishad* in Rock Edicts III and VI. Senart took *Parishā* to mean *Saṅgha* and Bühler understood by it the Committee of caste or sect. But Dr. K. P. Jayaswal pointed out that the *Parishā* of the Edicts is the *Mantriparishad* of the *Arthaśāstra*.[1] The inscriptions prove that Aśoka retained also the system of Provincial Government existing under his forefathers. Tosalī, Suvarṇagiri, Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā were each under a prince of the blood (*Kumāla* or *Ayaputa*).[2]

The Emperor and the Princes were helped by bodies (*Nikāyā*) of officials who fell under the following classes :—

1. The *Māhāmātras*[3] and other *Mukhyas*.
2-3. The *Rājūkas* and *Raṭhikas*.
4. The *Pradeśikas* or *Prādeśikas*.
5. The *Yutas*.[4]
6. *Pulisā*.
7. *Paṭivedakā*.
8. *Vachabhūmikā*.
9. The *Lipikaras*.
10. The *Dūtas*.
11-12. The *Āyuktas* and *Kāranakas*.

[1] Compare the references to the "*Sarājikā Parishā*" in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart, Vol. III, pp. 362, 392.

[2] That *Ayaputa* or *Āryaputra* meant a member of the ruling house or clan appears probable from the evidence of the *Bālacharita*, attributed to Bhāsa, in which Vasudeva is addressed by a *Bhaṭa* as Āryaputra. Pandit T. Ganapati Śāstrī further points out that in the *Svapnanāṭaka* the term Āryaputra is employed as a word of respect by the chamberlain of Vāsavadattā's father in addressing King Udayana (*Introduction to the Pratimā-nāṭaka*, p. 32). An interesting feature of Aśoka's administration was the employment of a Yavana governor in one territory to which reference has already been made.

[3] *Cf.* also *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 16, 20, 58, 64, 215, 237-39.

[4] The *Yuktas* of the *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 59, 65, 199, *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. 217, 34; *Mahābhārata*, II, 56, 18, *Manu*, VIII. 34; *cf.* the *Rāja-yuktas* of the *Śāntiparva*, 82. 9-15).

There was a body of *Mahāmātras* in each great city and district of the empire.[1] The inscriptions mention the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbî, Tosalī, Samāpā, Suvarṇagiri and Isila.[2] In the Kaliṅga Edicts we have certain *Mahāmātras* distinguished by the terms *Nagalaka* and *Nagala-Viyohālaka*. The Nagalaka and Nagala-Viyohālaka of the Edicts correspond to the *Nāgaraka* and *Paura-vyāvahārika* of the *Arthaśāstra*[3] and no doubt administered justice in cities.[4] In Pillar Edict I mention is made of the *Aṁta Mahāmātras* or the Wardens of the Marches, who correspond to the *Antapālas* of the *Arthaśāstra*[5] and the *Goptṛis* of the age of Skanda Gupta. The *Kauṭilīya* tells us that the salary of an *Antapāla* was equal to that of a *Kumāra*, a *Paura-vyāvahārika*, a member of the *Mantriparishad* or a *Rāshṭrapāla*.[6] In Edict XII mention is made of the *Ithījhaka Mahāmātras* who, doubtless, correspond to the *Stry-adhyakshas* (the Guards of the Ladies) of the *Mahābhārata*.[7]

As to the *Rājūkas*, Dr. Smith takes the word to mean a governor next below a *Kumāra*.[8] Bühler identifies the

[1] The Empire, as already stated, was divided into a number of provinces. Each province seems to have been further subdivided into *āhālas* or districts under regular civil administration, and *koṭṭa-vishayas* or territories surrounding forts (Hultzsch, p. xl). Each civil administrative division had a *pura* or *nagara* (city) and a rural part called *janapada* which consisted of *grāmas* or villages. An important official in each *janapada* was the *Rājūka*. The designations *Prādeśika* and *Raṭhika* suggest the existence of territorial units styled *pradeśa* and *raṭṭha* or *rāshṭra*.

[2] *Mahāmātras* of Śrāvastī are, according to certain scholars, mentioned in the Sohgaura copperplate inscription found in a village on the Rāptī, not far from Gorakhpur. But the exact date of the record is not known (Hoernle, ASB, 1894, 84; Fleet, JRAS, 1907, 523 ff.; Barua, *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, xi, i (1930), 32ff.; IHQ, 1934, 54ff.; Jayaswal, *Ep. Ind.*, xxii, 2).

[3] P. 20, 143 f.

[4] *Cf.* also *Nagara-dhānya Vyāvahārika*, p. 55. The *Nagalaka* may have had executive functions as well, as is suggested by the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* (II. Ch. 36).

[5] Pp. 20, 247.

[6] P. 247.

[7] IX. 29, 68, 90; XV. 22, 20; 23, 12. *Cf.* the *Antarvaṁśika* of the *Arthaśāstra*.

[8] *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 94.

Rājūka of the Aśokan inscriptions with the *Rajjūka* or the *Rajjugāhaka amachcha* (Rope-holder or Field-measurer) of the *Jātakas*.[1] Pillar Edict IV refers to the *Rājūkas* as officers "set over many hundred thousands of people," and charged with the duty of promoting the welfare of the *Jānapadas* to whom Aśoka granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. The reference to the award of penalties (*Daṇḍa*) probably indicates that the *Rājūkas* had judicial duties. In the Rock Edict III as well as in Pillar Edict IV they are associated with the Yutas, and in the Yerraguḍi inscriptions with the *Raṭhikas*.[2] Strabo [3] refers to a class of Magistrates (*Agronomoi*) who "have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, have charge also of hunters and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either." The measuring of the land connects those Magistrates with the *Rajjugāhaka Amachcha* of the *Jātakas*,[4] while the power of rewarding and punishing people connects them with the *Rājūkas* of Aśoka. It is probable, therefore, that the *Agronomoi* referred to by Strabo were identical with the *Rājūkas* and the *Rajjugāhaka Amachchas*. The *Arthaśāstra* [5] refers to a class of officials called "*Chora Rajjukas*," but there is no reference to the *Rajjukas* proper although on p. 60 "*Rajju*" is mentioned in conjunction with "*Chora Rajju*."

As regards the *Pradeśikas* or *Prādeśikas*, Senart, Kern and Bühler understood the term to denote local governors or local chiefs. Smith took it to mean District Officers.

[1] *The Social Organisation in North-East India* by Fick, translated by S. Maitra, pp. 148-51.

[2] IHQ, 1933, 117; Barua takes the expressions *Jānapada* and *Raṭhika* of the Yerraguḍi copy of the Minor Rock Edict to mean 'people of the district' and 'citizens of the hereditary tribal states' respectively. But *Raṭhika* of the record probably corresponds to *Rāshṭriya* of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman so that the expressions *Jānapadas* and Raṭhikas mean 'people of the country parts,' and 'officials of the district.'

[3] H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103. [4] *Cf.* Maitra, *Fick*, pp. 148-49. [5] P. 234.

Hultzsch compares it with *Prādeśikeśvara* of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī*.[1] The word occurs only in the Third Rock Edict where the functionaries in question are included with the *Rājūkas* and the *Yutas* in the ordinance of the *Anusaṁyāna* or circuit. Thomas derives the word from *pradeśa* which means report[2] and identifies the *Prādeśikas* or *Pradeśikas* of the Edict with the *Pradeshṭṛis* of the *Artha-śāstra*. The most important functions of the *Pradeshṭṛis* were *Bali-pragraha* (collection of taxes or suppression of recalcitrant chiefs), *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* (administration of criminal justice), *Chora-mārgaṇa* (tracking of thieves) and *Adhyakshāṇām adhyaksha purushāṇām cha niyamanam* (checking superintendents and their men). They acted as intermediaries between the *Samāhartṛi* on the one hand and the *Gopas*, *Sthānikas* and *Adhyakshas* on the other.[3] It is, however, doubtful if the *Prādeśikas* can really be equated with Reporters. The more probable view is that they correspond to the subordinate governors, the *hyparchs* and *meridarchs* of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

As to the *Yutas* or *Yuktas*, they are described by Manu[4] as the custodians of *Praṇashṭādhigata dravya* (lost property which was recovered). In the *Arthaśāstra*, too, they are mentioned in connection with *Samudaya* or state funds which they are represented as misappropriating. Hultzsch suggests that they were 'secretaries' employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras*. The *Pulisā* or Agents are apparently identical with the *Purushas* or *Rāja Purushas* of the *Arthaśāstra*.[5] Hultzsch prefers to equate them with the *Gūḍha-purushas* and points out that they were graded into high ones, low ones, and those of

[1] IV. 126.

[2] JRAS, 1915, p. 97, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 111. S. Mitra suggests (*Indian Culture*, I, p. 310) that the *Prādesikas* were *Mahāmātras* of the provincial governments, while the Rājūkas were *Mahāmātras* of the central government.

[3] *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, pp. 142, 200, 217, 222.

[4] VIII. 34.

[5] Pp. 59, 75.

middle rank. They were placed in charge of many people [1] and controlled the *Rājūkas*. The *Paṭivedakā* or Reporters are doubtless the *Chāras* mentioned in Chapter 16 of the *Arthaśāstra*,[2] while the *Vachabhūmikas* or "Inspectors of cowpens" were evidently charged with the superintendence of "*Vraja*" referred to in Chapter 24.[3] The *Lipikaras* are the royal scribes one of whom, Chapaḍa, is mentioned by name in Minor Rock Edict II. *Dūtas* or envoys are referred to in Rock Edict XIII. If the *Kauṭilīya* is to be believed, they were divided into three classes, *viz.*, *Nisṛishṭārthāḥ* or Plenipotentiaries, *Parimitārthāh* or Chargés d'Affaires and *Śāsanaharas* or conveyers of royal writ.[4] The *Āyuktas* find mention only in the Kaliṅga Edicts. In the early Post-Mauryan and Scythian Age Āyuttas appear as village officials.[5] In the Gupta Age they figure as officers in charge of *Vishayas* or districts,[6] and also as functionaries employed in restoring the wealth of conquered kings. The full designation of the officers in question was *Āyukta-Purusha*.[7] They may have been included under the generic name of *Pulisā* referred to above. The *Kāranakas* who appear to be mentioned in the Yerraguḍi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict, probably refer to judical officers or scribes.

[1] Pillar Edict VII.

[2] P. 38.

[3] Pp. 59-60.

[4] With the *Śāsanaharas* may be compared the *Lekha-hārakas* of the *Harsha-charita, Uchchhāsa* II, p. 52.

[5] Lüders' List, No. 1347.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, No. 7, 138.

[7] Fleet, CII, pp. 8, 14.

CHAPTER V. THE MAURYA EMPIRE: THE ERA OF DHAMMAVIJAYA AND DECLINE.

SECTION 1. AŚOKA AFTER THE KALIṄGA WAR.

Chakkavattī ahuṁ rājā Jambusaṇḍassa issaro
muddhābhisitto khattiyo manussādhipatī ahuṁ
adaṇḍena asatthena vijeyya paṭhaviṁ imaṁ
asāhasena dhammena samena manusāsiyā
dhammena rajjam kāretvā asmim paṭhavimaṇḍale
—*Aṅguttara Nikāya.*

We have already seen that the Kaliṅga war opened a new epoch in the history of Magadha and of India. During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka was a typical Magadhan sovereign—the inheritor of the policy of Bimbisāra, of Mahāpadma and of Chandragupta—conquering peoples, suppressing revolt, annexing territory. After the Kaliṅga war all this is changed. The older political philosophy of Vassakāra and Kauṭilya gave way to a new statecraft inspired by the teaching of the sage of the Śākyas. Before proceeding to give an account of the remarkable change we should say a few words about the religious denominations of India and the condition of society during the reign of the great innovator.

In the days of Aśoka the people of India were divided into many sects of which the following were the most important:—

1. The orthodox *Deva*-worshippers.[1]
2. The *Ājīvikas* or the followers of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta.[2]

[1] Among the *Devas* worshipped in the Maurya period, Patañjali makes special mention of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha.

[2] This teacher was born in Saravaṇa, probably near Sāvatthī or Śrāvastī. Jaina writers represent him as a person of low parentage and of contemptible character.

3. The *Nirgranthas* or *Jainas*, *i.e.*, the followers of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta who is commonly called Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna.

4. The followers of Gautama Buddha Śākyamuni.

In Edict IV we have the following account of the prevailing state of society : "for a long period past, even for many hundred years, have increased the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, the killing of animate beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, unseemly behaviour to *Brāhmaṇas* and ascetics (*Śramaṇas*)." [1] Kings used to go out on so-called *Vihāra yātrās* [2] in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised.[3] The people performed various ceremonies (*maṁgala*) [4] on occasions of sickness, weddings of sons,[5] the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and departure on journeys. The womankind performed many, manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies.[6]

The attitude of Buddhist authors is also not friendly. In reality he was one of the leading sophists of the sixth century B. C., and for a time was a close associate of Mahāvīra. According to the *Ājīvika* belief as expounded in the *Sāmañña-phala Sutta* "the attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend on human effort (*purisa-kāre*). There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour (*purisaparakkamo*). All beings.. are bent this way and that by their fate (*niyati*)." (*Dialogues*, Pt. I, p. 71; Barua, *The Ājīvikas*, 1920, p. 9.) An *Ājīvaparivrājaka* appears as a court astrologer of Bindusāra in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 370 ff.). A tax on "Ājīvakas" is referred to in an inscription of the twelfth century A. D. (Hultzsch, SII, I. 88) showing that the sect flourished in S. India even in that late age.

[1] *Cf.* Ajātaśatru's treatment of Bimbisāra, Viḍuḍabha's massacre of the Śākyas, Udayana's cruelty towards Piṇḍola, and Nanda's haughty demeanour towards Chāṇakya.

[2] Tours of pleasure, *cf.* Kauṭilya, p. 332. *Mahābhārata*, XV. 1. 18 :

> *Vihārayātrāsu punaḥ Kururājo Yudhishṭhiraḥ*
> *Sarvān kāmān mahātejāḥ pradadav Ambikāsute.*

[3] R. Edict VIII.

[4] For "*Maṁgala*" see also *Jātakas* No. 87, and No. 163 (*Hatthimaṁgala*), and *Harshacharita*, II (p. 57 of Parab's edition, 1918).

[5] For *Āvāha* and *Vivāha* see also Mbh., V. 141. 14 ; Kauṭilya, VII. 15.

[6] R. Edict IX.

The Change of Aśoka's Religion

Aśoka had doubtless inherited the traditional devotion of Hindu kings to the gods (*devas*) and the Brāhmaṇas and, if the Kaśmīra chronicle of Kalhaṇa is to be believed, his favourite deity was Śiva. He had no scruples about the slaughter of men and animals : " formerly, in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries." The hecatomb of the Kaliṅga war has already been mentioned. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of *anusochanam*, " remorse, profound sorrow, and regret." About this time he came under the influence of Buddhist teaching. We read in Rock Edict XIII " directly after the Kaliṅgas had been annexed began His Sacred Majesty's zealous practice of the Law of Piety (*dhramaśilana*), his love of that Law (*dhramakamata*), and his inculcation of that Law (*dhramanuśasti*)." [1]

[1] The view held by two recent writers that the conversion of Aśoka took place *before* the Kaliṅga war rests on the evidence of the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Ch. V) and on certain assumptions, *viz.*, that Aśoka's *dhramakamata* became *tīvra* (intense) immediately after the Kaliṅga war (there being no interval) and that Aśoka was indifferent during the period of *Upāsakatva* (when he was a lay disciple) which, therefore, must have preceded the Kaliṅga war, immediately after which his devotion became *tīvra*. But the so-called indifference or want of activity is only relative. On the other hand the supporters of the new theory have to explain why a recent convert to Buddhism should engage in a sanguinary conflict involving the death of countless *Śramaṇas*. Why again do the Minor Rock Edicts refer to contact with the *Saṁgha*, and not the Kaliṅga war, as the prelude and cause of more intense activity ? It is to be noted that activity in the period of *Upāsakatva* is also described as *parakrama*, though it was surpassed by the greater energy of the period after contact with the Holy Order. Note also the explicit reference to *dhramakamata* as the result of the annexation of Kaliṅga *sometime after* (*tato pachchhā adhunā*) the war. The use of the expressions *tato pachchhā* and *adhunā* suggests that an interval supervened between the war and the intensity of Aśoka's *dhramaśilana* and *dhramakamata*. Moreover we learn from the Minor Edicts and Pillar Edict VI that pious proclamations began to be issued a little more than 2½ years after Aśoka became an *Upāsaka* and 12 years after his coronation. This would place his conversion a little less than 9½ years after his *Abhisheka*, *i.e.*, a little less than 1½ years after the Kaliṅga war.

Although Aśoka became a Buddhist [1] he was not an enemy either of the *Devas* or of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Up to the last he took pride in calling himself *Devānaṁpiya*, beloved of the gods. He found fault with unseemly behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas [2] and inculcated liberality to the same class. He was perfectly tolerant. "The king does reverence to men of all sects." [3] He reprobated *ātmapāsaṇḍa-pūjā*, honour to one's own sect, when coupled with *para-pāsaṇḍa-garahā*, disparagement of other sects. That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barābar Cave Dedications to the *Ājīvika* monks. His hostility was chiefly directed, not towards the *Devas* and the Brāhmaṇas, but the killing of men in war and *Samājas* (festive gatherings), the slaughter of animals in sacrifice, and the performance of vulgar, useless and offensive ceremonies.

The Change of Foreign Policy

The effect of the change of religion was at once felt in foreign policy. The Emperor declared that "of all the people who were slain, done to death, or carried away captive in Kaliṅga, if the hundredth part or the thousandth part were now to suffer the same fate, it would be a matter

1 *Śākya* (Rūpnāth), *Buddha Śākya* (Maski), *Upāsaka* (Sahasrām); see Hultzsch, CII, p. xliv. *Cf.* also Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅginī*, I. 102ff. That Aśoka did become a Buddhist admits of no doubt. In the Bhābrū Edict he makes an open confession of his faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* (*Doctrine*) and the *Saṁgha* (Order of Monks). He called the Buddha *Bhagavat*. He went on pilgrimage to the places of the Blessed One's nativity and enlightenment and worshipped at the former place. He declared that whatsoever had been spoken by the Buddha, all that was quite well spoken. He took much interest in the exposition of the Buddhist Doctrine so that it might endure long. As to the *Saṁgha* he kept in close touch with it since his memorable visit to the Fraternity a year or so after his conversion. He impressed on the clergy the need of a correct exposition of the true doctrine and appointed special officers to busy themselves with the affairs of the Brotherhood. He also took steps to maintain the integrity of the Church and prevent schism within its fold.

2 Edict IV.

3 Edict XII.

of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with." In Kaliṅga Edict I, the Emperor expressed his desire that the unconquered peoples in the frontiers of his realm (*Aṁtā avijitā*) " should not be afraid of him, that they should trust him, and should receive from him happiness not sorrow." The chiefest conquest in the Emperor's opinion was the conquest of the Law of Piety (*Dhamma-vijaya*). In Edict IV he exultingly says, " the reverberation of the war drums (*Bherighoso*) has become the reverberation of the Law (*Dhammaghoso*)." Not content with what he himself did he called upon his sons and even his great grandsons to eschew new conquests—*putra papotra me asu navaṁ vijayam ma vijetaviyaṁ*. Here we have a complete renunciation of the old policy of military conquest or *Digvijaya* and the enunciation of a new policy, *viz.*, that of *Dhammavijaya*.[1] The full political effects of this change of policy became manifest only after the death of Aśoka. From the time of Bimbisāra to the Kaliṅga war the history of India was the story of the expansion of Magadha from a tiny state in south Bihār to a gigantic Empire extending from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kaliṅga war ensued a period of stagnation at the end of which the process is reversed. The empire gradually dwindled down in extent till it sank to the position from which Bimbisāra and his successors had raised it.

[1] The Aśokan conception of *Dhammavijaya* was similar to that described in the *Chakkavatti Sihanāda Sutta*, "conquest not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, p. 59). It was different from the Hindu conception explained and illustrated by the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 59.38-39), the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 14.21), the *Kauṭilīya* (p. 382), and the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 43). Attention may be invited in this connection to a statement of Arrian that "a sense of justice prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India" (*Camb. Hist. Ind.* I. 321).

True to his principle Aśoka made no attempt to annex the frontier (*Prachaṁta*) kingdoms, *viz.*, Chola, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, Taṁbapaṁni (Ceylon) and the realm of *Aṁtiyako Yonarāja*, who is usually identified with Antiochos II Theos, King of Syria. On the contrary he maintained friendly relations with them.

The **Chola** country was drained by the river Kāverî and comprised the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. We learn from a South Indian inscription[1] that Hara, *i.e.*, the god Śiva, asked Gunabhara (Mahendravarman I Pallava), "How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kāverî ?" When Pulakeśin II Chalukya strove to conquer the Cholas "the Kāverî had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants." The Chola capital was Uraiyūr (*Sanskrit* Uragapura) or Old Trichinopoly.[2] The principal port was at Kāviripaṭṭinam or Pugār on the northern bank of the Kāverî.[3]

The **Pāṇḍya** country corresponded to the Madurā, Rāmnad and Tinnevally districts and perhaps the southern portion of the Travancore state, and had its capitals at Kolkai and Madurā (*Dakshiṇa* Mathurā). The rivers Tāmraparṇî and Kṛitamālā or Vaigai flowed through it. Kātyāyana derives Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu. The Pāṇḍus are mentioned as the ruling race of Indraprastha in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in several *Jātakas*. Ptolemy (*cir.* 150 A. D.) speaks of the country of the Pandoouoi in the

[1] Hultzsch, SII, Vol. I, p. 34.

[2] Aelian, however, has the following reference to the realm of Soras (Chola ?) and its chief city : "There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras governed at the time when Eukratides governed the Bactrians, and the name of that city is Perimuda. It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who go off with nets and catch oysters." For Uragapura in Cholika Vishaya, see *Ep. Ind.*, X. 103.

[3] For the early history of the Chola Kingdom and other Tamil states see CHI., Vol. I, Ch. 24 ; Smith, EHI., Ch. XVI ; Kanakasabhai Pillay, *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* ; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History* and *Ancient India* ; K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, etc.

Pañjāb. There can be no doubt that Pāṇḍu was the name of a real tribe or clan in northern India. Kātyāyana's statement regarding the connection of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍus receives some support from the fact that the name of the Pāṇḍya capital (Madurā) was identical with the famous city of Mathurā in the Śūrasena country which, according to Epic tradition, was the seat of a family intimately associated by ties of friendship and marriage with the Pāṇḍus of Indraprastha. The connection between the Pāṇḍus, the Śūrasenas and the Pāṇḍyas seems to be alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes regarding Herakles and Pandaia.[1]

Satiyaputra is identified by Mr. Venkatesvaraiyar [2] with *Satya-vrata-kshetra* or Kañchîpura. But Dr. Aiyangar points out that the term *Satya-vrata-kshetra* is applied to the town of Kāñchī or a part of it, not to the country dependent upon it. There is besides the point whether *vrata* could become *puta*. Dr. Aiyangar supports Bhandarkar's identification with Satpute. He takes Satiyaputra to be a collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nāyars of Malabar.[3] According to Dr. Smith [4] Satiyaputra is represented by the Satyamaṅgalam Tāluk of Coimbatore. Mr. T. N. Subramaniam [5] prefers Koṅgunāḍu ruled by the *Kośar* people famous for their truthfulness. Mr. P. J. Thoma, however, gives reasons for identifying it with "Satyabhūmi" of the *Kēralolpatti*, a territory which corresponds roughly to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Tāluk, South Canara." [6]

1 Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 249.

2 JRAS, 1918, pp. 541-42.

3 JRAS, 1919, pp. 581-84.

4 *Aśoka*, Third Ed., p. 161.

5 JRAS, 1922, 86.

6 JRAS, 1923, p. 412. B. A. Saletore is, however, inclined to disparage the authority of the *Keralolpatti* (*Indian Culture*, I. 668). But Kirfel points out (*Die Kosmographie Der Inder*, 1920, p. 78) that Satîya (variants Satîratha, Sanîpa) finds mention in the list of

Keralaputra (Ketalaputo or Chera) is "the country south of Ḳūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Tāluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūshika."[1] It was watered by the river Periyar, perhaps identical with the Churṇī of the *Arthaśāstra*[2] on the banks of which stood its capital Vañji (near Cochin) and at its mouth the seaport of Muziris (Kranganur).

Ceylon was known in ancient times as Pārasamudra[3] as well as Tāmraparṇī (Greek Taprobane).[4] Taṁbapaṁni, *i.e.*, Tāmraparṇī is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka. Dr. Smith lately[5] took the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tāmraparṇī in Tinnevally. He referred to the Girnar text "*ā Taṁbapaṁni*" which according to him indicated that the river was meant, not the island. Now, in Edict II the phrase "*ā Taṁbapaṁni*" comes after

southern *Janapadas*, along with Mūshaka, in the *Jambukhaṇḍa* section of the *Mahābhārata* (Bk. VI) For other views see, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, 549 ff.; *Aiyangar. Com. Vol.*, 45-47. Mr. M. G. Pai suggests that '*Satiya*' corresponds to *Sāntika* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 58.37, and the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, xiv. 27, and included South Kanara.

[1] JRAS, 1923, p. 413.

[2] P. 75.

[3] Greek Palaesimundu, see Ray Chaudhuri, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 195-96; *commentary* on the *Kauṭilīya*, Ch. XI; *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. 3. 21 (Laṅkā described as *sthitā* "*pāre samudrasya*").

On reading Law's *Ancient Hindu Polity* (p. 87 n.) I find that the identification was also suggested by Mr. N. L. Dey. The equation Pārasamudra = Palaesimundu is not less plausible than the equations Sātavāhana = Śālivāhana; Katāha = Kaḍāram = Kiḍāram = Kantoli (*cf.* Dr. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, 56, 79, 168).

[4] For other names of Ceylon see "*Megasthenes and Arrian*" published by Chuckerverty and Chatterjee, 1926, p. 60 n. For a short history of the island see *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Chap. XXV, and IHQ, II. 1, p. 1 ff. According to tradition recorded in the *Dipavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* the first Aryan immigrants were led by Prince Vijaya of Lāla, whom the chronicles represent as the great-grandson of a Princess of Vaṅga. The identification of Lāla is, however, open to controversy, some placing it in Gujarāṭ, others identifying it with Rāḍhā or Western Bengal. Barnett may be right in his assumption that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya. See also IHQ, 1933, 742 ff.

[5] *Aśoka*, 3rd Ed., p. 162.

Ketalaputo and not after Pāḍā. The expression " Ketalaputo as far as the Tāmraparṇī " is hardly appropriate because the Tāmraparṇī is a Pāṇḍyan river. We, therefore, prefer to take Tāmraparṇī to mean Ceylon. Aśoka's Ceylonese contemporary was Devānaṁpiya Tissa whose accession may be dated about 250 or 247 B.C.

Aśoka maintained friendly relations not only with the Tamil powers of the south, but also with his **Hellenistic frontager,** Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia (B.C. 261-246); and even with the kings the neighbours of Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, king of Egypt (B.C. 285-247); Magas, king of Cyrene in North Africa (about B.C. 285-258); Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (B.C. 277-239); and Alexander who ruled over Epirus (B.C. 272-*c*.255) according to Norris, Westergaard, Lassen, Senart and Smith. Beloch and Hultzsch, however, suggest[1] that Alikasudara of Edict XIII is Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus (B.C. 252—*cir.* 244) and not Alexander of Epirus (272—*cir.* 255), the son of Pyrrhus.

Though Aśoka did not covet the territories of his neighbours, there is evidence that he gave them advice on occasions, and established philanthropic institutions in their dominions. In other words he regarded them as objects of spiritual conquest (*Dhamma-vijaya*).

" My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson."[2]

" Among his frontagers the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satyaputra, the Ketalaputra as far as Tāmraparṇī, Antiochos the Greek king, and even the kings the neighbours of that Antiochos, everywhere have been made healing arrangements of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King."

[1] JRAS, 1914, pp. 943 ff.

[2] M. R. Edict I.

In Edict XIII Aśoka declares that the "conquest of the Law of Piety,......has been won by His Sacred Majesty ......among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and to the north of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings severally Ptolemy (Turamāyo), Antigonos (Aṁtekina), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudaro)—(likewise) in the south, the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas as far as Taṁbapaṁni......Even where the envoys (*dūtā*) of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate,[1] those people, too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law."[2] Buddhism doubtless made some progress in Western Asia and influenced later sects like the Manichaeans. But Greeks apparently were not much impressed by lessons on non-violence. When the strong arm of Aśoka, "who possessed the power to punish inspite of his repentance," was withdrawn, the Yavanas poured once more into the Kābul valley, the Pañjāb and the *Madhya-deśa* and threw all the provinces into confusion. The southern missions were more successful. Curiously enough the Ceylonese chronicles do not refer to the envoys sent to the independent Tamil and Hellenistic kingdoms but name the missionaries sent to Ceylon and **Suvaṇṇabhūmi** (Lower Burma and Sumatra). The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra who secured the conversion of Devānaṁpiya Tissa and many of his people. No direct reference to Suvaṇṇabhūmi occurs in the Edicts hitherto discovered.

[1] Have we here a reference to countries like Suvaṇṇabhūmi named in the list of territories to which missionaries were sent according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* ?

[2] For Buddhism in Western Asia, see Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, 378; and Alberūnī, p. 21 ; JRAS, 1913, 76 ;-M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 185 ; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, pp. 3, 450 f. ; *cf.* Smith, EHI, 4th ed., 197 ; Burlingame, trans., *Dhammapada Commentary*, Introduction.

The Change in Internal Policy

The effects of Aśoka's change of religion after the Kaliṅga war were felt not only in foreign policy but also in internal affairs. The principal objects of his complaint according to Rock Edict IV and the Kaliṅga Edicts were :

1. The sacrificial slaughter (*ārambho*) of living creatures.
2. Violence (*vihiṁsā*) to animate beings.
3. Unseemly behaviour (*asaṁpratipati*) to kinsmen (*jñāti*).
4. Unseemly behaviour to *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas*.
5. Maladministration in the Provinces.

According to Rock Edict I, Aśoka saw much offence not only in the sacrificial slaughter of animals, but also in certain *Samājas* or festive gatherings which, as we learn from the *Kauṭilīya*,[1] were often witnessed by kings and emperors.[2] The *Samāja*, says Smith, was of two kinds. The popular festival kind, accompanied by animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting, including much consumption of meat, was necessarily condemned by Aśoka, as being inconsistent with his principles. The other kind, the semi-religious theatrical performance, sometimes given in the temples of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, was apparently not included among offensive *Samājas*. Dr. Thomas[3] describes the disapproved *Samāja* as " a celebration of games or contests taking place in an arena or amphitheatre surrounded by platforms (*mañcha*) for spectators (*prekshā*)." This kind of *Samāja* is apparently referred to in the following lines of the *Virāṭa parva* of the *Mahābhārata* :—

Ye cha kechinniyotsyanti Samājeshu niyodhakāḥ.[4]

[1] P. 45.

[2] For the holding of *Samājas* in Magadha and in neighbouring countries see *Mahāvastu*, III. 57 and 383.

[3] JRAS., 1914, pp. 392 ff.

[4] *Virāṭa*, 2, 7.

"Those combatants who will take part in wrestling in the *Samājas.*"

Tatra Mallāḥ samāpetur digbhyo rājan sahasraśaḥ
Samāje Brahmaṇo rājan tathā Paśupater api
Mahākāyāḥ mahāvīryāḥ Kālakañjā ivāsurāḥ.[1]

"O king, there arrived, by thousands, boxers from all quarters, in that festive gathering in honour of Brahman as well as Paśupati (Śiva). They possessed gigantic bodies and immense strength like the Titans styled Kālakañja."

The harmless *Samāja* is well illustrated by the gathering in the temple of the goddess of learning referred to in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (*Pakshasya māsasya vā prajñāte' hani Sarasvatyā bhavane niyuktānāṁ nityaṁ Samājaḥ*). According to Hultzsch the harmless *Samāja* refers to edifying shows.[2]

Aśoka determined to put a stop to the practices, referred to above, which he did not approve. At the same time he sought to improve the moral and material condition of the people to such an extent as to effect the "association of gods with men."[3] He did all this "in order that he might discharge the debt (which he owed) to living beings (that) he might make them happy in this (world) and (that) they might attain heaven in the other (world)." The means employed to achieve this object may be classed under four heads :

1. Administrative reforms.
2. Dissemination of instructions in the *Dhamma* (Law of Piety or Duty).

[1] *Virāṭa*, 13, 15-16.

[2] See also IHQ, 1928, March, 112 ff.

[3] *Cf.* Minor Rock Edict I. *Cf.* The description in the *Harivaṁśa* of a prosperous realm where (*rājye mahodaye*) gods and men dwelt together (*Bhavishyaparva*, Ch. 32.1) "*Devatānām manushyānāṁ sahavāso' bhavattadā.*" Hultzsch, however, compares (xlv) *Deva* with *Divyāni rūpāṇi* of Rock Edict IV.

3. Benevolent activity; promotion of the welfare of man and beast.

4. Religious toleration and prevention of schism in the Buddhist church.

Administrative Reforms

In the first place, Aśoka instituted the Quinquennial and Triennial *Anusaṁyāna* or Circuit of the *Yutas*, *Rājūkas*, *Prādeśikas*, and *Mahāmātras*. Jayaswal and Smith[1] were of opinion that the whole administrative staff from the *Rājūka* and the *Prādeśika* down to the *Yuta* could not possibly have gone on circuit at once every five years. They interpreted the term as signifying a regular system of transfers from one station to another. But there is nothing in the text to show that *all* the officers were required to go on circuit *at once*. The *anusaṁyāna* of the *Yutas*, *Rājūkas* and *Prādeśikas* was mainly intended for propaganda work. The *anusaṁyāna* of the *Mahāmātras* was specially instituted for the purpose of checking miscarriage of justice, arbitrary imprisonment, and torture in the outlying provinces (Kaliṅga, and the Ujjayinî and Takshaśilâ regions).

Secondly, Aśoka created a number of new posts, *e.g.*, *Dharma-mahāmātras* and possibly *Dharma-yutas*. The *Dharma-mahāmātras* were given a protective mission among people of all sects including the Brāhmaṇas and the *Nirgranthas* or Jainas, and among the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Rāshṭrikas and all the Aparāntas. "Among servants and masters, Brāhmaṇas and the wealthy (*Ibhyas*), among the helpless and the aged, they are employed in

[1] *Aśoka*, 3rd edition, p. 164; Mr. A. K. Bose (IHQ, 1933, 811) takes *anusaṁyāna* in the sense of 'a court-house or a citadel.' But the epic reference to *puṇyatīrthānusaṁyānam* (Mbh. i. 2. 123), 'going forth to holy places of pilgrimage,' suggests that the interpretation proposed by Kern and Bühler is the one least open to objection. See also Barua, *Aśoka Edicts in New Light*, 83 ff.

freeing from worldly cares their subordinates (in the department) of the Law of Piety. They are also employed on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release, on the grounds of motive, having children, instigation, or advanced years...At Pāṭaliputra and in all provincial towns, in the family establishments of the king's brothers and sisters, as well as of other relatives, they are everywhere employed." The *Dharma-mahāmātras* were further engaged everywhere in the imperial dominions among the *Dharma-yutas* with regard to "the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law, and the business of almsgiving."

The emperor was naturally anxious to keep himself fully informed without delay about all public affairs, specially about the doings of the *Mahāmātras* on whom the success of his mission mainly depended. He, therefore, gave *special directions to the Paṭivedakas* or Reporters that when a matter of urgency committed to the *Mahāmātras* and discussed in the *Parishad* or Council occasioned a division of opinion or *nijhatī* (adjournment ?),[1] he must be informed without delay.

It is apparent from the Kaliṅga Edicts and Rock Edict VI that Aśoka kept a watchful eye on the *Mahāmātras* especially on those who administered justice in cities. But he was more indulgent towards the *Rājūkas* for whose intelligence he apparently entertained great respect. To the *Rājūkas* "set over many hundred thousands of people" the emperor *granted independence* in the award of honours and penalties in order that those officials might perform

[1] For procedure in cases of disputations in an Assembly see also *Jaim. Up. Br.* III. 7.6. Can *Nijhatī* imply reference to the *Upadrashṭṛis* hinted at in the *Brāhmaṇa* passage ? The help of *Upadrashṭṛis* was invoked by the Kuru Pañchālas to arrive at a satisfactory agreement or understanding in case of dispute. (*Cf.* also Barua, *Aśoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 78.)

their duties confidently and fearlessly. He wanted, however, to maintain some uniformity in penalties as well as in procedure. For this reason he issued the following rule :—

"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted."

Lastly, Aśoka issued certain regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals, and up to the twenty-seventh year of his coronation effected twenty-five jail deliveries. This suggests, as has been pointed out by Hultzsch, that the emperor used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation.

Measures adopted to disseminate Instructions in the Law of Piety

Though himself convinced of the truth of the Buddha's teaching, of the efficacy of worship at Buddhist holy places, of the necessity of making a confession of faith in the Buddhist Trinity, of keeping in close touch with the Buddhist Order of monks and maintaining its discipline and solidarity, Aśoka probably never sought to impose his purely sectarian belief on others. He attempted, however, to put an end to practices and institutions that he considered to be opposed to the fundamental principles of morality which, according to him, constituted the essence of all religions. The prospect that he held before the people at large is not that of *sambodhi* (or of *nirvāṇa*) but of *svarga* (heaven) and of mingling with the *devas*. *Svarga* could be attained and the gods could be approached by all people, high or low, if only they showed *parākrama*, zeal, not in adherence to a sectarian dogma or the performance of barren ritual (*maṁgala*), but in following the ancient rule (*porāṇa pakiti*), the common heritage of Indians of all denominations, *viz.*, "obedience must be rendered to parents and elders ;

firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards living creatures ; truth must be spoken ; these same moral virtues must be practised. In the same way the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and fitting courtesy should be shown to the relatives." In Edict XIII we have the following : "hearkening to superiors, hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (or elders), and proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves[1] and servants, with steadfastness of devotion." Edict VII lays stress on "mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steady devotion." In the Second Pillar Edict it is declared that the Law of Piety consisted in *Apāsinave, bahukayāne, dayā, dāne, sache, sochaye,* "little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity."

In the Pillar Edicts again prominence is given to self-examination and spiritual insight. Towards the end of his career Aśoka seems to have been convinced that reflection and meditation were of greater efficacy than moral regulations. But the need for such regulations was keenly felt by him in the early years of his reign.

We learn from Minor Rock Edict I that for more than two-and-a-half years Aśoka was a lay disciple (*Upāsaka*). During the first year he did not exert himself strenuously. Later on he seems to have *entered*[2] the *Saṅgha* and begun to exert himself strenuously. He issued the famous proclamation

[1] For the question of slavery in Maurya India, see Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 164-65.

[2] "*Approached*," according to Hultzsch, in whose opinion the two-and-a-half years of *Upāsakatva* include the period which followed his "visit" (not "entry") to the *Saṅgha*. The view that Aśoka actually joined the Holy Order is, however, supported by I-tsing who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk (Takakusu, *I-tsing*, 73). That rulers and statesmen could be monks as well, even in early times, appears probable from Lüders Ins. No. 1144 which refers to a *Śramaṇa mahāmātra* of Nāsik in the days of the early Sātavāhana king Kṛishṇa.

"Let small and great exert themselves," sent missions (*Vyuṭha*)[1] to expound and expand his teaching, began to write the imperishable record of his purpose on the rocks and engraved it upon stone pillars wherever there were stone pillars in his dominions.[2]

Aśoka at first utilised the existing administrative machinery for religious propaganda. He commanded his Council (*Parishad*) to inculcate the *Dharma* on the subordinate officials styled *Yutas* and ordered the latter

[1] The interpretation of *Vyuṭha* as missionary was pointed out by Senart and accepted by Smith (*Aśoka*, Third Ed., p. 153). Dr. Bhandarkar takes *Vyuṭha* or *Vivutha* to mean " officials on tour." Hultzsch thinks that *Vyuṭha* refers to Aśoka himself while he was on tour (p. 169, note 8). Other interpretations are also suggested by scholars.

[2] Rock Edict IV has been interpreted by scholars to mean that Aśoka sought to promote the observance of the Buddhist doctrine by exhibiting spectacles of the dwelling of the gods (*Vimānadasanā*), spectacles of elephants (*Hastidasanā*), masses of fire (*Agikhaṁdhāni*) and other representations of a divine, *i.e.*, not terrestrial, nature. Dr. Bhandarkar (Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 26), refers to the Pāli *Vimānavatthu* which describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes (*Vimānas*) in order to induce listeners and spectators to live good and unblemished lives and thereby attain to these. Aśoka is said to have made representations of these *Vimānas* and paraded them in various places. *Hasti*, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, is *Śveto hasti*, *i.e.*, Buddha himself, who is also described as "*Gajatama*," *i.e.*, *Gajottama*, the most excellent elephant. Hultzsch suggests that *Hasti* may refer to the vehicles of the four "*Mahārājas*" (guardians of quarters). As regards *Agikhaṁdha* (*Agniskandha*) Dr. Bhandarkar draws our attention to *Jātaka* No. 40 which refers to a blazing fire-pit created by Māra on the surface of which the *Bodhisattva* strode and gave a bowl to a hungry *Pachcheka Buddha* and extolled alms-giving. Hultzsch takes *Agikhaṁdha* to refer to 'radiant beings of another world,' while Jarl Charpentier (IHQ, 1933, 87) understands it to mean piles of (hell-)fire. The passage containing the words *Vimānadasanā*, *Hastidasanā*, etc., has been explained differently in *A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E. J. Rapson*, pp. 546 f. According to the interpretation that finds favour with some recent writers, the spectacles in question were exhibited not by Aśoka, but by previous rulers to the accompaniment of the sound of drums. But thanks to Aśoka " the sound of the *bheri* had become the sound of *dharma*," that is to say, instruction in *dharma* took the place of martial music that used to be heard on the occasion of pompous shows in bygone times. What former kings could not accomplish by gaudy spectacles, was achieved by Aśoka by the simple unostentatious teaching of the true Doctrine. The *bheri* was now used to announce the king's rescripts on morality,—*cf.* the Yerraguḍi copy of the Minor Rock Edict—*Rājuke ānapitaviye bherinā jānapadaṁ ānapayisati raṭhikānaṁ cha* (*Ind. Culture*, I, p. 310; IHQ, 1933, 117).

as well as the higher officials styled *Rājūkas*, and *Prādeśikas* to inculcate the same while they set out for tour (*anusaṁyāna*). The *Dharma* which they were to preach was explained thus : "An excellent thing is the hearkening to father and mother ;[1] an excellent thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmaṇas and ascetics ; excellent is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures ; excellent is small expense with small accumulation."

When he had been consecrated thirteen years, Aśoka created the new officials called *Dharma-mahāmātras* who were specially entrusted with the work of "*dhaṁmādhithāna*" and "*dhaṁmavadhi*," *i.e.*, the establishment and increase of Piety.

While his officers were busy preaching the new Gospel, the emperor himself did not remain idle. Already in his eleventh regnal year he had "started on the path" leading to *Saṁbodhi* (*ayāya Saṁbodhim*)[2] and commenced the tours of Piety (*Dhaṁma-yātā*) in the place of the old tours of pleasure (*Vihāra-yātā*). In the tours of Piety this was the practice—visiting ascetics and Brāhmaṇas, with liberality to them ; visiting elders, with largess of gold ; visiting the people of the country (*Janapada*) with instruction in the Law of Piety, and discussion of that Law. The memory of a pious tour in Aśoka's twenty-first regnal year[3] (B.C. 249 according to Smith) is preserved by the Rummindeî and Nigāli Sāgar epigraphs in the Nepalese Tarai. These records prove that Aśoka visited the birth-place of Gautama and paid reverence to the *stūpa* of Konākamana, one of the former Buddhas.

[1] *Cf. Sigālovāda Suttanta* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, 173 ff).

[2] Some scholars take *Saṁbodhi* to mean 'supreme knowledge.' But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar contends that *Saṁbodhi* is equivalent to the Bodhi Tree or the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 393) Aśoka visited Bodhi in the company of the *Sthavira* or Elder Upagupta (Hultzsch, CII, xliii).

[3] Were these tours decennial ?

In 242 B.C., according to Dr. Smith, Aśoka issued the Seven Pillar Edicts which contain, among other things, a review of the measures taken during his reign for the "promotion of religion, the teaching of moral duty."

Benevolent Activity. Promotion of the Welfare of Man and Beast.

Aśoka abolished the sacrificial slaughter of animals, offensive *Samājas* and the massacre of living creatures to make curries in the imperial kitchen. Rock Edict VIII refers to the abolition of the *vihāra-yātrās* or tours of pleasure in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised. Pillar Edict V contains a code of regulations [1] restricting the slaughter and mutilation of animals. Dr. Smith points out that the prohibitions against animal slaughter in this edict coincide to a considerable extent with those recorded in the *Arthaśāstra*.

The emperor established healing arrangements in two kinds, namely, healing arrangements for men and healing arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also, both for men and for beasts, wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. Roots also and fruits, wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. On the roads wells were dug, probably at intervals of 8 *kos*, flights of steps built for descending into the water, and banyan trees and mango groves planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

Pillar Edict VII refers to the employment of superior officers (*Mukhyas*) in the distribution of alms, both the emperor's own and those of the queens and princes. One of the Minor Pillar Edicts refers to the donations of the second Queen Kāruvākī,[2] mother of Tīvara : "whatever gift

[1] *Dhamma-niyama*, *cf.* Patañjali, I, I, I.

[2] Dr. Barua suggests the identification of this lady with Asandhimittā of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*Indian Culture*, I, 123). The suggestion, though ingenious, is hardly convincing.

has been given here by the second Queen—be it a mango-garden, or pleasure-grove or alms house, or aught else—is reckoned as proceeding from that queen."

Religious Toleration and the Prevention of Schism in the Buddhist Church.

In Rock Edict XII the emperor declares that he "does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics (*Pavajitāni*) or householders (*Gharastāni*) by gifts and various forms of reverence." That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barābar cave dedications in favour of the Ājîvika ascetics, who were more akin to the Jainas than to the Buddhists.

The emperor only cared for the "growth of the essence (*Sāra*) of the matter in sects." He says that "he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." Concord (or concourse, *Samavāyo*) is praised by him as meritorious (*Samavāyo eva sādhu*).

Just as Aśoka tried to secure concord among the various sects, so he wanted to prevent schism within the Buddhist church. Tradition affirms that a Buddhist Council was convened at Pāṭaliputra in the seventeenth year of his reign for the purpose of suppressing heresy and making a compilation of the true Buddhist doctrine (*Saddhamma-saṁgahaṁ*). The Sārnāth Edict and its variants may perhaps be regarded as embodying the resolution of this Council.[1]

Aśoka as a Builder.

The gift of cave dwellings to the Ājîvika monks affords us a glimpse into another side of Aśoka's activity. As late

[1] Smith, *Aśoka*, third ed., p. 55.

as the fifth century A.D., sojourners in Pāṭaliputra were struck with wonder at the magnificence of the emperor's architectural achievements. Tradition credits him with the construction of a splendid palace besides numerous relic mounds, monasteries and temples. He is actually known to have enlarged the *stūpa* of Konākamana, a 'former Buddha' and a predecessor of Śākyamuni. He also set up 'pillars of morality' *Dharma-stambhas*. Modern critics are eloquent in their praise of the polished surface of his columns and the fine workmanship of their crowning sculptures.[1]

Character of Aśoka. His Success and Failure.

Aśoka is one of the most interesting personalities in the history of India. He had the energy of a Chandragupta, the versatility of a Samudragupta and the catholicity of an Akbar. He was tireless in his exertion and unflagging in his zeal—all directed to the promotion of the spiritual and material welfare of his people whom he looked upon as his children. His illustrious grandfather was accustomed to dispose of cases even when indulging in the luxury of a massage of the limbs. Similarly Aśoka used to listen to reports about the affairs of his people even while 'he was eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cow-pen, in the palanquin and in the parks.' The great soldier who had brought under subjection a huge territory unconquered even by his ever victorious grandfather, could at the same time, argue points of doctrine and discipline with a fraternity of erudite monks. The statesman who could pilot an empire through the storm and stress of a war that involved the death and deportation of hundreds of thousands of men was, at the same time, capable of organizing religious missions the sphere of whose activities

[1] For Aśoka's achievements in the domain of art, see Smith, HFAIC, 13, 57 ff.; *Aśoka*, pp. 107 ff.; CHI, 618 ff.; Havell, ARI, 104 ff., etc.

embraced three continents, and transforming a local sect in the Ganges Valley into one of the great religions of the world. The man who penetrated into the jungles of the Nepalese Tarai to pay homage to the birth-place of the Buddhas, bore no ill-will towards the descendants of their Brāhmaṇa and Jaina opponents, and granted cave-dwellings to the adherents of a rival sect. The king who undertook tours with the object of granting largesses of gold to Brāhmaṇas and *Śramaṇas*, admitted to office *Yavanas* in whose country there were neither Brāhmaṇas nor Śramaṇas. He preached the virtues of concord and toleration in an age when religious feeling ran high and disruptive influences were at work within the fold of the Jaina and Buddhist churches. He preached non-violence when violence in war, religious ritual, royal pastime and festive gatherings was the order of the day. He eschewed military conquest not after defeat but after victory and pursued a policy of forbearance while still possessed of the resources of a mighty empire. The forbearance of this strong man was only matched by his truthfulness, and he describes in burning words which no Kaliṅga patriot could have improved upon, the terrible misery that he had inflicted on a hapless province. The example of Dharmāśoka, the pious king, exercised an ennobling influence on posterity. In the second century A.D. Queen Gautamî Balaśrî takes pride in the fact that her son was "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy" (*Kitāparādhe pi satujane apānahisāruchi*). Even in the fifth century A.D., the rest-houses and free hospitals of Magadha excited the wonder and admiration of foreigners. The benefactions of Dharmāśoka were a source of inspiration to royal personages as late as the time of Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty.

We have already seen that the political record of the great Maurya's early years was brilliant. His reign saw the final triumph of those centripetal forces that had been at

work since the days of Bimbisāra. The conquest of Kaliṅga completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha. The dream of a United Jambudīvpa was nearly realised.

But the policy of *Dhamma-vijaya* which he formulated after the Kaliṅga War was not likely to promote the cause for which a long line of able sovereigns from Bimbisāra to Bindusāra had lived and struggled. The statesman who turned civil administrators into religious propagandists, abolished hunting and jousts of arms, entrusted the fierce tribesmen on the north-west frontier and in the wilds of the Deccan to the tender care of "superintendents of piety" and did not rest till the sound of the war drum was completely hushed and the only sound that was heard was that of moral teaching, certainly pursued a policy at which Chandragupta Maurya would have looked askance. Dark clouds were looming in the north-western horizon. India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer. Magadha after the Kaliṅga War frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution, as Egypt did under the guidance of Ikhnaton. The result was politically disastrous as will be shown in the next section. Aśoka's attempt to end war met with the same fate as the similar endeavour of President Wilson.

According to Dr. Smith's chronology Aśoka died in 232 B.C., after a reign of about 40 years. A Tibetan tradition is said to affirm that the great Emperor breathed his last at Taxila.[1]

[1] *The Oxford History of India*, p. 116.

Section II. The Later Mauryas and the Decline of their Power.

The Magadha Empire under Aśoka extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. But the withdrawal of the strong arm of Piyadasi was perhaps the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. "His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand." The provinces fell off one by one. Foreign barbarians began to pour across the north-western gates of the empire, and a time came when the proud monarchs of Pāṭaliputra and Rājagṛiha had to bend their knees before the despised provincials of 'Andhra' and Kaliṅga.

Unfortunately, no Megasthenes or Kauṭilya has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Aśoka's successors from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few Brāhmaṇical, Jaina and Buddhist works.

Aśoka had many children. In Pillar Edict VII, he pays attention to the distribution of alms made by all his children, and in particular to those made by the "Princes, sons of the Queens." It is to this last category that belonged some of the *Kumāras* who represented the Imperial authority at Takshaśilā, Ujjayinī, Suvarṇagiri and Tosalī. **Tīvara**,[1] the son of queen Kāruvākī, the only prince named in the inscriptions, does not appear to have mounted the imperial throne. Three other sons, namely, Mahendra, Kunāla (Dharma-vivardhana, Suyaśas ?), and Jalauka are mentioned in literature. It is, however, uncertain whether Mahendra was a son of Aśoka or his brother.

[1] For Tīvara as a Magadhan name see *the Book of Kindred Sayings*, II, pp. 128-30.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* says that after Aśoka's death his son **Kunāla** reigned for eight years. Kunāla's son and successor was Bandhupālita, and Bandhupālita's *dāyāda* or heir was Indrapālita. After Indrapālita came Devavarman, Satadhanus and Bṛihadratha.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the following list of Aśoka's successors :—Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha.

The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* furnishes the following names :—Suyaśas, Daśaratha, Saṅgata, Śāliśūka, Somaśarman Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha.

The *Divyāvadāna* [1] has the following list :—Sampadî, Vṛihaspati, Vṛishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra.

Jaina writers refer to a Maurya King of Rājagṛiha, named Balabhadra.[2]

The *Rājataraṅginî* mentions **Jalauka** as the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmîra, while Tāranātha mentions another successor Vîrasena who ruled in Gandhāra and was, as Dr. Thomas suggests, probably the predecessor of **Subhāgasena** of Polybius.[3]

It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of the different authorities. The reality of the existence of Kunāla is established by the combined testimony of the Purāṇic and Buddhist works (which represent him as the father of Sampadî) as well as the evidence of Hemachandra and Jinaprabhasuri, the well-known Jaina writers. The names Dharma-vivardhana occurring in the *Divyāvadāna* and the Records of Fa Hien and Suyaśas found in the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* were probably *birudas* or epithets of this prince. Tradition is not unanimous regarding the accession of Kunāla to the imperial throne.

[1] P. 433.

[2] Jacobi, *Introduction to the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, 1879, p. 9.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, p. 362 ; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 512.

He is reputed to have been blind. His position was, therefore, probably like that of Dhṛitarāshṭra of the Great Epic and, though nominally regarded as the sovereign, he was physically unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka.

Kunāla's son was Bandhupālita according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Saṁpadi (Samprati) according to the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Pāṭaliputrakalpa* of Jinaprabhasuri, and Vigataśoka according to Tāranātha.[1] Either these princes were identical or they were brothers. If the latter view be correct then Bandhupālita may have been identical with **Daśaratha** whose reality is established by the brief dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cave-dwellings at the Nāgārjuni Hills which he bestowed upon the *Ājīvikas*. Daśaratha, who receives the epithet "*devānaṁpiya*" in the inscriptions, was a grandson of Aśoka according to the *Matsya* and *Vishṇu* Purāṇas, and the predecessor of Samprati (variant Saṅgata) according to the same authorities.

Indrapālita must be identified with **Samprati** or Śāliśūka according as we identify Bandhupālita with Daśaratha or Samprati. "In the matter of the propagation of the Jaina faith, Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records do of Aśoka." The *Pāṭaliputrakalpa* of Jinaprabhasuri says, "in Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunāla, lord of Bhārata with its three continents, the great *Arhanta* who established *Vihāras* for *Śramaṇas* even in non-Aryan countries."

Dr. Smith shows good grounds for believing that the dominions of Samprati included Avanti and Western India. In his *Aśoka* [2] he admits that the hypothesis that Aśoka left

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, 362.

[2] Third ed., p. 70.

two grandsons, of whom one (Daśaratha) succeeded him in his eastern and the other (Samprati) in his western dominions, is little more than a guess. The Jaina writers represent Samprati as ruling over Pāṭaliputra as well as Ujjayinī. His name is mentioned in the Purāṇic list of Aśoka's Magadhan successors.

The existence of **Śāliśūka** is proved not only by the testimony of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* but also by that of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*[1] and the *e Vāyu* manuscript referred to by Pargiter. He may have been identical with Vṛihaspati, son of Samprati, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, unless Vṛihaspati represented a different branch of the imperial family.

Devavarman and Somaśarman are variant readings of the same name. The same is the case with Śatadhanus and Śatadhanvan. It is not easy to identify Vṛishasena and Pushyadharma ; they may be merely *birudas* or secondary names of Devavarman and Śatadhanvan. But the possibility that they represent a distinct branch of the Maurya line is not entirely excluded.

The last of the Imperial Mauryas of Magadha, **Brihadratha**, is mentioned not only in the *Purāṇas* but also in Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*. He was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra who is perhaps wrongly described by the *Divyāvadāna* as of Maurya descent. A Maurya minister is said to have been imprisoned by the regicide family.

Petty Maurya kings continued to rule in Western India as well as Magadha long after the extinction of the Imperial line. King Dhavala of the Maurya dynasty is referred to in the Kaṇaswa inscription of A.D. 738.[2] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar

[1] Kern's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, p. 37. The *Gārgī Saṁhitā* says, "There will be Śāliśūka a wicked quarrelsome king. Unrighteous although theorising on righteousness, *dharmavādi adhārmikah* (*sic*) he cruelly oppresses his country."

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 163; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Part 2, p. 284. Kaṇaswa is in the Kotah state, Rājputāna. It is not unlikely that Dhavala was a descendant of some princely Viceroy of Ujjain.

identifies him with Dhavalappadeva, the overlord of Dhanika mentioned in the Dabok (Mewar) inscription of *cir.* A.D. 725.[1] Maurya chiefs of the Koṅkaṇ and Khāndesh are referred to in Early Chalukya and Yādava epigraphs.[2] A Maurya ruler of Magadha named Pūrṇavarman is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

There can be no doubt that during the sovereignty of the later Mauryas the Magadha Empire experienced a gradual decay. Aśoka died in or about the year 232 B.C. Within a quarter of a century after his death a Greek army crossed the Hindukush which was the Maurya frontier in the days of Chandragupta and his grandson The *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* bears testimony to the **decline of the Maurya power** in the *Madhyadeśa* after the reign of Śāliśūka :

Tataḥ Sāketam ākramya
Pañchālān Mathurāṁstathā
Yavanā dushṭavikrāntāḥ
prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam
Tataḥ Pushpapure prāpte
Kardame prathite hite
Ākulā vishayāḥ sarve
Bhavishyanti na saṁśayaḥ.[3]

"Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sāketa (in Oudh), the Pañchāla country and Mathurā, will reach (or take) Kusumadhvaja. Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra) being reached all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

Where was now the power that had expelled the prefects of Alexander and hurled back the battalions of Seleukos ?

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 11. But see Ep. XX. 122. The date A.D. 725 is not accepted by other scholars who prefer A.D. 813.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz*, I. Part 2, pp. 283, 284. Bühler suggests (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 136) that these Maurya chieftains of the Koṅkan were probably descendants of the princely viceroy of the Deccan. He also draws our attention to the family name 'More' which is met with in the Mahratta country, and is apparently a corruption of 'Maurya.'

[3] Kern, *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, p. 37.

According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī[1] a **reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas** had sapped the foundations of the Maurya authority and dismembered the empire.

Among the causes of the alienation of the Brāhmaṇas the foremost place is given to Aśoka's Edict against animal sacrifices. The Edict, in Paṇḍit Śāstrī's opinion, was certainly directed against the Brāhmaṇas as a class and was specially offensive because it was promulgated by a *Śūdra* ruler. As to the first point we should remember that prohibition of animal sacrifices did not necessarily imply hostility towards Brāhmaṇas. Long before Aśoka Brāhmaṇa sages whose teachings have found a place in the Holy *Śruti,* the most sacred literature of the Brāhmaṇas, declared themselves in no uncertain terms against sacrifices, and in favour of *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence). In the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad*[2] we have the followtng *Śloka* :—

Plavā hyete adṛiḍhā yajñarūpā
Ashṭādaśoktam avaraṁ yeshu karma
Etachchhreyo ye'bhinandanti mūḍhā
Jarāmṛityuṁ te punarevāpi yanti.

" Frail, in truth are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen in which this lower ceremonial has been told. Fools, who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death." In the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*[3] Ghora Āṅgirasa lays great stress on *Ahiṁsā.*

As to the second statement we should remember that tradition is not unanimous in representing the Mauryas as of *Śūdra* extraction. Certain *Purāṇic* texts assert no doubt, that after Mahāpadma there will be kings of *Śūdra* origin.[4]

[1] JASB, 1910, pp. 259ff.

[2] 1. 2. 7

[3] III. 17. 4.

[4] *Tataḥ prabhṛitirājāno bhavishyāḥ Śūdrayonayaḥ*. The reading in other texts is, however, *Tato nṛipā bhavishyanti Śūdraprāyāstvadhārmikāḥ* (DKA. 25).

But this statement cannot be taken to mean that *all* the post-Mahāpadman kings were *Śūdras*, as in that case the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas also will have to be classed as *Śūdras*.[1] The *Mudrārākshasa*, the evidence of which is cited to prove that Chandragupta was a *Śūdra*,[2] is a late work, and its evidence is contradicted by earlier authorities. In the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* the Moriyas (Mauryas) are represented as belonging to the *Kshatriya* caste. The *Mahāvaṁsa* [3] refers to the Moriyas as a noble (*kshatriya*) clan and represents Chandragupta as a scion of this clan. In the *Divyāvadāna* [4] Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta, said to a girl, "*Tvaṁ Nāpinī ahaṁ Rājā Kshatriyo Mūrdhābhishiktaḥ kathaṃ mayā sārdhaṁ samāgamo bhavishyati* ?" 'Thou art a barber girl, I am a consecrated *kshatriya* (king). How can I unite myself with thee ?" In the same work [5] Aśoka says to one of his queens (Tishyarakshitā), "*Devi ahaṁ Kshatriyaḥ*

[1] Among real Śūdra kings may be included the Nandas, a few rulers mentioned in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Ch. 145. 4) and the *Si-yü-Ki* of Hiuen Tsang (Watters, I. 322; II. 252), and certain princes of Western India and the Indus Valley mentioned on pp. 54-55 of Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

[2] In the play Chandragupta is styled '*Nandānvaya*' and *Vṛishala*. As to the former appellation we should note that the play describes Nanda as *abhijana*. Further it calls Chandragupta *Mauryaputra*, and though commentators try to reconcile the epithets *Nandānvaya* and *Mauryaputra*, we learn from early Buddhist writers that Maurya is not a metronymic of Chandragupta or of his father, but the designation of an old tribe. The Greeks, too, refer to a tribe called Morieis (Max Muller, *Sans. Lit.*, 280; Cunn., *JASB*, XXIII, 680). As to the epithet *Vṛishala* it should be remembered that a Purāṇic text applies it even to the founder of the so-called Andhra dynasty (Pargiter, DKA, 38). But we learn from contemporary epigraphs that the dynasty regarded itself as '*Bamhaṇa*.' According to Manu (X. 43) the epithet *Vṛishala* could be applied to degraded *kshatriyas* (*cf.* IHQ, 1930, 271 ff. *Cf.* also Mbh. XII. 90, 15ff., "The Blessed *Dharma* is *Vṛisha*. He who deals with it in such a way that it ceases to be of any use is called a *Vṛishala*, *Vṛishohi Bhagavān Dharmo yastasya kurute hyalam*). The Mauryas by their Greek connection and Jaina and Buddhist leanings certainly deviated from the *Dharma* as understood by the great Brāhmaṇa law-givers. Attention may be invited in this connection to the epithet *Vasalaka* (*Vṛishala*) applied by Brāhmaṇas to the Buddha himself (Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, 264).

[3] Geiger's Translation, p. 27.

[4] P. 370.

[5] P. 409.

katham palaṇḍuṁ paribhakshayāmi ?" 'Queen, I am a *kshatriya*, how can I take onion ?' In a Mysore inscription Chandragupta is described as " an abode of the usages of eminent kshatriyas." [1] The *Kauṭilīya's* preference of an "*abhijāta*" king seems also to suggest that the sovereign of the reputed author was born of a noble family.[2]

Having referred to the prohibition of animal sacrifices Paṇḍit Śāstrî says : " this was followed by another edict in which Aśoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as *Bhūdevas* or gods on earth had been shown up by him."

The original passage referred to above runs thus :—

Y (i)-imāya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni m (i) s-kaṭā.

Paṇḍit Śāstrî followed the interpretation of Senart. But Sylvain Lévi [3] has shown that the word *amisā* cannot stand for Sanskrit *amṛishā*, for in the Bhābrū edict we find *Musā* and not *Misā* for Sanskrit *mṛishā* (falsely or false). The recently discovered Māski version reads *misibhūtā* for *misaṁkaṭā*, showing that the original form was *miśrībhūtā*. It will be grammatically incorrect to form *misibhūtā* from Sanskrit *mṛishā*. The word *miśra* means mixed. And *miśrībhūtā* means "made to mix" or made to associate. The meaning of the entire passage is "during that time the men in India who had been unassociated with the gods became associated

[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 10.

[2] *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, p. 326. See also *supra*, 216 f. (the reign of Chandragupta).

[3] Hultzsch, *Aśoka*, 168.

with them." [1] There is thus no question of "showing up" anybody.[2]

Paṇḍit Sāstri adds that the appointment by Aśoka of *Dharma-mahāmātras*, *i.e.*, of superintendents of morals, was a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. It is hardly correct to represent the *Dharma-mahāmātras* as mere superintendents of morals when their duties consisted in the establishment of the Law of Piety (which included liberality to Brāhmaṇas), the promotion of the welfare of the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Rāshṭrikas, Brāhmaṇas and others, revision of sentences of imprisonment or execution, the supervision of the family establishments of the Emperor's brothers and other relatives, and the administration of alms-giving.[3] These duties were not essentially those of a mere superintendent of morals, and were not a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover, there is nothing to show that the *Dharma-mahāmātras* were wholly recruited from non-Brāhmaṇas.

Our attention is next drawn to the passage where Aśoka insists upon his officers strictly observing the principles of *Daṇḍa-samatā* and *Vyavahāra-samatā*. Paṇḍit Sāstrî takes the expressions to mean 'equality of punishment' and 'equality in lawsuits' irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and adds that this order was very offensive to the Brāhmaṇas who claimed many privileges including immunity from capital punishment.

[1] *Cf. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II. 7. 16. 1 : "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell with the gods and Brahma in heaven." My attention was first drawn to this passage by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. *Cf.* also *Harivaṁśa* (III. 32.1) : '*Devatānāṁ manushyānāṁ sahavāso' bhavattadā.*"

[2] The true import of the passage was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*. 1912, p. 170.

[3] Aśoka, *third* ed., pp. 168-69.

The passage containing the expressions *Daṇḍa-samatā* and *Vyavahāra-samatā* should not be divorced from its context and interpreted as if it were an isolated *ukase*. We quote the passage with the context below :—

"To my *Rājūkas* set over many hundred thousands of people I have granted independence (or discretion) in the award of honours and penalties. But as it is desirable that there should be uniformity in judicial procedure (*Vyavahāra-samatā*) and uniformity in penalties (*Daṇḍa-samatā*), from this time forward my rule in this—" To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me."

It is clear from the extract quoted above that the order regarding *Vyavahāra-samatā* and *Daṇḍa-samatā* is to be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation which the Emperor introduced. Aśoka allowed discretion to the *Rājūkas* in the award of penalties, but he did not like that the *Daṇḍa* and *Vyavahāra* prevalent within the jurisdiction of one *Rājūka* should be entirely different from those prevailing within the jurisdiction of others.[1] He wanted to maintain some uniformity (*samatā*) both in *Daṇḍa* (penalties) as well as in *Vyavahāra* (legal procedure). As an instance he refers to the rule about the granting of a respite of three days to condemned men. The *Samatā* which he enforced involved a curtailment of the autonomy of the *Rājūkas* and did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brāhmaṇas from capital punishment.

But were the Brāhmaṇas really immune under all circumstances from capital punishment in ancient India ? We learn from the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[2] that a *Purohita* (priest)

[1] I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr. S. N. Majumdar.

[2] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 84. The story of Kutsa and his chaplain, Caland, *Pañch. Br.*, XIV. 6.8; *cf. Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up.*, III, 9.26.

might be punished with death for treachery to his master. The *Kauṭilîya*,[1] tells us that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of treason was to be drowned. Readers of the *Mahābhārata* are familiar with the stories of the punishments inflicted on Māṇḍavya and Likhita.[2] The life of a Brāhmaṇa was not so sacrosanct in ancient as in mediaeval and modern India. We learn from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* that king Hariś-chandra of the Ikshvāku family did not scruple to offer a Brāhmaṇa boy as a victim in a sacrifice.

Against the surmises regarding the anti-Brāhmaṇical policy of Aśoka we have the positive evidence of some of his inscriptions which proves the Emperor's solicitude for the well-being of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus in Rock Edict III he inculcates liberality to Brāhmaṇas. In Edict IV he speaks with disapproval of unseemly behaviour towards the same class. In Edict V he refers to the employment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* to promote the welfare and happiness of the Brāhmaṇas.

Paṇḍit Śāstrî says further that as soon as the strong hand of Aśoka was removed the Brāhmaṇas seemed to have stood against his successors. We have no evidence of any such conflict between the children of Aśoka and the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, if the Brāhmaṇa historian of Kaśmîra is to be believed, the relations between Jalauka, one of the sons and successors of Aśoka, and the Brāhmaṇical Hindus were entirely friendly.[3]

[1] P. 229.

[2] *Ādi*, 107 and *Śānti*, 23, 36.

[3] Note also the employment of Brāhmaṇa officers, *e.g.*, Pushyamitra, by the later Mauryas. Kalhaṇa has nothing but praise for Aśoka. Another Brāhmaṇa writer, Bāṇa, applies the epithet *anārya* (ignoble) not to the Maurya kings, but to the Brāhmaṇa general who overthrew the last of them. Viśākhadatta compares Chandragupta with the Boar Incarnation of Vishṇu. Certain epic and Purāṇic writers, it is true, refer to the Mauryas as *asuras* and the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā* draws pointed attention to the oppressive rule of some of the later members of the family. But there is little to suggest that the Brāhmaṇas were special victims of Maurya tyranny. On the contrary members of the class were freely admitted to high office as evidenced by the case of Pushyamitra. The epithet

In conclusion Paṇḍit Śāstrî refers to the assassination of the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha by Pushyamitra Śuṅga and says, "We clearly see the hands of the Brāhmaṇas in the great revolution." But the Buddhist remains at Bhārhut erected "during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas" do not bear out the theory which represents them as the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Are inferences deduced from uncorroborated writings of late authors like the compiler of the *Divyāvadāna* and perhaps Tāranātha to be preferred to the clear testimony of contemporary monuments? Even admitting that Pushyamitra was a militant Brāhmaṇist we fail to see how the decay and dismemberment of the Maurya empire can be attributed primarily to him or his Brāhmaṇist followers. The empire was a shrivelled and attenuated carcase long before Pushyamitra's *coup d'etat* of *c*. 187 B. C. We learn from the *Rājataraṅginî* that immediately after the death of Aśoka one of his own sons, **Jalauka**, made himself independent in Kaśmîra and conquered the plains including Kanauj. If Tāranātha is to be believed another prince, Vîrasena, apparently wrested Gandhāra from the hands of the feeble successor of the great Maurya at Pāṭaliputra. The secession of Vidarbha or Berar is vouched for by the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa. The loss of the northern provinces is confirmed by Greek evidence. We learn from Polybius that about 206 B. C., there ruled over them a king named Sophagasenus (**Subhāgasena,** probably a successor of Vîrasena). We quote the passage referring to the king below :—

"He (Antiochos the Great) crossed the Caucasus (Hindu-kush) and descended into India; renewed his friendship with

asura or *sura-dvish* was applied not only to the Mauryas but to all persons 'beguiled by the Buddha.' The testimony of the Purāṇas in this respect is contradicted by that of contemporary epigraphs which refer to Aśoka and the only one among his imperial descendants who has left any epigraphic record as *devānampiya*, that is, the beloved (and not the enemy) of the gods.

Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

It will be seen that Subhāgasena was a king and not a petty chief of the Kābul valley as Dr. Smith would have us believe. He is called "king of the Indians," a title which was applied by the classical writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrios. There is nothing in the account of Polybius to show that he was vanquished by the Syrian king in war or was regarded by the latter as a subordinate ruler. On the contrary, the statement that Antiochos "renewed his friendship (or alliance) with Sophagasenus, king of the Indians" proves that the two monarchs met on equal terms and friendly relations were established between them. The renewal of friendship on the part of the Greek king and the surrender of elephants on the part of his Indian brother, only remind us of the relations subsisting between Chandragupta and Seleukos. Further the expression "renewal of friendship" seems to suggest that Subhāgasena had had previous dealings with Antiochos. Consequently he must have come to the throne sometime before 206 B. C. The existence of an independent kingdom in the north-west before 206 B. C. shows that the Maurya Empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Pushyamitra.

We have seen that the theory which ascribes the decline and dismemberment of the Maurya Empire to a Brāhmaṇical revolution led by Pushyamitra does not bear scrutiny. Was the Maurya disruption due primarily to the Greek invasions? The earliest Greek invasion after Aśoka, that of Antiochos the Great, took place about 206 B. C., and we

have seen that the combined testimony of Kalhaṇa and Polybius leaves no room for doubt that the dissolution of the empire began long before the raid of the Hellenistic monarch.

What then were the primary causes of the disintegration of the mighty empire? There are good grounds for believing that the government of the outlying provinces by the imperial officials was oppressive. Already in the time of Bindusāra ministerial oppression had goaded the people of Taxila to open rebellion. The *Divyāvadāna* says[1] :—

" *Atha Rājño Vindusārasya Takshasilā nāma nagaraṁ viruddham. Tatra Rājñā Vindusāren Āśoko visarjitaḥ... yāvat Kumāraśchaturaṅgena balakāyena Takshaśilāṁ gataḥ, śrutvā Takshaśilā nivāsinaḥ paurāḥ...pratyudgamya cha kathayanti ' na vayam Kumārasya viruddhāḥ nāpi Rājño Vindusārasya api tu dushṭāmātyā asmākaṁ paribhavaṁ kurvanti.'* "

" Now Taxila a city of Bindusāra's revolted. The king Bindusāra despatched Aśoka there...while the prince was nearing Taxila with the fourfold army, the resident *Pauras* (citizens of Taxila), on hearing of it...came out to meet him and said :—' We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusāra. But these wicked ministers insult us.' "

Taxila again revolted during the reign of Aśoka and the cause was again the tyranny of the ministers. " *Rājñośokasy-ottarāpathe Takshaśilā nagaram viruddham...*" [2] Prince Kunāla was deputed to the government of the city. When the prince went there the people said " *na vayaṁ Kumārasya viruddhā na rājño'-śokasy-āpi tu dushṭātmāno' mātyā āgatyāsmākam apamānaṁ kurvanti.*"

The *Divyāvadāna* is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression to which it refers, is

[1] P. 371.

[2] *Divyāvadāna*, 407f.

affirmed by Aśoka himself in the Kaliṅga Edicts. Addressing the High officers (*Mahāmātras*) in charge of Tosalī he says: "All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well-established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved...... Ill performance of duty can never gain my regard... The restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life...From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. In the same way—from Taxila."[1]

From the concluding words of the Edict it appears that official maladministration was not confined to the province of Kaliṅga. The state of affairs at Ujjain and Taxila was similar. It is thus clear that the loyalty of the provincials was being slowly undermined by ministerial oppression long before Pushyamitra's *coup d'etat* of *c.* 187 B.C., and the Greek invasion of *c.* 206 B.C. Aśoka no doubt did his best to check the evil, but he was ill served by his officers. It is significant that the provincials of the north-west—the very people who complained of the oppression of the *dushṭāmātyas* as early as the reign of Bindusāra, were among the first to break away from the Maurya empire.

[1] Smith, *Aśoka*, Third Ed., pp. 194-96.

The Magadhan successors of Aśoka had neither the strength nor perhaps the will to arrest the process of disruption.[1] The martial ardour of imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battle-fields of Kaliṅga. Aśoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of *Dhamma-vijaya* which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire.[2] He had called upon his sons and even great grandsons to eschew new conquests, avoid the shedding of blood and take pleasure in patience and gentleness. These latter had heard more of *Dhamma-ghosha* than of *Bheri-ghosha*.[3] It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the *rois faineants* who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya.

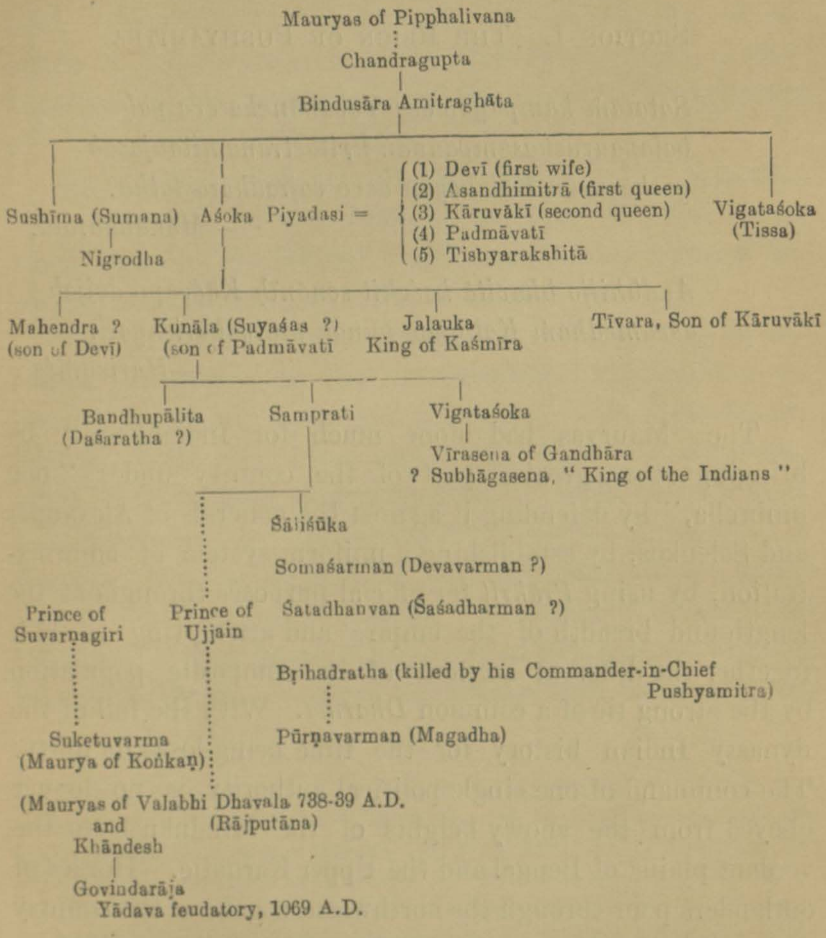
[1] On the contrary, if the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* is to be believed, one of his successors, namely Śāliśūka, actually quickened the pace by his tyranny—*Sarāshṭra mardate ghoraṁ dharmavādi adhārmikaḥ* (*sic*). Some of Aśoka's descendants (*e.g.*, Jalauka) set up independent sovereignties, and were thus directly responsible for the dismemberment of the empire.

[2] *Cf.* the passage in the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* to which attention is drawn by Jayaswal (JBORS, IV, 261)—*sthāpayishyati mohātmā vijayaṁ nāma dhāmikam*, "the fool will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma." The expression *mohātmā* reminds one of the later meaning of '*Devānaṁpiya*' (fool, idiot like a brute beast, Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 510).

[3] The royal hunt and jousts of arms in *Samājas* were abolished. The army seems to have been practically inactive during the last 29 years of the reign as the emperor himself declares with a feeling of exultation that 'the sound of the *bheri* had become the sound of the True Law, *Dharma*.' The Chinese *Hou Hanshu* (quoted by S. Konow, CII, Vol. II, p. lxvii) testifies to the fact the people of India "practise the religion of the Buddha; *it has become a habit with them not to kill and not to fight*." The ease with which general Pushyamitra overthrew his king in the very sight of the army shows that unlike the earlier kings of the dynasty who took the field in person, the last of the Mauryas lost touch with his fighting forces and ceased to command their affection. The largesses of gold lavished on the religieux must also have crippled the financial resources of the empire. The system of autonomous Rājūkas instituted by Aśoka must have let loose centrifugal forces that his successors were unable to check.

The disintegration which set in before 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the *Yavanas* referred to in the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali. The final *coup de grace* was given by Pushyamitra.

GENEALOGY OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY



CHAPTER VI. THE SUṄGA (?) EMPIRE AND THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

SECTION I. THE REIGN OF PUSHYAMITRA.

Satataṁ kampayāmāsa Yavanāneka eva yaḥ
balapaurushasampannān kṛitāstrānamitaujasaḥ
yathāsurān Kālakeyān devo vajradharastathā.
—*Mahābhārata.*[1]

Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśchit senānīḥ Kāśyapo dvijaḥ
aśvamedhaṁ Kaliyuge punaḥ pratyaharishyati.
—*Harivaṁśa*[2]

The Mauryas had done much for Indian unity by bringing the greater part of the country under "one umbrella," by defending it against the generals of Alexander and Seleukos, by establishing a uniform system of administration, by using *Prākrit* for official purposes throughout the length and breadth of the empire and attempting to knit together the different sections of its composite population by the strong tie of a common *Dharma*. With the fall of the dynasty Indian history for the time being loses its unity. The command of one single political authority is no longer obeyed from the snowy heights of the Hindukush to the verdant plains of Bengal and the Upper Karnatic. Hordes of outlanders pour through the northwestern gates of the country and establish aggressive monarchies in Gandhāra, Western Mālwa and neighbouring regions. The Pañjāb is seized by foreigners and the Deccan by local dynasts. The political connection of the *Madhyadeśa* with the valleys of the Indus

[1] II. 4. 23. [2] III. 2. 40.

and the Godāvarī is temporarily snapped, and the splendour of the Magadhan metropolis is dimmed by the rising glory of Śākala, Vidiśā, Pratishṭhāna and other cities. Brāhmaṇism gains ground in the Ganges valley and the Deccan, while Jainism flourishes in Orissa. The sects of the *Māheśvaras* and the *Bhāgavatas* become powers to reckon with. The study of Sanskrit receives an impetus at the hands of the grammarians of the Madhyadeśa, while Prākrit literature enjoys the patronage of the courts of Pratishṭhāna and Kuntala in Southern India.

Bṛihadratha, the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha, was, according to the *Purāṇas* and the *Harsha-charita*, assassinated by his general Pushyamitra who usurped the throne, and founded a new line of kings.

The origin of the usurping family is wrapped up in obscurity. According to the *Divyāvadāna* Pushyamitra was lineally descended from the Mauryas. The *Mālavikāgnimitram*, on the other hand, makes Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, a scion of the **Baimbika** family,[1] while the *Purāṇas*, and apparently the *Harsha-charita*, represent these kings as **Suṅgas**. One writer suggests that the Suṅgas whose names ended in *Mitra* were Irāṇians, worshippers of the Sun (Mithra).[2] Others regard them as Indian Brāhmaṇas. Curiously enough Pāṇini [3] connects the Suṅgas with the well-known

[1] In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act IV, Verse 14; Tawney's translation, p. 69) Agnimitra claims to belong to the Baimbika kula. Mr. H. A. Shah suggests (*Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, p. 379) that the Baimbikas were connected with the family of Bimbisāra. It is more probable that the epithet '*Baimbika*' (in the passage *dākshiṇyam nāma bimboshṭhi Baimbikānāṁ kulavratam*) is connected with the river Bimbikā mentioned in the Bharhut Inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 8). *Cf.* Baimbaki in Patañjali, IV, 1. 97. In the *Harivaṁśa* (*Bhavishya*, II. 40) the Brāhmaṇa *Senānī* who is to restore the *Aśvamedha* is represented as a Kāśyapa. Jayaswal identifies him with Pushyamitra. Curiously enough the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (ed. Caland, Vol. III, p. 449) represents the *Baimbakayaḥ* as Kaśyapas.

[2] JASB, 1912, 287.

[3] In Sūtra IV, 1, 117.

Brāhmaṇa family of the Bhāradvājas. Sauṅgīputra, "son of a female descendant of Śuṅga," is the name of a teacher in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.*[1] Sauṅgāyani, "descendant of Sauṅga" is the name of a teacher in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa.* Macdonell and Keith point out that the Śuṅgas are known as teachers in the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*[2] In view of the conflicting statements in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, the *Purāṇas*, etc., it is difficult to say whether Pushyamitra and his descendants were Śuṅgas of the Bhāradvāja *Gotra* or Baimbikas of Kaśyapa lineage. We shall, however tentatively accept the Purāṇic designation of the kings in question in the present historical sketch.

It is not known for certain when and why the family of Pushyamitra, like the Kadambas of a later date, exchanged the ferule for the sword. There is no reason to think that Aśoka tyrannised over the Brāhmaṇas and that his oppression forced them to engage in non-priestly pursuits. Brāhmaṇa *Senāpatis* were by no means rare in ancient India.[3] The fact that officers of this class found employment under the Later Mauryas proves conclusively that the latter could not have pursued an anti-Brāhmaṇical policy.

The **Dominions of Pushyamitra** extended to the river Narmadā, and included the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā, and, if the author of the *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranātha are to be believed, Jālandhara and Śākala. It appears from the *Divyāvadāna,*[4] that the Emperor himself continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. The *Mālavikāgnimitram* tells us that Vidiśā (Besnagar in Eastern Mālwa) was governed by

[1] VI. 4. 31.

[2] XII. 13. 5, etc. The *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* seems to associate the Śuṅgas with the Madra country. *Ved. Index*, II, p. 123.

[3] *Cf.* the cases of Droṇa, Kṛipa and Aśvatthāman in the *Mahābhārata*, of Ravideva in the *Indian Antiquary*, VIII. 20, of Kholeśvara, the commander of Yādava kings and of Someśvara, the Brāhmaṇa general of the Pāla kings.

[4] P. 434.

Prince Agnimitra, probably as his father's viceroy (*Goptṛi*).[1] Another viceroy, also a relation of the emperor, may have governed Kosala.[2] Agnimitra's queen had a brother of inferior caste, named Vīrasena. He was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmadā (*Atthi devīe vaṇṇāvaro bhādā Vīraseṇo ṇāma, so bhaṭṭiṇā antavāladugge Ṇammadātīre*[3] *ṭhāvido*).

Affairs in the Deccan.

It appears from the *Mālavikāgnimitram* that the foundation of the dynasty of Pushyamitra almost synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in the Deccan, *viz.*, **Vidarbha** or Berar. Agnimitra's *Amātya* (Minister) refers to the kingdom as "*achirādhishṭhita*" (established not long ago) and compares its king to a tree which is newly planted and therefore not firm (*nava-saṁropaṇa-śithila-staruḥ*). The king of Vidarbha is represented as a relation (sister's husband) of the Maurya minister (*Sachiva*) and a natural enemy (*Prakṛityamitra*) of the family of Pushyamitra. It

[1] *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act V, pp. 370, 391 of G. Vidyānidhi's ed. esp. verse 20. *Saṁpadyate na khalu Goptari nā Agnimitre.*

[2] The possible existence of this viceroyalty is disclosed by an inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhyā, which records the erection of a "*ketana*" (abode) by a *Kosalādhipa* who was the sixth (brother, son or descendant ?) of *Senāpati* Pushyamitra, the performer of two horse-sacrifices (*Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā, Vaiśākha*, Sam. 1981; *Mod. Review*, 1924, October, p. 431; *IHQ*, 1929, 602 f.; Ep. Ind. XX. 54ff.). It is interesting to note that the title, '*Senāpati*' clung to the *deva* (king) Pushyamitra even after the performance of the *Aśvamedha*. *Cf.* the epithet *Vāhinīpati* applied to king Virāṭa in the *Mahābhārata* and the title *Yavuga* applied to Kushān emperors besides other epithets. *Cf.* also the style "*Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati* in CII., Vol. 3, p. 252, and the title *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* applied to Bijjala and others even after the assumption of the full royal style (*Bomb. Gaz.*, II. ii. 474 ff.).

[3] Act I. Some manuscripts mention Mandākinī as the name of the river (*cf. IHQ*. 1925, 214). A stream called Mandākinī lies 5 miles south of the Taptī (*Ind. Ant.*, 1902, 254). Lüders' Inscriptions, Nos. 687-688, seem to suggest that Bharhut (in Baghelkhand) was governed by a Śuṅga feudatory. If Pushyamitra was a Śuṅga Baghelkhand must have formed part of the empire of his family.

appears that during the reign of Bṛihadratha Maurya there were two parties or factions in the Magadha Empire, one headed by the king's *Sachiva* or minister, the other headed by his *Senāpati* or general. The minister's partisan Yajñasena got the rulership of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra obtained the viceroyalty of Vidiśā. When the general organised his *coup d'etat*, killed the king, and imprisoned the minister, Yajñasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities against the usurping family. This is why he is called *achirādhishṭhita-rājya* and *prakṛity-amitra* by Agnimitra and his *Amātya*.

The *Mālavikāgnimitram* says that when *Kumāra* Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena and a partisan of Agnimitra, was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, he was captured by an *Antapāla* (Warden of the Marches) of Yajñasena and kept in custody. Agnimitra demanded his surrender. The Vidarbha king promised to give him up on condition that his brother-in-law, the Maurya minister, should be released. This enraged the ruler of Vidiśā who ordered Vīrasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated. Mādhavasena was released and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā (Wardha) forming the boundary between the two states. Both the rulers seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the House of Pushyamitra.

In the opinion of several scholars an enemy more formidable than Yajñasena threatened Pushyamitra's dominions from Kaliṅga (Orissa). In his *Oxford History of India* [1] Dr. Smith accepts the view that **Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga**, defeated Pushyamitra who is identified with Bahapatimita or Bahasatimita, a prince supposed to be

[1] Additions and corrections, and p. 58n. *Cf.* also S. Konow in *Acta Orientalia*, I. 29. S. Konow accepts Jayaswal's identification, Bahasatimita = Pushyamitra.

mentioned in the *Hāthīgumphā* Inscription of the Kaliṅga monarch. Prof. Dubreuil also seems to endorse the view that Khāravela was an antagonist of Pushyamitra, and that the Hāthīgumphā Inscription is dated the 165th year of *Rāja-Muriya-kāla* (era of king Maurya) which corresponds to the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, points out [1] that of the six letters of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription which have been read as *Bahasati-mitam*, the second letter seems to have a clear *u* sign attached to it, and the third and fourth letters look like *pa* and *sa*. Even if the reading *Bahasati-mitam*, or *Bahapati-mitam*, be accepted as correct, the identification of Bahasati (Bṛihaspati-mitra) with Pushyamitra merely on the ground that Bṛihaspati is the regent of the *nakshatra* or zodiacal asterism Pushya, also named Tishya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab, cannot be regarded as final in the absence of more convincing evidence.[2] In this connection we should note that the *Divyāvadāna*[3] distinguishes between a king named " Vṛihaspati " and king Pushyamitra,[4] and represents Pāṭaliputra as the residence of the latter whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Khāravela is possibly called " *Rājagahanapa* "[5] and apparently resided in the city of Rājagṛiha.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 189. *Cf.* Allan, *CICAI*, p. xcviii.

[2] *Cf.* Chanda in *IHQ*, 1929, p. 594 ff.

[3] Pp. 433-34.

[4] It is not suggested that Vṛihaspati of the *Divyāvadāna* is necessarily to be identified with any king named Bṛihaspatimitra mentioned in inscriptions, though the possibility is not entirely excluded. What we mean to point out is that the name " Bṛihaspati " is not to be equated with Pushyamitra, simply because Bṛihaspati is the " regent " of the asterism *Pushya*, because in literature ' Vṛihaspati,' ' Pushyadharman ' and ' Pushyamitra ' occur as names of *distinct* individuals. Regarding the proposed identification of Pushyamitra with Bṛihaspatimitra. see also *IHQ*, 1930, p. 23.

[5] *Cf.* Lüders' reading, Ep. Ind., X, App. No. 1345. With Jayaswal S. Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, I. 26) reads " *Rājagaham upapīḍāpayati*," though he admits that " *Rāja gahanapa* (*ṃ*) *pīḍāpayati* " is also possible.

The date "165th year of the *Muriyakāla*" was deduced from a passage of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription which was read as follows:[1]—"*Pānaṁtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochchhine*.........". There is another passage in the same inscription which runs thus:—*Paṁchame cha dānī vase Naṁda-rāja ti-vasa-sata* (*m* ?)—*oghāṭitaṃ Tanasuliya-vāṭā-panāḍiṁ nagaraṁ pavesayati.*[2] If *Pānaṁ-tariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate* be taken to mean "in the 165th year," *ti-vasa-sata* should be taken to mean 103 years and we shall have to conclude that Khāravela flourished some 165 years after a Maurya king and only 103 years after Nandarāja which is impossible as the Nandas preceded the Mauryas. If, on the other hand, *ti-vasa-sata* be taken to mean 300 years, *pānaṁtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sata* should be taken to mean not 165 but 6,500 years. In other words Khāravela will have to be placed 6,500 years after a Maurya which is also impossible. Jayaswal himself subsequently gave up the reading "...*Pānaṁtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochchhine cha chhe-yaṭhi Argasi ti kaṁtāriyaṁ upādiyati*" in line 16, and proposed to read "*Paṭāliko chatare cha veḍuriyagabhe thaṃbhe patiṭhāpayati pānatariyā sata-sahasehi. Muriya kālaṁ vochhiṁnaṁ cha choyaṭhi agasatikaṁtariyaṁ upādāyati.*" He translated the passage thus:—"on the lower-roofed terrace (*i.e.*, in the *verandah*) he establishes columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of 75,00,000 (*Paṇas*); he (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted and being of an interval of 64 with a century."[3] With regard to this new reading and

[1] *Cf.* Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Actes du sixième congrès international des Orientalistes.* Pt. III, Section 2, pp. 133 ff.; Jayaswal *JBORS*, 1917, p. 459.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 455. For the interpretation of the passage, see p. 182 *supra*. S. Konow translates it differently:—" And now in the fifth year he has the aqueduct which was shut (or opened) in the year 103 (during the reign of) the Nanda king, conducted into the town from Tanasuliya Vāṭa."

[3] JBORS, Vol. IV, Part IV, p. 394 f.

translation Mr. R. P. Chanda observed[1] "the rendering of *vochhine* as 'counted' is even more far-fetched than 'expired.' The particle *cha* after *vochhine* makes it difficult to read it as *vochhinam* qualifying the substantive *Muriya-kālam*. Even if we overlook *vochhine*, the passage appears to be a very unusual way of stating a date. Still more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in a *praśasti* " According to Fleet the use of the term "*vochchhina*" which is applied to sacred texts which have been 'cut off,' 'interrupted'—quite prohibits the existence of a date. It may be added that there is no reliable evidence of the existence of a *Rāja-Muriya-kāla* in the sense of an era founded by the first Maurya. The use of regnal years by Aśoka points to the same conclusion.[2] Jayaswal himself admits in the *Epigraphia Indica*,[3] that "there is no date in a Maurya era in the 16th line," of the Hāthīgumphā inscription.[4]

[1] M. A. S. I., No. 1, p. 10. *Cf.* also **S. Konow** in *Acta Orientalia*, I, 14-21. Like Fleet **S. Konow** finds no date in the passage, but regards the reading *Rāja Muriya kāla* as certain. According to him Khāravela restored some texts missing in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta. Dr. Barua does not regard the reading Muriya as certain.

[2] An era of Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, is however, mentioned in an ancient Jain MS. (EHI[4], p. 202n). If we refer the year 164 to this era, the date of Khāravela must be brought down to (*cir.* 224 – 164 =) 60 B. C. In "*A Note on the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela.*" Barnett suggests the following rendering of the passage which is supposed to contain the words *Muriya-kāla*. "And when the Mauryan (?) time-reckoning ...... which consisted of lustres (*antara*) of five (years) each, had broken down, he found (a new time-reckoning) consisting of lustres of 7 years each (*saptikāntarīyam*) and mounting up to the 64th year (*chatuḥ shashṭyagram*)." To reform the calendar Khāravela introduced a new cycle of 64 years consisting of 9 *Yugas* of 7 years each. According to Dr. F. W. Thomas (JRAS, 1922, 84) *antara* = *antargṛiha* = cell. The passage means that cells which had been left unfinished during the time of the Maurya kings were constructed by Khāravela.

[3] XX. 74.

[4] His latest reading of the inscriptional passage is as follows:—

"*Paṭalako chaturo cha veḍūriya-gabhe thaṁbhe patiṭhāpayati, pānātarīya sata-sahase(hi); Muriya-kāla-vochhinaṁ cha choyaṭh(i) Aṁga satika (ṁ) turiyaṁ upādayati.*"

"Paṭaluka(?) ... .. (he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands; (he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the sevenfold *Aṁgas* of the sixty-four (letters)." *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 80, 89.

Dr. Jayaswal at one time took *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300 years and placed Khāravela and Pushyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandavardhana. But we have already seen that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king and that the Śaiśunāgas do not appear to have had anything to do with Kaliṅga. "It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas' or the old reigning families. So we should identify '*Naṁdarāja*' of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, who held possession of Kaliṅga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons." [1] Professor Barua objects to the identification of "*Naṁdarāja*," the conqueror of Kaliṅga, with a king of the pre-Aśokan Nanda line on the ground that in the Aśokan inscriptions it is claimed that Kaliṅga was not conquered before Aśoka. But such claims are on a par with the Gupta boast that Samudra Gupta was *ajita-rājajetā*, conqueror of unconquered kings,[2] and that the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice had been revived, after a long period of abeyance, by him. We know that as a matter of fact the claims, if taken too literally, had very little substance in them. The suggestion in the *Cambridge History of Ancient India* that Nandarāja may have been a local ruler of Kaliṅga is negatived by the internal evidence of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription.[3] A post-Aśokan "neo-Nanda" line of Magadha is also unknown to sober history.

As Mahāpadma Nanda and his sons ruled in the fourth century B. C., Khāravela is to be assigned either to the third century B. C. (taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103)[4] or to the

[1] M. A. S. I., No. I, p. 12.

[2] Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. cx. *Cf.* Jahāngir's boast that "not one of the mighty emperors has conquered" Kangra, (*ASI*, *AR*, 1905-6, p. 11).

[3] *Cf.* the passage—"*Naṁdarāja nītaṁcha Kaliṁgajinasaṁnivesam*" which proves clearly that Nanda was an outsider.

[4] Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 22-26) accepts the date 103, but refers it (along with another date, 113, which he, with Fleet, finds in line 11) to a Jaina era.

first century B. C. (taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300). In neither case could he be regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra who ruled from about 187 to 151 B. C.

The Yavana Invasion.

The only undoubted historical events of Pushyamitra's time, besides the *coup d'etat* of *c.* 187 B. C. and the Vidarbha war, are the Greek invasion from the North-West referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa, and the celebration of two horse-sacrifices.

Patañjali is usually regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the passage in the *Mahābhāshya—iha Pushyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ*: "here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra"—which is cited as an illustration of the *Vārttika* teaching the use of the present tense to denote an action which has been begun but not finished.[1] The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, "*arunad Yavanaḥ Sāketam: arunad Yavano Madhyamikām.*" This, says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, shows that a certain *Yavana* or Greek prince had besieged Sāketa or Ayodhyā and another place called Madhyamikā[2] when Patañjali wrote this. It is, however, possible that the instances cited by the great grammarian are stock illustrations (*mūrdhābhishikta udāharaṇa*) which are simply

This era he is inclined to identify with that of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. Apparently he is not aware of the existence of another Jaina reckoning, *viz.*, the era of Samprati. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Ep. Ind.*, XX. 75) now assigns the date 103 to a Nanda era and says that the date refers to the time when the Tanasuliya Canal, which Khāravela extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 300.

2 Nāgari near Chitor; *cf. Mbh.*, II. 32.8. *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 267.

quoted by him from earlier authorities. But a war with Greeks in the days of Pushyamitra is vouched for by Kālidāsa. In his *Mālavikāgnimitram* the poet refers to a conflict between prince Vasumitra, grandson and general of Pushyamitra, and a Yavana on the southern (or right) bank of the Sindhu.[1] Unfortunately the name of the leader of the invaders is not given either in the *Mahābhāshya* or in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*. There is considerable divergence of opinion with regard to his identity. But all agree that he was a Bactrian Greek.

The **Bactrian Greeks** were originally subjects of the Seleukidan Empire of Syria (and Western Asia). We learn from Strabo, Trogus and Justin that "about the middle of the third century B. C. when the Seleukid rulers were pre-occupied in the west" Diodotos, "Governor of the thousand cities of Bactria," revolted and assumed the title of king. He was succeeded, according to Justin, by his son Diodotos II who entered into an alliance with Arsakes who about this time tore Parthia from the Seleukidan Empire.

The successor of Diodotos II was Euthydemos. We learn from Strabo[2] that Euthydemos and his party occasioned the revolt of all the country near the province of Bactriana. We are told by Polybius that Antiochos III of Syria made an attempt to recover the lost provinces but afterwards made peace with Euthydemos. The historian says, "Antiochos the Great received the young prince (Demetrios, son of Euthydemos) and judging from his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal honour he first promised to give him one of his daughters, and secondly, conceded the royal

[1] The Indus or possibly a stream of the same name in Central India (*cf.* IHQ, 1925, 215).

[2] H. & F.'s Tr., Vol. II, p. 251.

title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemos. He crossed the Caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

Not long after the expedition of Antiochos the Great, the Bactrian Greeks themselves formed the design of extending their kingdom by the conquest of the territories lying to the south of the Hindukush. Strabo says, "the Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis [1] to the east and reached Isamus [2]) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene (the Indus Delta), but of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surāshṭra or Kāthiāwār), and Sigerdis (probably Sāgara-dvīpa)[3] which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodorus in short says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni." [4]

[1] *i.e.*, the Hyphasis or Vipāśā (the Beas).

[2] The Trisāmā ? In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (V. 19, 17) a river of this name is mentioned in conjunction with the Kauśikī, Mandākinī, Yamunā, etc.

[3] *Mahābhārata*, II. 31. 66, Cutch?

[4] *Strabo*, Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, pp. 252-53.

Strabo gives the credit for spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the east into India partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-in-law of Antiochos the Great.

Menander has been identified with the king Milinda who is mentioned in the *Milinda-pañho* as a contemporary of the Buddhist *Thera* (Elder) Nāgasena, and also in the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* of Kshemendra.[1] This monarch was born at Kalsigrāma[2] in the "Island" of Alasanda or Alexandria[3] and had his capital at Sāgala or Śākala, modern Śiālkoṭ, in the Pañjāb,[4] and not at Kābul as Dr. Smith seemed to think.[5] The extent of his conquests is indicated by the great variety and wide diffusion of his coins which have been found over a very wide extent of country as far west as Kābul and as far east as Mathurā.[6] The author of the *Periplus* states that small silver coins, inscribed with Greek characters and bearing the name of Menander were still current in his time (*cir.* 60-80 A.D.) at the port of Barygaza (Broach). Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The statement of Plutarch is important as showing that Menander's dominions included many cities.

Demetrios has been identified by some with king Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[7] the "great Emetreus, the king of Inde" of Chaucer's *Knightes Tale* and Timitra of a Besnagar seal.[8] The wide extent of his conquests is proved by the existence of several cities named

[1] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins, Indian Museum*, p. 3.
[2] Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, p. 83.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 82 (CHI, 550).
[4] *Ibid*, pp. 3, 14.
[5] EHI., 1914, p. 225.
[6] SBE., Vol. XXXV, p. xx.
[7] I. 139, 23.
[8] EHI⁴, p. 255n

after him or his father in Afghanistān as well as India. Thus in the work of Isidor of Charax [1] we have a reference to a city named Demetriaspolis in Arachosia. The *Mahābhāshya* and the *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar) of Kramadīśvara mention a city in Sauvīra called Dāttāmitrī.[2] Ptolemy the Geographer mentions the city of Euthymedia (Euthydemia [3]) which was identical with Śākala,[4] and was, according to the *Milindapañho*, the capital of an Indo-Greek kingdom in the time of Menander.

It is permissible to conjecture that one of the two conquering kings, *viz.*, Menander and Demetrios, was identical with the Yavana leader who penetrated to Sāketa in Oudh, Madhyamikā near Chitor, and the river Sindhu possibly in Central India, in the time of Pushyamitra. Goldstücker, Smith and many other scholars identified the invader with Menander who crossed the Hypanis (Beas) and penetrated as far as the Isamus (Trisāmā [5] ?). On the other hand, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested, in his *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, the identification of the invader with Demetrios. We learn from Polybius that Demetrios was a young man at the time of Antiochos III's invasion (*cir.* 206 B.C.). Justin says that Demetrios was "king of the Indians" when Eukratides was king of the Bactrians and Mithridates was king of the Parthians. "Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, **Eukratides** began to reign among the Bactrians ; both of them being great men...Eukratides carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrios, king of the Indians, with a

[1] JRAS., 1915, p. 830.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1911. *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population* ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii. 11, 176, Kramadiśvara, p. 796.

[3] *Cf.* Nonnos, McCrindle's *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 200.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, pp. 349-50.

[5] As already stated, Trisāmā is a river mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of 60,000 enemies." Dr. Smith assigns Mithridates to the period from 171 to 136 B.C. Eukratides and Demetrios must also be assigned to that period, that is, the middle of the second century B.C.[1]

We have seen that Demetrios was a young man and a prince in or about 206 B.C. We now find that he ruled as king of the Indians in the middle of the second century B.C. He was, therefore, the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra who ruled from *c.* 187 to 151 B.C. Menander, on the other hand, must have ruled over the Indo-Greek kingdom much later, as will be apparent from the facts noted below. Justin tells us that Demetrios was deprived of his Indian possessions by Eukratides.[2] Eukratides was killed by his son with whom he had shared his throne.[3] The identity of the parricide is uncertain but no one says that he was Menander.[4]

Justin furnishes the important information that the prince who murdered Eukratides was a colleague of his father. We know that Greek rulers who reigned conjointly sometimes issued joint coins. Thus we have joint coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, of Strato and Agathokleia, of Strato I and Strato II, and of Hermaios and Kalliope. The only

[1] Eukratides assumed the title "Great" before 162 B.C. (*The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 14).

[2] Watson's tr., p. 277.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 277.

[4] According to Cunningham and Smith the parricide was Apollodotos. But Rapson shows good reasons for believing that Apollodotos did not belong to the family of Eukratides, but was, on the other hand, a ruler of Kāpiśa who was ousted by Eukratides (JRAS, 1905, pp. 784-85). Rawlinson points out (*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p. 73) that Apollodotos uses the epithet Philopator, and the title would be somewhat incongruous if he were a parricide. It may be argued that the parricide was Apollodotos Soter and not Apollodotos Philopator, but we should remember that the titles Soter and Philopator sometimes occur on the same coin (Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. 48) and therefore it is impossible to justify the separation of Apollodotos Soter and Apollodotos Philopator as two entities.

Greeks whose names and portraits appear on a coin or medallion together with those of Eukratides are **Heliokles** and his wife Laodike. Gardner suggested that Heliokles and Laodike were the father and mother of Eukratides. But Von Sallet [1] proposed an entirely different interpretation of the coins in question. He thought that they were issued by Eukratides, not in honour of his parents, but on the occasion of the marriage of his son Heliokles with a Laodike whom Von Sallet conjectured to have been daughter of Demetrios by the daughter of Antiochos III. If Von Sallet's conjecture be accepted then it is permissible to think that Heliokles was the colleague of Eukratides referred to by Justin, and the murderer of his father.

It is clear from what has been stated above that Demetrios was succeeded by Eukratides, who, in his turn, was followed by Heiiokles. Menander could not have reigned earlier than Heliokles. It may, however, be argued that after Demetrios the Indo-Greek kingdom split up into two parts : one part which included the Trans-Indus territories was ruled by Enkratides and his son, the other part which included Euthymedia (Euthydemia) or Śākala was ruled by Menander who thus might have been a younger contemporary of Eukratides (*cir.* 171 B.C.) and consequently of Pushyamitra (*cir.* 187-151 B.C.).

Now, the disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after Demetrios may be accepted as an historical fact. The existence of two rival Greek kingdoms in India and their mutual dissensions are proved by literary and numismatic evidence. The *Purāṇas* say :

Bhavishyantīha Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ
naiva mūrdhābhishiktās te bhavishyanti narādhipāḥ
yuga-dosha-durāchārā bhavishyanti nṛpās tu te
strīṇām bāla-vadhenaiva hatvā chaiva parasparam.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1880, p. 256.

"There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder ; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children [1] and *killing one another*, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the *Kali* age." [2]

The *Gārgī Saṁhitā* informs us :

Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha durmadāḥ
Teshām anyonya saṁbhāvā (?) *bhavishyanti na saṁśayaḥ*
Ātma-chakrotthitaṁ ghoram yuddhaṁ parama-dāruṇam.

"The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in the *Madhyadeśa* (Mid-India); there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused between themselves." [3]

Coins bear testimony to struggles between kings of the **house of Eukratides** and kings of the **family of Euthydemos**. But the evidence which we possess clearly indicates that the contemporaries and rivals of Eukratides and Heliokles were **Apollodotos, Agathokleia** and **Strato I**, and not Menander. Certain square bronze coins of Eukratides have on the obverse a bust of the king and the legend "*Basileus Megalou Eukratidou.*" On the reverse there is the figure of Zeus and the legend "*Kavisiye nagara-devatā.*" They are often coins of Apollodotos restruck.[4] From this it is clear that Apollodotos was a rival of Eukratides, and was superseded in the rule of Kāpiśa, which lay in the district identified with Kāfiristān and the valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir, by the latter. Rapson further points out[5] that Heliokles

[1] *Cf.* Cunn. *AGI.* Revised Ed. 274; *Camb. Hist. Ind.* I. 376. "The Macedonians... gave away to a fury of blood-lust, sparing neither woman nor child."
[2] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 56, 74.
[3] Kern, *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, p. 38.
[4] Rapson, JRAS, 1905, 785.
[5] JRAS, 1905, pp. 165 ff.

restruck the coins of Agathokleia and Strato I ruling conjointly. Further, the restriking is always by Heliokles, never by Agathokleia and Strato I. From this it is clear that Agathokleia and Strato I ruled over an Indo-Greek principality either before, or in the time of Heliokles, but not after him.

We have seen that according to the evidence of Justin and the Kāpiśa coins Eukratides fought against two rivals, namely, Demetrios and Apollodotos ; his son Heliokles also fought against two rivals, namely, Agathokleia and Strato I. As Demetrios and Apollodotos were both antagonists of Eukratides and used the same coin-types, the inevitable inference is that they were very near in time as well as in relationship to one another, in fact that one immediately followed the other. Now Demetrios was beyond doubt the son and successor of Euthydemos, consequently Apollodotos must have been his successor.

As Heliokles was a son of Eukratides, the rival of Apollodotos, he must have been a younger contemporary of Apollodotos. Consequently Heliokles' antagonists, Agathokleia and Strato I, whose coins he restruck, were very near in time to Apollodotos. Strato I later on ruled conjointly with his grandson Strato II. There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrios to Strato II. According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Milinda-pañho*, Milinda or Menander flourished "500 years"[1] after the *Parinirvāṇa, parinibbānato pañchavassa sate atikkante ete upajjissanti.*[2] This tradition probably points to a date in the first century B.C. for Menander. Thus both according to numismatic evidence and literary tradition Menander could not have been the Indo-Greek

[1] *i.e.*, in the fifth century (*cf.* Smith EHI, 3rd edition, 328).

[2] Trenckner, the *Milinda-pañho*, p. 3.

contemporary of Pushyamitra. It is Demetrios who should, therefore, be identified with the Yavana invader referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa, one of whose armies was defeated by Prince Vasumitra.[1]

The Aśvamedha Sacrifices.

After the victorious wars with Vidarbha (Berar) and the Yavanas Pushyamitra celebrated two horse-sacrifices. These sacrifices are regarded by some scholars as marking an early stage in the Brāhmaṇical reaction which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudra Gupta and his successors. Late Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Pushyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni. But the Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut erected "during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas" do not bear out the theory that the Śuṅgas, among whom Pushyamitra is included by the *Purāṇas*, were the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism, kings of the line of Pushyamitra do not appear to have been as intolerant as some writers represent them to be.

The Mantri-parishad in the days of Pushyamitra.

Patañjali refers to the *Sabhā* of Pushyamitra. But it is uncertain as to whether the term refers to a Royal *Durbar*, a tribunal of justice, or a Council of Magnates. The existence of Councils or Assemblies of Ministers (*Mantri-Parishad*) is, however, vouched for by Kālidāsa. If the poet is to be

[1] S. Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, I. 35) points out that there is no evidence that Menander transgressed the river Yamunā, and that Demetrios was the ruler who besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā. In IHQ, 1929, p. 403, Mr. R. P. Chanda regards Strabo's attribution of the Indian conquests to Demetrios as doubtful. But the cities in the Pañjāb and the Lower Indus Valley named after Demetrios and his father leave no room for doubt that Strabo is right.

believed the Council continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery. He gives us the important information that even viceregal princes were assisted by *Parishads.*[1] The *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers in clear terms to the dealings of Prince Agnimitra, the Viceroy of Vidiśa (in Eastern Mālwa), with his *Parishad* :

" *Deva evam Amātya-parishado vijñāpayāmi* " [2]
" *Mantri-parishado'pyetad-eva darśanam*
Dvidhā vibhaktāṁ śriyam-udvahantau
dhuraṁ rathāśvāviva saṁgrahītuḥ
tau sthāsyatas-te nṛipater nideśe
paraspar-āvagraha-nirvikārau [3]

Rājā : tena hi Mantri-parishadaṁ brūhi senānye Vīra-senāya lekhyatām evaṁ kriyatām iti." [4]

It seems that the *Amātya-parishad* or *Mantri-parishad* was duly consulted whenever an important matter of foreign policy had to be decided upon.

[1] Bühler (*Ep. Ind.* III. 137) points out that Aśoka's *Kumāras* were also each assisted by a body of *Mahāmātras.* These may have corresponded to the *Kumārāmātyas* of the Gupta period.

[2] " King ! I will announce this decision to the Council of Ministers."

[3] " This is also the view of the (Council of) Ministers. Those two kings, upbearing the fortune of their superior lord divided between them, as the horses upbear the yoke of the charioteer, will remain firm in their allegiance to thee, not being distracted by mutual attacks." Act V, verse 14.

[4] " King : Tell the Council then to send to the General Vīrasena written instructions to this effect." (Tawney, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, pp. 89-90.)

SECTION II. AGNIMITRA AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Pushyamitra died in or about 151 B.C., probably after a reign of 36 years,[1] and was succeeded by his son **Agnimitra.**[2] The name of a prince named Agnimitra has been found on several copper coins discovered in Rohilkhand. Cunningham[3] was of opinion that this prince was probably not to be identified with the son of Pushyamitra, but belonged to a local dynasty of North Pañchāla (Rohilkhand). He gave two reasons for this conclusion :

1. Agnimitra's is the only coin-name found in the Purāṇic lists. The names of the other "Mitra" kings occurring on coins of the so-called "Pañchāla series," do not agree with those found in the *Purāṇas.*

2. The coins are very rarely found beyond the limits of North Pañchāla.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac[4] and Jayaswal[5] have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra can

[1] Only thirty years according to a Jaina tradition—" *aṭṭhasayaṁ Muriyāṇaṁ tisaṁ cia Pūsamittassa* " (IA. 1914. 118 f. Merutuṅga).

[2] The commentary on the *Amarakośa* seems to suggest that Agnimitra is the original of king Śūdraka of tradition (Oka, p. 122; *Ann. Bhand. Or Res. Inst.*, 1931. 360). On the other hand Keith refers to a tradition recorded in the *Vīra carita* and by the younger Rājaśekhara which represents Śūdraka as a minister of a Sātavāhana king. We are further told by another writer that Śūdraka defeated prince Svāti and ru'ed for a long time. A tale alluded to in the *Harsha charita* represents him as an enemy of Chandraketu, lord of Chakora, apparently in South India (Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 129; *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 292; Ghosh, *History of Central and Western India*, pp. 141 f.). The story of Śūdraka is essentially legendary and it is difficult to extract any historical truth out of it. The abeyance of Sātavāhana power in the Upper Deccan for a long period is a fact. But it is due to the irruption of foreign tribes from the north. Disloyal ministers may have helped to bring in the invader.

[3] *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79. *Cf.* Allan, *CICAI.*, p. cxx.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1880, 311.

[5] JBORS, 1917, p. 479. *Cf.* 1934, pp. 7 ff.

be identified with those found in the Purāṇic lists of Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings; for example, Bhadra-ghosha may be identified with Ghosha, the seventh king of the Purāṇic list of Śuṅga kings. Bhūmimitra may be identified with the Kāṇva king of that name. Jethamitra, who is identified with the successor of Agnimitra, Vasu-Jyeshṭha or Su-Jyeshṭha, who is called simply Jyeshṭha in the *k Vishṇu* manuscript,[1] no doubt left coins that belong to a different series. But even he is closely connected with an Agnimitra. Several names indeed cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vasudeva Kāṇva, and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the so-called Andhras and Śiśunandi.[2]

As to the second point we should remember that " Mitra " coins, even those which undoubtedly belong to the so-called Pañchāla series, have been found in Oudh, the Basti district, and even Pāṭaliputra, as well as in Pañchāla. Names of two " Mitra " kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, of whom the latter undoubtedly belonged to the Pañchāla group, are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh Gayā as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā, Pañchāla and Kumrahar.[3] In the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the " Mitras " in question were a local dynasty of North Pañchāla.

1 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31, n. 12. *Cf.* Allan, *CICAI.*, p. xcvi.

2 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.

3 Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 84, 88; Allan *CICAI.*, pp. cxix, cxx; Marshall, *Archaeological Survey Report for 1907-8*, p. 40; Bloch *ASR*, 1908-9, p. 147; IHQ, 1930, pp. 1 ff. The name *Im .....tra* occurs in a mutilated inscription on a rail pillar at Bodh Gayā with the title *Rāño* added before it. Marshall, Bloch and Rapson agree in identifying king *Im...tra* with Indramitra of coins. Bloch further identifies him with Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra, husband of Āryā Kuraṅgī, whose name occurs on certain pieces of coping. The epithet Kauśikīputra reminds one of Paṇḍita Kauśikī of the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act I). The Kuśika family was apparently intimately associated with the rulers of the age. Kauśikī mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* was sister to the minister of a prince of Berar. The sister of the prince himself was one of the queens of Agnimitra. King Brahmamitra is the husband of Nāgadevī, another prominent donor mentioned in the epigraphs.

Agnimitra's successor, as we have already seen, was Jyeshṭha of the *k Vishṇu* manuscript, who is very probably identical with **Jeṭhamitra** of the coins.[1]

The next king **Vasumitra** was a son of Agnimitra. During the life-time of his grandfather he had led the imperial army against the Yavanas and defeated them on the Sindhu (possibly in Central India) which probably formed the boundary between the empire of Pushyamitra and the Indo-Greek territories.

Vasumitra's successor is called Bhadraka in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Ārdraka and Odruka in the *Vishṇu*, Andhraka in the *Vāyu*, and Antaka in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Jayaswal identified him with Udāka, a name occurring in a Pabhosā inscription. The epigraph has been translated thus: "By Āsāḍhasena, the son of Gopālî Vaihidarî and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopālî, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kassapiya Arhats." We learn from another Pabhosā inscription that Āsāḍhasena belonged to the royal family of Adhichhatrā (Ahichhatrā), the capital of North Pañchāla. Jayaswal maintained that Odraka (identified with Udāka) was the paramount Śuṅga sovereign, while the family of Āsāḍhasena was either gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne. Marshall,[2] on the other hand, identified the fifth Śuṅga with king Kāśîputra[3] **Bhāgabhadra** mentioned in a Garuḍa Pillar Inscription found in the old city of Vidiśā, now Besnagar. Jayaswal identified Bhāgabhadra with Bhāga Śuṅga, *i.e.*, Bhāgavata of the *Purāṇas*. This theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription (of the

[1] *Coins o Ancien India*, p. 74. Allan, *CICAI.*, xcvi. Note the connection of Jeṭhamitra with Agnimitra. The name of a Jyeshṭhamitra is said to occur also in a Brāhmî inscription on certain stone fragments recently discovered at Kosam (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, July 11, 1936, p. 5).

[2] *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 11 n.

[3] Sircar suggests Kautsîputra.

twelfth year after the installation of Mahārāja **Bhāgavata**) which proves that there was at Vidiśā a king named Bhāgavata apart from king Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting "Udāka" with Vidiśā it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhāgavata. The view of Marshall seems to be more probable.[1]

It appears that the successors of Agnimitra at Vidiśā cultivated friendly relations with the Greek sovereigns of the Pañjāb. The policy of the Bactrian Greeks in this respect resembled that of their Seleukidan predecessors. Seleukos, we know, first tried to conquer the Magadha Empire, but, frustrated in his attempts, thought it prudent to make friends with the Mauryas. The Bactrians, too, after the reverses they sustained at the hands of Pushyamitra's general, apparently gave up, for a time at least, their hostile attitude towards the imperial power in the Ganges valley. We learn from the Besnagar Inscription of the reign of Bhāgabhadra that Heliodora (Heliodoros), the son of Diya (Dion), a native of Taxila, came as an ambassador from *Mahārāja* Aṁtalikita (**Antialkidas**) to *Rājan* Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra the Saviour (*Trātāra*) who was prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign. The ambassador, though a Greek, professed the *Bhāgavata* religion and set up a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* in honour of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa), the god of gods. He was apparently well-versed in the *Mahābhārata*[2] which he might have heard recited in his native city of Taxila.

[1] Dr. Barua points out (IHQ, 1930, 23) that "in the absence of the word *rājño* preceding *Udākasa*, it is difficult to say at once whether Udāka is the personal name of a king or the local name of the place where the cave was excavated."

[2] The three immortal precepts (lit steps to immortality) (*dama*, *chāga* and *apramāda*, self-control, self-denial and watchfulness), mentioned in the second part of Heliodora's inscription, occur in the *Mahābhārata* (V. 43.22; XI. 7.23 : *Damas- tyāgo' pramādaścha te trayo Brahmaṇo hayāh*). *Cf.* also *Gītā*, XVI. 1.2. See JASB, 1922, pp. 269-271; ASI, 1908-1909, p. 126; IHQ, 1932, 610; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1918-19, p. 59.

Nothing in particular is known regarding the three immediate successors of Bhadraka. The ninth king Bhāgavata had a long reign which extended over 32 years. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies him with the *Mahārāja* Bhāgavata mentioned in one of the Besnagar Inscriptions referred to above. Bhāgavata's successor **Devabhūti** or Devabhūmi was a young and dissolute prince. The *Purāṇas* state that he was overthrown after a reign of 10 years by his *Amātya* or minister Vasudeva. Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* says that the over-libidinous Śuṅga was bereft of his life by his *Amātya* Vasudeva with the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman (*Dāsī*), disguised as his queen. Bāṇa's statement does not necessarily imply that Devabhūti was identical with the murdured Śuṅga. His statement may be construed to mean that Vasudeva entered into a conspiracy with the emissaries of Devabhūti to bring about the downfall of the reigning Śuṅga (Bhāgavata), and to raise Devabhūti to the throne. But in view of the unanimous testimony of the *Purāṇas* this interpretation of the statement of Bāṇa cannot be upheld.

The Śuṅga power was not altogether extinguished after the tragic end of Devabhūti. It probably survived in Central India[1] till the rise of the so-called Andhras, Andhrabhṛityas or Sātavāhanas who "swept away the remains of the Śuṅga power" and probably appointed Siśunandi[2] to govern the Vidiśā region. Siśunandi's younger brother had a grandson (*dauhitra*) named Siśuka who became the ruler of Purikā. Curiously enough Siśuka is also the Purāṇic name of the first king of the so-called Andhra dynasty. It is not improbable that the two Siśukas were identical, and that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Siśuka (Simuka of the Inscriptions) annexed Purikā but placed Vidiśā under his maternal relations.

1 *Cf. Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.
2 *Ibid*, 49.

Section III. Importance of the Baimbika-Śuṅga Period of Indian History.

The rule of the emperors of the house of Pushyamitra marks an important epoch in the history of India in general and of Central India in particular. The renewed incursions of the Yavanas, which once threatened to submerge the whole of the *Madhyadeśa*, received a check, and the Greek dynasts of the borderland reverted to the prudent policy of their Seleukidan precursors. There was an outburst of activity in the domains of religion, literature and art, comparable to that of the glorious epoch of the Guptas. In the history of these activities the names of three Central Indian localities stand pre-eminent: Vidiśā (Besnagar), Gonarda and Bhārhut. As Foucher points out " it was the ivory-workers of Vidiśā who carved, in the immediate vicinity of their town, one of the monumental gates of Sāñchī." Inscriptions at Vidiśā (and Ghosuṇḍī) testify to the growing importance and wide prevalence of the *Bhāgavata* religion. Though no Aśoka arose to champion this faith, the missionary propaganda of its votaries must have been effective even in the realms of Yavana princes, and a Yavana *dūta* or ambassador was one of its most notable converts. Gonarda[1] was the traditional birth-place of the celebrated Patañjali, the greatest literary genius of the period. Bhārhut saw the construction of the famous railing which has made the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas (*Suganaṁ raja*) immortal.

[1] See IHQ, 1926, 267. According to the *Sutta Nipāta* Gonarda stood midway between Ujjain and Besnagar (Vidiśā)—*Carm. Lec.* 1918, 4; *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Jan., 1935, pp. 1 ff. (Sircar's trans. of S. Lévi's note on Gonarda).

CHAPTER VII. THE FALL OF THE MAGADHAN AND INDO-GREEK POWERS.

SECTION I. THE KĀṆVAS, THE LATER ŚUṄGAS AND THE LATER MITRAS.

Vasudeva at whose instance the "over-libidinous Śuṅga" was "reft of his life" founded about 75 B.C. a new line of kings known as the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty. The *Purāṇas* give the following account of this family. "He (Vasudeva), the Kāṇvāyana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign 10 years. These are remembered as the *Śuṅga-bhṛitya* Kāṇvāyana kings. These four Kāṇva Brāhmaṇas will enjoy the earth. They will be righteous. In succession to them the earth[1] will pass to the Andhras." **Bhūmimitra** may have been identical with the king of that name known from coins.[2]

The chronology of the Kāṇva dynasty is a matter of controversy. In his *Early History of the Deccan*, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes, "the founder of the Andhra-bhṛityas is said to have uprooted not only the Kāṇvas, but

[1] Possibly only Eastern Mālwa where stood the later "Śuṅga" capital Vidiśā or Besnagar.

[2] Mr. J. C. Ghosh is inclined to include among the Kāṇva kings a ruler named Sarvatāta who is known (from the Ghosuṇḍī Inscription, *Ind. Ant.* 1932, Nov., 203 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, xxii, 198 ff.) to have been a devotee of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva and a performer of the horse-sacrifice. But the identification of the Gājāyana family, to which the king belonged, with the Gādāyanas or Godāyanas does not seem to be plausible (*cf.* IHQ. 1933, 795 ff). There seems to be no more reason to identify the Gājāyanas with the Gādāyanas than with the Gāhāyanas or Gāṅgāyanas of the Śunaka or Kaśyapa group (Caland, Baudh. Śrauta Sūtra, III, 423-454). It is important to recall the fact that the *Harivaṁśa* refers to a *Kaśyapa dvija* as the reviver of the *Aśmedha* in the Kali Age.

'whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas.' And the Kāṇvas are pointedly spoken of as Śuṅga-bhṛityas or servants of the Śuṅgas. It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śuṅgas include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas."

Now, the Purāṇic evidence only proves that certain princes belonging to the Śuṅga stock continued to rule till the so-called "Andhra-bhṛitya" conquest and were the contemporaries of the Kāṇvas. But there is nothing to show that these *rois faineants* of the Śuṅga stock were identical with any of the ten "Śuṅga" kings mentioned by name in the Purāṇic lists, who reigned 112 years. On the contrary, the distinct testimony of the *Purāṇas* that Devabhūti, the tenth and last "Śuṅga" of the Purāṇic lists, was the person slain by Vasudeva, the first Kāṇva, probably shows that the *rois faineants*, who ruled contemporaneously with Vasudeva and his successors, were later than Devabhūti, and were not considered to be important enough to be mentioned by name. Consequently the 112 years that tradition assigns to the ten "Śuṅga" kings from Pushyamitra to Devabhūti do not include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to accept with slight modifications the views of Dr. Smith regarding the date of the family. According to the system of chronology adopted in these pages, the period of Kāṇva rule extended from *cir.* B.C. 75 to *cir.* B.C. 30.

Very little is known about the history of Magadha proper after the Kāṇvas. To reconstruct the history of the province from the fall of the Kāṇvas to the rise of the Gupta dynasty is a difficult task. The so-called Andhras or Śātavāhanas

who are represented as destroying the Kāṇva sovereignty, apparently in Eastern Mālwa, do not appear to have ruled in Magadha proper. The greatest among them are called ‘ Sovereigns of the Deccan ’ (*Dakshiṇāpathapati*) and an accurate idea of the field of their political and military activities may be obtained from the epithets ‘ *tisamuda-toya-pītavāhana*,’ ‘ whose chargers had drunk the water of the *three* oceans,’ and ‘ *trisamudrādhipati*,’ ‘ overlord of the *three* seas ’ occurring in epigraphic and literary records. The sway of rulers like the Guptas, on the other hand, is said to have extended as far as the *four* seas.

The discovery of a clay seal with the legend *Mokhaliṇam*[1] suggests that at one time the Gayā region was under the sway of Maukhari chiefs. But the precise date of the record is not known. Equally uncertain is the date of *Mahārājā* Trikamala who ruled in the same region in the year 64 of an unspecified era. Epigraphic evidence of a late date points to some connection between the Lichchhavis and Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra). But it is difficult to say how far the tradition is genuine. The only rulers of note in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, whom we know from epigraphic evidence to have ruled in Magadha and the neighbouring provinces, are the so-called ‘ Mitras.’ The prevalence of ‘ Mitra ’ rule is also hinted at by references in Jaina literature to Balamitra and Bhānumitra among the successors of Pushyamitra. From a study of available epigraphs Dr. Barua has compiled a list of ‘ Mitra kings.’ It includes the names of Bṛihatsvātimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, Brihaspatimitra, (Dhar)mamitra and Vishṇu-mitra. To these should perhaps be added the names of

[1] Fleet, CII, 14. The legend is written in Mauryan Brāhmî. The Maukharis in question may have exercised sway over some little principality under the suzerainty of the Mauryas or the Śuṅgas. Three inscriptions have recently been discovered at Baḍvā in the Kotah State in Rājputāna recording the erection of sacrificial pillars by Maukhari *Mahāsenāpatis* (generals or military governors) in the third century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.* XXIII, 52).

Varuṇamitra and Gomitra. Of these only Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra and possibly Bṛihaspatimitra are definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories. The rest are connected with Kauśāmbī and Mathurā.

It is not known in what relationship most of these " Mitra " kings stood to one another or to the celebrated families of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas.

In Pāṭaliputra as well as in Mathurā the " Mitras " seem to have been replaced by the Scythian ' Muruṇḍas ' and Satraps who, in their turn, were eventually supplanted by the Nāgas and the Guptas. Some scholars place immediately before the Guptas a family called Kota who may have ruled in Pāṭaliputra.[1]

[1] For statements in this section see Ep. Ind. VIII, 60ff; *Harshacharita* VIII, (p. 251); Cunn., *Mahābodhi*; ASI., 1908-9, 141; IHQ. 1926. 441 ; 1929, 398, 595f; 1930, 1 ff. 1933, 419; Kielhorn, N. I. Inscriptions. No. 541; *Indian Culture*, I, 695; EHI. 3rd ed. 227n; JRAS., 1912, 122; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, 185, 190, 194; Allan, CIC, AI, pp. 150 ff, 169 ff, 173 ff, 195 ff, 202 ff.

Section II. The Śātavāhanas and the Chetas.

While the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas were engaged in their petty feuds, new powers were rising in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Śātavāhana (the so-called Andhra or Andhra-bhṛitya) kingdom of Dakshiṇāpatha and the Cheta or Cheti kingdom of Kaliṅga.

The founder of the **Śātavāhana**,[1] or the so-called Andhra (? Andhra-bhṛitya), dynasty[2] was **Simuka** whose name is misspelt as Śiśuka, Sindhuka and Śipraka in the *Purāṇas*. Those works state that the Andhra Simuka will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and Suśarman, and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this "earth." If this statement be true then it cannot be denied that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C. Dr. Smith and many other scholars, however, reject the *unanimous* testimony of the *Purāṇas*. They attach more importance to a statement about which there is not the same unanimity, that the Andhras ruled for four centuries and a half. Accordingly they place Simuka towards the close of the third century B.C., and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D.

A discussion of Simuka's date involves the consideration of the following questions :—

1. What is the age of the script of the Nānāghāṭ record of Nāyanikā, daughter-in-law of Simuka ?

[1] The form Sātivāhana is found in the Bhāgalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla and the form Śālivāhana in literature. See also Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, EHD. Section VII.

[2] The designation '*Andhra-jātīya*' or 'Andhra' is found in the *Purāṇas* which represent the founder as a *bhṛitya* or servant of the last Kāṇva king. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, following apparently the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, styles the dynasty founded by Simuka *Andhra-bhṛitya*, *i.e.* Andhras who were once servants. But that designation should properly be applied to the seven Ābhiras who are mentioned as the successors of the line of Simuka on page 45 of Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (cf. *Vishṇu*, P. IV. 24.13).

2. What is the actual date of Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā Inscription which refers to a Sātakarṇi, who was apparently a successor of Simuka ?

3. What is the exact number of the so-called Andhra kings and what is the duration of their rule ?

As to the first point we should note that according to Mr. R. P. Chanda the inscription of Nāyanikā is later than the Besnagar Inscription of Bhāgavata, possibly the penultimate king of the dynasty of Pushyamitra mentioned in the *Purāṇas*.[1] Consequently Simuka may be placed in the Kāṇva period, *i.e.*, in the first century B.C.—a date which accords with Purāṇic evidence.[2]

As to the second point Mr. R. D. Banerji gives good grounds for believing that the expression *Ti-vasa-sata* occurring in the passage "*Paṁchame cha dāni vase Naṁdarāja ti-vasa-sata*............" of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription means not 103 but 300.[3] This was also the view of Mr. Chanda and, at one time, of Dr. Jayaswal.[4]

[1] MASI., No. 1, pp. 14-15. In IHQ, 1929 (p. 601) Mr. Chanda points to the agreement of the Nānāghāṭ script with the Besnagar Inscription of the time of Antialkidas. But the exact date of Antialkidas is uncertain. He may have belonged to the latter half of the second century B.C. or the first half of the next century.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, while disagreeing with the views of Mr. Chanda in regard to certain points, admits, after a detailed examination of certain epigraphs, that "the Nanaghat inscriptions show the use of a very large number of Kṣatrapa or early Kuṣaṇa forms side by side with older ones" (Mem. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 115). According to Rapson (*Andhra Coins*, lxxvii) the form of the *akshara-'da'* found in the Nānāghāṭ record resembles that of a coin-legend which is assignable to the first or second century B.C.

[2] Bühler also observes (ASWI., Vol. V, 65) that the characters of the Nānāghāṭ inscription belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edict of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Pulumāyi. Scholars who place the Nānāghāṭ record in the first half of the second century B.C., and the epigraphs of the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in the second century A.D., will have to account for the paucity of Sātavāhana records during a period of about three hundred years (if that be the actual length of the interval between the age of the husband of Nāganikā and the reign of the son of Balaśrī).

[3] JBORS., 1917, 495-497.

[4] According to the usually accepted interpretation of a passage in the Hāthīgumphā record Khāravela, in his fifth year, extended an aqueduct that had not been used

If *Ti-vasa-sata* means 300, Khāravela and his contemporary Śātakarṇi may have flourished 300 years after Nandarāja, *i.e.*, in or about 24 B. C. This agrees with the Purāṇic evidence which makes Śātakarṇi's father a contemporary of the last Kāṇva king Suśarman (*c.* 40-30 B. C.).[1]

We now come to the third point, *viz.*, the determination of the exact number of Śātavāhana kings, and the duration of their rule.

Regarding each of these matters we have got in the *Purāṇas* (both the *Matsya* and the *Vāyu*) two[2] different traditions. As to the first the *Matsya Purāṇa* says—

"*Ekona-viṁśatir*[3]*-hyete Andhrā bhokshyanti vai mahīm,*"

but it gives thirty names.[4]

The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, with the exception of the '*M*' manuscript, says—

"*Ityete vai nṛipās trimśad Andhrā bhokshyanti ye mahīm,*" but most of the *Vāyu* manuscripts name only seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen kings.

As to the duration of the Andhra rule several *Matsya* manuscripts say—

"*Teshāṁ varsha śatāni syuś chatvāri shashṭir eva cha.*"

Another *Matsya* manuscript puts it slightly differently :—

"*Dvādaśādhikam eteshāṁ rājyaṁ śata-chatushṭayam.*"

for "*ti-vasa-sata*" since Nandarāja. If "*ti-vasa-sata*" is taken to mean 103 years, Khāravela's accession must be placed 103 − 5 = 98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of *Yuvarāja* took place 9 years before that date, *i.e.*, 98 − 9 = 89 years after Nandarāja (*i.e.*, not later then 324 B. C. − 89 = 235 B. C.). Khāravela's father was apparently on the throne at that time, and he seems to have been preceded by *his* father. But we learn from Aśoka's inscriptions that Kaliṅga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya *Kumāra* under the suzerainty of Aśoka himself. Therefore "*ti-vasa-sata*" should be taken to mean 300, and not 103 years.

1 Simuka, father of Śātakarṇi I, may have ascended the throne (in the Deccan) some years before the date when he assailed the Kāṇvāyanas, possibly in Central India.

2 If not more.

3 Variant *ekoṇa-navatiṁ* (DKA, 43).

4 Pargiter points out that 3 Mss. name 30, and the others vary from 28 to 21.

While a *Vāyu* passage gives altogether a different tradition :

> "*Andhrā bhokshyanti vasudhām*
> *śate dve cha śataṁ cha vai.*"

Obviously according to one tradition there were about nineteen kings, and the rule of the line lasted 300 years, while according to another tradition there were thirty kings the length of whose reigns covered a period of more than 400 years. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of the so-called Andhra-bhṛitya dynasty, and that the longer period represents the total duration of the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of 300 years, and the seventeen, eighteen or nineteen names given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, and hinted at in the *Matsya*, refer to the main branch. That there were several families of Śātakarṇis, distinct from the main line, cannot be denied. Inscriptions in Aparānta, in Kanara and in the north of Mysore as well as the *Sūtras* of Vātsyāyana and several other works testify to the existence of lines of Śātakarṇis who ruled over Kuntala (the Kanarese districts) before the Kadambas.[1] The fullest *Matsya* list includes at least two kings of these Kuntala lines named Skandasvāti and Kuntala Śātakarṇi, who are (generally speaking) passed over in silence by the *Vāyu*.[2] *Skanda*-nāga-*Śātaka* actually appears as the name of a prince of a Kanarese line of Śātakarṇis in a Kanheri inscription.[3] As to Kuntala Śātakarṇi, the commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* takes the word "Kuntala" in the name Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana to mean "*Kuntala-*

[1] A Śātavāhana of Kuntala is referred to by the *Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā* (p. 50) as having ordered the exclusive use of *Prākrit* in his harem. He may have been identical with the famous king Hāla (*cf. Kuntala-janavaya-iṇena Hālena, ibid*, Notes, p. 9).

[2] Even Hāla is omitted in the *e Vāyu* Ms. (DKA, p. 36) and the *Brahmāṇḍa P.* (Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, lxvii).

[3] Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, liii.

vishaye jātatvāt tat-samākhyah."[1] It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the *Matsya* MSS. which mention 30 Śātavāhana kings include not only the main group of kings but also the Kuntala lines.

On the other hand, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and certain *Matsya* MSS., generally speaking, show a tendency to omit the Śātakarṇis of Kuntala and the rulers of the period of Śaka revival under Rudra-dāman I, and mention only about 19 kings most of whom belonged to the main line whose rule may have lasted for 300 years. If the main line of Śātavāhana kings consisted only of about nineteen princes, and if the duration of their rule be three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purāṇic statement that Simuka flourished in the time of the later Kāṇvas, that is to say, in the first century B.C., and that his dynasty ceased to rule in the Northern Deccan in the third century A.D. The sovereignty of the Śātakarṇis of Kuntala lasted longer and did not come to an end before the fourth century A.D., when it was ended by the Kadambas. Thus the total duration of the rule of all the lines of Śātakarṇis is really more than 400 years.[2] The kings of the Kuntala group are no doubt usually placed before the great Gautamîputra and his successors. But Pargiter points out that in certain *Matsya* MSS. most of the Kuntala Śātakarṇis are placed after the penultimate king of the line (No. 29).[3] We have many other instances of the inversion of the order of kings in the *Purāṇas*.[4] The fact

1 He was so named because he was born in the Kuntala country. *Cf.* names like Uruvela-Nadi - and Gayā Kassapa (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 194).

2 The period '300 years' may refer to the rule of the *Sriparvatiya* Andhras (DKA, 46). Even then it is important to remember that the cessation of "Andhra" rule in the upper Deccan in the third century A.D. is not incompatible with a date for the founder in the first century B.C. For the rule of the Śātakarnis survived in Kuntala till the rise of the Kadambas. Thus the *Purāṇas* are right in assigning to the entire line of 30 kings a period of about four centuries and a half.

3 DKA, p. 36. On pp. 20, 35, Pargiter gives another instance of 'misplacement' of kings by the Purāṇic MSS.

4 See pp. 89, 98 *ante*.

that the extant Purāṇic texts do misplace kings appears abundantly clear from the recent discovery of a coin of Śiva Śrī Āpilaka whom Mr. Dikshit connects with the *later* Sātavāhanas though the *Purāṇas* place him *early* in the list.[1]

[1] See *Advance*, March 10, 1935, p. 9. The coin belongs to the Mahākosala society of Raipur (C. P.). It bears the figure of an elephant with Brāhmī legend on the obverse. The reverse is blank. On numismatic grounds the place of this ruler is, according to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, more with the later kings of the dynasty than with the earlier ones as indicated in the *Purāṇas*. For the late date of Hāla of the Kuntala country see *Bhand. Com. Vol*, 189. *Cf.* Reference to Rādhā in the *Saptaśatakam* (*Ind. Ant.*, III 25n.).

Mr. K. P. Chaṭṭopādhyāya deduces from the discrepant lists of the *Matsya*, and *Vāyu purāṇas*, and from epigraphic and numismatic evidence, certain theories about (1) the existence of two *contemporary* Śātavāhana kingdoms *ruled by son and father* respectively, (2) cross-cousin marriages and (3) matrilineal succession, which he discusses in JASB, 1927, 503 ff. In his opinion the discrepancies in the Purāṇic lists cannot be due to any oversight or slip on the part of the editors (p. 504). They are to be explained by the theory of an original version (that contained in the *Matsya*) which gives the full list of Gautamīputras as well as Vāsishṭhīputras, and a "revised text" (contained in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*) which retains the Gautamīputras but from which certain names were deliberately expunged as the rulers in question were not considered by the revising authorities to possess the privilege of having the names preserved in the *Purāṇas* (p. 505). Kings (*e.g.*, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi), whose names are "expunged" from the "revised texts" of the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, belong to a "set" which is genealogically connected with the other, *viz.*, the Gautamīputra group, whose names are retained in the revised vesions, but "the succession did not coincide with the mode of descent." For instance Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, according to the revised list, was succeeded not by his son Pulumāvi, but by another Gautamīputra, *viz.*, Yajña Śrī (p. 509). It is further added that 'on the coins of the Śātavāhanas the royal prefix and the mother's clan-name are associated together and also disappear together except in the case of the third king of the line.' In the inscriptions also the association is invariable (excluding the doubtful case of Śivamakasada), except in the case of the third king, Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscriptions. It is, therefore, to be concluded that, except for the third king of the line, the royal title and relationship to the mother went together. In other words, the succession was matrilineal (p. 518); "The son succeeded to the conquered realm, and the sister's son to the inherited kingdom" (p. 527).

Now, a study of the Purāṇic lists analysed by Pargiter (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 35 ff.) would show that the discrepancies in the Purāṇic lists are not capable of as simple a solution as that proposed by Mr. Chaṭṭopādhyāya. It cannot be said, for example, that Gautamīputra (No. 23) is mentioned in all *Matsya* texts and retained in all *Vāyu* MSS., and that his son Pulumāvi (No. 24) of the so-called "Vāsishṭhīputra group," is always mentioned in the *Matsya* and omitted only in "later revised versions" of the *Vāyu*, etc. Gautamīputra is omitted in *Matsya* MSS. styled *e*, *k* and *l* by Pargiter (p. 36), and also in the *e Vāyu* MSS, while his son Pulumāv

Regarding the **original home** of the Śātavāhana family there is also a good deal of controversy. Some scholars think that the Śātavāhanas were not Andhras (Telugus) but merely Andhra-bhṛityas, servants of the Andhras, of Kanarese origin. In the *Epigraphia Indica*,[1] Dr. Sukthankar edited an inscription of Siri-Puḷumāvi, "king of the Śātavāhanas," which refers to a place called Sātavahanihāra.[2] The place finds mention also in the Hīrahadagalli copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śiva-skandavarman in the slightly altered form of Sātāhani-raṭṭha. Dr. Sukthankar suggests that the territorial division Sātavahani-Sātāhani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary district of the Madras Presidency, and that it was the original home of the Śātavāhana family. Other indications point to the territory immediately south of the *Madhyadeśa* as the original home of the

is omitted in *Matsya e, f* and *l* MSS. but mentioned in the *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* lists, notwithstanding the activities of the so-called revisers. The theory of succession of sisters' sons in the so-called revised list of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, etc., is clearly negatived by numerous passages where a successor is distinctly referred to even in these *Purāṇas* as the son of a predecessor (*cf.* the cases not only of the first Śrī Śātakarṇi but also of Śātakarṇi II, Lambodara, and even Yajña Śrī (DKA, p. 39, fn. 40, 44; p. 42, fn. 12.). It is also to be noted that even the so-called older version of the *Matsya* speaks of only 19 kings in one passage.

The Gautamīputras and the Vāsishṭhīputras did not rule over distinct regions. Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi is represented as the *Rājā* of Mūlaka, *i.e.*, the district round Paiṭhan, along with other territories. Pulumāvi, too, ruled over Paiṭhan as we learn from the Geography of Ptolemy. The epithets "*Vijha* .... *Malaya-Mahida* ...... *pavata pati*" and "*tisamudatoyapīta-vāhana*" applied to Gautamīputra suggest that he was as much entitled to the designation *Dakshiṇāpathapati* as his son.

The statement that, except for the third king, the royal title and relationship to the mother went together, is not borne out by recorded facts. In the Myākadoṇi Inscription, for example (Ep. Ind., XIV. pp. 153 ff.), we have the passage—*Raño Sātavahanānaṁ s(i) ri-Pulum(ā)visa* without any mention of the metronymic *Cf.* also the passage *Raño Sirichaḍa-sātisa* (Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, p. 32). As to cross-cousin marriages, several recorded cases, *e.g.*, those of the wives of Śrī Śātakarṇi I and Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi of the Kanheri Inscription, do not support the theory propounded by Mr. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.

1 Vol. XIV (1917).

2 See also *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1918-19, p. 21, '*On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings.*'—V. S. Sukthankar. *Cf.* JRAS., 1923, 89 f.

Sātavāhana-Sātakarṇis. The *Vinaya Texts*[1] mention a town called "*Setakannika*" which lay on the southern frontier of the *Majjhima-desa*. It is significant that the earliest records of the Sātakarṇis are found in the Northern Deccan and Central India; and the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela, king of Orissa, refers to the family as 'protecting the *West*.' The name Andhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Andhra power, governing the territory at the mouth of the river Kṛishṇā.[2]

There is reason to believe that the so-called "Andhra," "Andhrabhṛitya" or Sātavāhana kings were Brāhmaṇas with a little admixture of Nāga blood. The *Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā* represents Sālivāhana (Sātavāhana) as of mixed **Brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin.**[3] The Nāga connection is suggested by names like Nāga-nikā and Skanda-nāga-Sātaka, while the claim to the rank of Brāhmaṇa is actually put forward in an inscription. In the Nāsik *praśasti* of Gautamîputra Sātakarṇi the king is called "*Eka Bamhaṇa*," *i.e.*, the unique Brāhmaṇa. Some scholars, however, are inclined to take *Bamhaṇa* to mean merely a Brāhmaṇical Hindu, but this interpretation cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Gautamîputra is also called "*Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana*," *i.e.*, the destroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. The expression "*Eka-bamhaṇa*" when read along with the passage "*Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana*" leaves no room for doubt that Gautamîputra of the Sāta-

[1] S.B.E., XVII, 38.

[2] For the origin and meaning of the names Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi see also *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 599n; JBORS., 1917, December, p. 442n; IHQ, 1929, 388; 1933, 88, 256 and JRAS., 1929, April. Both Barnett and Jayaswal connect them with the Sātiya-putas. Przyluski thinks that the names may have been sanskritised from Austro-Asiatic terms signifying, "Son of horse." For other interpretations see Aravamuthan, *the Kaveri, the Maukharis*, p. 51n. (*karṇi*=ship; *Vāhana*=Oar or Sail); Dikshitar, *Indian Culture*, II, 549 ff.

[3] *Cf.* E.H.D., Sec. VII.

vāhana family claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa [1] like Paraśurāma. As a matter of fact in the *praśasti* the king is described as "the unique Brāhmaṇa in prowess equal to Rāma.[2]

According to the *Purāṇas* Simuka gave the final *coup de grace* to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva power. He was succeeded by his brother **Kṛishṇa**. This king has been identified with Kaṇha "*Rājā* of the Sādavāhana-*kula*" mentioned in a Nāsik inscription. The record tells us that a certain cave was caused to be made by a high official (*Śramaṇa Mahāmātra*) of Nāsik in the time of King Kaṇha.

Kaṇha-Kṛishṇa was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by **Śatākarṇi**. This Śātakarṇi has been identified with—

1 In *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 513 ff., and *Ep. Ind.*, XXII 32 ff. Miss Bhramar Ghosh and Dr. Bhandarkar seem to reject the interpretation of the expressions "*Eka Bamhaṇa*" and "*Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana*" proposed by Senart and Bühler. It is suggested that the word *bamhaṇa* may stand for *Brahmaṇya*, that *Khatiya* may refer to the Xathroi or Khatriaioi tribe mentioned by classical writers, and that the expression *Rājarisi-vadhu* used in reference to Gautamī Balaśrī is enough to show that the Śātavāhana rulers never claimed themselves to be *Brahmarshis* or Brāhmaṇa sages. It is nobody's case that the Śātavāhanas claimed to be mere "Brāhmaṇa sages." But is it not a bit too ingenious to imagine that the well-known terms Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya are not to be taken in their ordinary sense, and that they really stand for non-Brāhmaṇas and non-Kshatriyas? As to the use of the expression *Rāja risi-vadhu*, would not *Brahmarshi* be a singularly inappropriate description of a family of *kings* even though they were Brāhmaṇas? The term *Rājarshi* is not used exclusively to denote non-Brāhmaṇa rulers. In the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Pātāla-khaṇḍam*, 61, 73), for instance, Dadhīchi is styled a *Rājarshi*. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (57, 121 ff.) the epithets "*Rājarshayo mahāsattvāḥ*" are used in reference to *Brahma Kshatramayā nṛipāḥ* (*Brahma kshatrādayo nṛipāḥ*, according to the reading of the Matsya text, 143, 37-40). In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (50.5-7) the epithet *Rājarshi* is applied to a king who sprang from the family of the Maudgalyas who are called *Kshatropetā dvijātayaḥ* and one of whom is styled *Brahmishṭhaḥ*.

Attention may no doubt be invited to the Purāṇic statement that the founder of the "Andhra" dynasty was a '*vṛishala*' (DKA 38). But the explanation will be found in the *Mahābhārata*. The great epic (XII. 63.1 ff.) informs us that 'drawing the bow-string, destruction of enemies ...are not proper (*akāryam paramam*) for a Brāhmaṇa. A Brāhmaṇa should avoid royal service (*rāja-preshya*). A Brāhmaṇa who marries a *Vṛishalī* and takes to royal service (*rāja-preshya*) and other work not legitimate for him is *akarmā*, a Brāhmaṇa so-called (*Brahma-bandhu*). He becomes a Śūdra. The Śātavāhanas actually drew the bowstring and intermarried with Dravidians and Śakas as the Mauryas had intermarried with Yavanas.

2 A pun is here intended as Rāma seems to refer to Bala Deva as well.

(1) King Śātakarṇi *Dakshiṇāpatha-pati* (lord of the Deccan), son of Simuka Śātavāhana, mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāyanikā ;

(2) Śātakarṇi, lord of the west, who was defied (or rescued ?) by Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga ;

(3) *Rājan* Śrî Śātakarṇi of a Sāñchî Inscription ;

(4) The elder Saraganus mentioned in the *Periplus*;

(5) Śātakarṇi, lord of Pratishṭhāna, father of Śakti-kumāra, mentioned in Indian literature ; and

(6) Siri-Sāta of coins.[1]

The first, fifth and sixth identifications are usually accepted by all scholars. The second identification is also probable because the *Purāṇas* place Śātakarṇi, the successor of Kṛishṇa, after the Kāṇvas, *i.e.*, in the first century B.C., while the Hāthīgumphā Inscription seems to place Khāravela 300 years after Nanda-rāja, *i. e.*, possibly in the first century B.C.

Marshall objects to the third identification on the ground that Śrī Śātakarṇi who is mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ and Hāthīgumphā Inscriptions reigned in the middle of the second century B.C. ; his dominions, therefore, could not in his opinion have included Eastern Mālwa (the Sāñchî region) which, in the second century B.C., was ruled by the Śuṅgas and not by the Andhras.[2] But we have seen that the date of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription is possibly the first century B.C. (300 years after Nanda-rāja). The *Purāṇas*, too, as is well known, place the kings mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription not earlier than the Kāṇvas, *i.e.*, in the first century B.C. The identification of the successor of Kṛishṇa of the Śātavāhana family with Śātakarṇi of the Sāñchî Inscription, therefore, does not conflict with what is known of the history of Eastern Mālwa in the second century B.C. Lastly, it would be natural for the first

[1] *Andhra Coins* (Rapson), p. xciii.

[2] *A Guide to Sāñchî*, p. 13.

Śātakarṇi to be styled simply Śātakarṇi or the elder Śātakarṇi (Saraganus, from a *Prākṛit* form like Sāḍaganna), while it would be equally natural for the later Śātakarṇis to be distinguished from him by the addition of a geographical designation like Kuntala, or a metronymic like Gautamîputra or Vāsishṭhîputra.

We learn from the Nānāghāṭ Inscriptions that Śātakarṇi, son of Simuka, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the powerful Aṁgiya or Ambhiya [1] family, the scions of which were called Mahārathi, and became sovereign of the whole of Dakshiṇāpatha. He seems also to have conquered Eastern Mālwa and undoubtedly performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The conquest of Eastern Mālwa is possibly implied by the Sāñchî Inscription which records the gift of a certain Ānaṁda, the son of Vasiṭhî, the foreman of the artisans of *Rājan* Siri-Sātakaṇi.[2] Śātakarṇi seems to have been the first prince to raise the Śātavāhanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great empire in the Godāvarî valley which rivalled in extent and power the Suṅga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five Rivers. According to the evidence of Indian as well as classical writers,[3] the capital of the Sātavāhana Empire was at Pratishṭhāna, "the modern Paiṭhan on the north bank of the Godāvarî in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad."

After the death of Śātakarṇi his wife Nāyanikā or Nāganikā, daughter of the Mahārathi Tranakayiro Kalalāya, the scion of the Aṁgiya family, was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Vedaśrî (?Khandasiri or Skandaśrī)

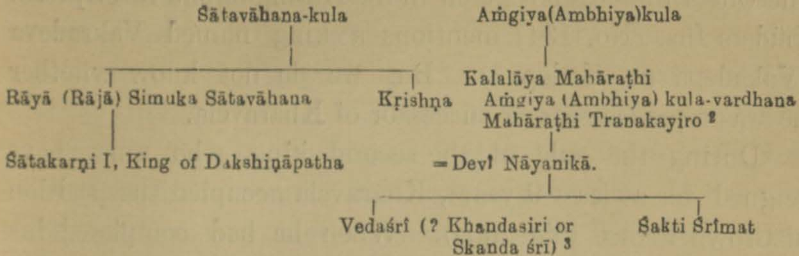
[1] *ASI*, 1923-24, p. 88.

[2] The conquest of West Mālwa is probably suggested by round coins of Śrī Sāta (Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, xcii-xciii).

[3] *Cf.* Jinaprabhasuri, *Tîrthakalpa*, JBBRAS, X. 123; and Ptolemy *Geography*, vii. 1. 82. See also *Āraśyaka Sūtra*, JBORS., 1930, 290; Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *EHD*, Sec. VII.

and Śakti-Śrī (Sati Sirimata) or Haku-Siri. The last-mentioned prince is probably identical with Śakti-kumāra, son of Śālivāhana, mentioned in Jaina literature.[1]

Early Śātavāhanas



The Śātavāhanas were not the only enemies of the decadent Magadha empire in the first century B. C. We learn from the Hāthīgumphā Inscription that when Śātakarṇi was ruling in the west, **Khāravela of Kaliṅga** carried his arms to Northern India and humbled the king of Rājagṛiha.

Khāravela belonged to the **Cheta** dynasty. Mr. R. P. Chanda points out that Cheta princes are mentioned in the *Vessantara Jātaka*.[4] The *Milinda-pañho* contains a statement which seems to indicate that the Chetas were connected with the Chetis or Chedis. The particulars given in that work regarding the *Cheta* king Sura Parichara agree with what we know about the *Chedi* king Uparichara.[5]

[1] *Vīracharitra*, Ind. Ant., VIII, 201. *ASWI*, V, 62n.

[2] On page 57 of Rapson's *Andhra Coins* Kalalāya Mahārathi bears the name "Sadakana" (=Śātakarṇi). His other name or epithet "Tranakayiro" reminds us of "Tanaka" which occurs as a variant of the name of the 18th "Andhra" king of Pargiter's list (DKA, 36, 41).

[3] *ASI*. AR, 1923-24, p. 88; A. Ghosh, *History of Central and Western India*, 140. Mr. Ghosh identifies him with the fifth king of the Purāṇic list.

[4] No. 547.

[5] Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, p. 287; Mbh. I, 63, 14. According to Sten Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 38) *Ceti* (not *Ceta*) is the designation of the dynasty of Khāravela occurring in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription.

Very little is known regarding the history of Kaliṅga from the death of Aśoka to the rise of the Cheta or Cheti dynasty probably in the first century B.C. (three hundred years after the Nandas). The names of the first two kings of the Cheta line are not given in the Hāthīgumphā inscription. Lüders Ins. No. 1347 mentions a king named Vakradeva (Vakadepa or Kudepa?). But we do not know whether he was a predecessor or successor of Khāravela.

During the rule of the second king, who must have reigned for at least 9 years, Khāravela occupied the position of Crown Prince (*Yuvarāja*). When he had completed his 24th year, he was anointed *Mahārāja* of Kaliṅga. His chief queen was the daughter of a prince named Lālāka, the great-grandson of Hathisiṁha. In the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital, Kalinga-nagara. In the next year, without taking heed of Śātakarṇi, he sent a large army to the west and struck terror into the hearts of the people of Musikanagara.[1] According to another interpretation, "he went to the rescue of Śātakarṇi and having returned with his purpose accomplished, he with his allies made gay the city." He followed up his success by further operations in the west and, in his fourth year, compelled the *Raṭhikas* and *Bhojakas* to do him homage. In the fifth year he had an aqueduct, that had not been used for 300 years since Nandarāja, conducted into his capital.

Emboldened by his successes in the Deccan the Kaliṅga king turned his attention to the North. In the eighth year he stormed Gorathagiri and harassed (the king of?) Rājagṛiha.[2] If Dr. Jayaswal is right in identifying

[1] *cf.* Ep. Ind. XX. 79, 87. Barua reads Aśvaka or Ṛṣika (*Old Brāhmī Ins.*, p. 176). Dr. F.W. Thomas, too, finds in the passage no reference to a Musika capital (JRAS., 1922, 83). The alternative interpretation in the next sentence is his.

[2] Some scholars find in line 8 of the Hāthīgumphā Ins. a reference to the *Yavana-raja* (*Di*) *ma* (*ta*), *i.e.*, Demetrios who " went off to Mathurā in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble " (*Acta Orientalia*, I, 27). But the reading is doubtful

this king with Bṛihaspatimitra, then king Bṛihaspati must have ruled over Magadha after the Kāṇva dynasty.

The attack on Northern India was repeated possibly in the tenth and certainly in the twelfth year. In the tenth year the Kaliṅga king, in the opinion of some scholars, overran *Bhārata-varsha*, which is taken to refer to Upper India. In the twelfth year he claims to have harassed the kings of *Uttarāpatha* and watered his elephants in the *Gaṅgā* (Ganges).[1] The north-western expeditions apparently led to no permanent result. But in north-eastern India the Kaliṅga king was more successful ; the repeated blows certainly " struck terror into the Magadhas," and compelled the Magadha king (Bṛihaspatimitra ?) to bow at his feet.

Having subjugated Magadha, and Aṅga, the invader once more turned his attention to Southern India. Already in his eleventh year " he had had Pithuḍa ploughed with a plough drawn by an ass." [2] Lévi [3] identified this city with **Pihuṇḍa** of the *Uttarādhyayana* (21), and ' Pitundra metropolis ' of Ptolemy in the interior of the country of Masulipatam (Maisoloi). The conqueror seems to have pushed further to the south and made his power felt even in the Tamil country by princes amongst whom the most eminent was the king of the Pāṇḍyas. In the thirteenth year Khāravela erected pillars on the Kumārī Hill (in Orissa) in the vicinity of the dwelling of the Arhats.

(*cf.* Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, pp. 17-18 ; IHQ., 1929, 591). Even if the reading *Ḍimata* be correct, the reference may be to Diyumeta or Diomedes (Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 36) and not to Demetrios.

[1] Some scholars find here a reference to the *Sugaṁgīya* palace (Ep. Ind., xx. 88).

[2] Barua interprets the passage differently. But *cf.* Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 26.

[3] Ind. Ant., 1926, 145. Sea-faring merchants are represented as going by boat from Champā to Pihuṇḍa in the days of Mahāvīra the Jina.

Section III. The End of Greek Rule in North-West India.

While the Magadhan monarchy was falling before the onslaughts of the Śātavāhanas and the Chetas, the Greek power in the North-West was also hastening towards dissolution. We have already referred to the feuds of Demetrios and Eukratides. The dissensions of these two princes led to a double succession, one derived from Demetrios holding for a time Kāpiśa and then Śākala (Śiālkoṭ) with a considerable portion of the Indian interior, the other derived from Eukratides holding Takshaśilā and Pushkarāvatī as well as Kāpiśa (which was conquered from Apollodotos) and Bactria. According to Gardner and Rapson, Apollodotos, Antimachos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Agathokleia, the Stratos, Menander, Dionysios, Zoilos, Hippostratos and Apollophanes belonged to the **house of Euthydemos** and Demetrios.[1] Most of these sovereigns used the same coin-types,[2] specially the figure of the goddess Athene hurling the thunderbolt, which is characteristic of the Euthydemian line. Pantaleon and Agathokles strike coins with almost identical types.[3] They both adopt the metal nickel for their coins, and they alone use in their legends the *Brāhmī* alphabet. They seem, therefore, to have been closely connected probably as brothers. It is not improbable that Agathokleia was their sister.[4] Agathokles (and possibly Antimachos) issued a

[1] Whitehead considers Polyxenos a close relation of Strato I (*Indo-Greek Coins*, 54n). The later kings of this group are connected with the Eastern Pañjāb (EHI, 4th ed., pp. 257-58).

[2] For an interesting account of Indo-Greek coin-types see H. K. Deb, IHQ., 1934, 509 ff.

[3] Dancing girl in oriental costume according to Whitehead; Māyā, mother of the Buddha, in the nativity scene according to Foucher (JRAS, 1919, p. 90).

[4] Agathokleia is also closely connected with the Stratos, being probably mother of Strato I and great-grandmother of Strato II.

series of coins in commemoration of Alexander, Antiochos Nikator (Antiochos III Megas according to Malala), Diodotos, and Euthydemos.

Apollodotos, the Stratos, Menander and some later kings used the Athene type of coins. Apollodotos and Menander are mentioned together in literature. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* says that "to the present day ancient *drachmae* are current in Barygaza (Broach) bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotos and Menander." Again, in the title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotos are mentioned as Indian kings.[1] It appears from the *Milinda-pañho* that the capital of the dynasty to which Menander belonged was Śākala or Sāgala.[2] We learn from Ptolemy the Geographer and Nonnos that the city had another name Euthymedia or Euthydemia, a designation which was probably derived from the Euthydemian line.

To the **family of Eukratides** belonged Heliokles and probably Lysias and Antialkidas who ruled conjointly. A common type of Antialkidas is the Pilei of the Dioscuri, which seems to connect him with Eukratides ; his portrait according to Gardner resembles that of Heliokles. It is not improbable that he was an immediate successor of Heliokles.[3] A Besnagar Inscription makes him a contemporary of Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā who ruled some time after Agnimitra probably in or about the latter half of the second century B.C. The capital of Antialkidas was probably at Takshaśilā or Taxila, the place whence his ambassador Heliodoros went to the kingdom of Bhāgabhadra.

[1] Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, p. xix. *Cf.* JASB, *Aug.*, 1833.

[2] "*Atthi Yonakānaṁ nānāpuṭabhedanam Sāgalannāma nagaram,*" "*Jambudīpe Sāgala nagare Milindo nāma Rājā ahosi.*" "*Atthi kho Nāgasena Sāgalaṁ nāma nagaraṁ, tattha Milindo nāma Rājā rajjam kāreti.*"

[3] Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. xxxiv.

But his dominions seem also to have included Kāpiśi or Kāpiśa.[1] After his death the western Greek kingdom probably split up into three parts, *viz.*, Takshaśilā (ruled by the line represented by Archebios,[2]) Pushkalāvatî (governed by Diomedes, Epander,[3] Philoxenos, Artemidoros, and Peukelaos), and Kāpiśi with the Kābul region held successively by Amyntas and Hermaeus (Hermaios). With Hermaios was associated his queen, Kalliope. Kāpiśa was, according to Chinese evidence, probably occupied by the Sai-wang (Śaka lord) some time in the latter part of the second century B.C. But the barbarian chieftain, like the Kushān *Yavuga* of later times, may have acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Greek *Basileas*, as Teutonic chieftains in Europe were, during the fifth century A.D., sometimes content with the rank of 'patrician' and 'consul,' under the nominal authority of the titular Roman emperor.

The Greek power must have been greatly weakened by the feuds of the rival lines of Demetrios and Eukratides. The evils of internal dissension were aggravated by foreign inroads. We learn from Strabo[4] that the **Parthians** deprived Eukratides by force of arms of a part of Bactriana, which embraced the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva (possibly Aria and Arachosia according to Macdonald). There is reason to believe that the Parthian king Mithradates I penetrated even into India. Orosius, a Roman historian, who flourished about 400 A.D., makes a definite statement to the effect that Mithridates or Mithradates

[1] *Camb. Hist.*, 558.

[2] A copper piece of this king is restruck, probably on a coin of Heliokles (Whitehead, p. 39).

[3] The 'Pallas and thunderbolt' type of his silver coins, probably connects him with the Śākala group, *ibid*, 64. Among the rulers of the Gandhāra region we should perhaps also include Telephos whose coinage resembles that of Maues, *ibid*, 80. A prince named Nikias apparently ruled in the Jhelum District (EHI, 4th ed., 258).

[4] H, and F.'s Vol. II, pp. 251-253.

subdued the natives between the Hydaspes[1] and the Indus. His conquest thus appears to have driven a wedge between the kingdom of Eukratides and that of his rival of the house of Euthydemos.

The causes of the final downfall of the Bactrian Greeks are thus stated by Justin: "the Bactrians harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians they were at last overcome as if exhausted by the weaker Parthians." [2]

The **Sogdians** were the people of the region now known as Samarkand and Bukhārā. They were separated from Bactriana by the Oxus. By the term Sogdian Justin probably refers not only to the Sogdiani proper but also to the well-known tribes which, according to Strabo,[3] deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, *viz.*, the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, Sacarauli and the Sacae or Śakas. The story of the Śaka occupation of the Indo-Greek possessions will be told in the next chapter. The Latin historian Pompeius Trogus describes how Diodotos had to fight Scythian tribes, the Sarancae (Saraucae) and Asiani, who finally conquered Sogdiana and Bactria. The occupation of Sogdiana probably entitled them to the designation Sogdian used by Justin. Sten Konow[4] suggests the identification of the Tochari of the Classical writers with the Ta-hia of the Chinese historians. He further identifies the Asii, Asioi or Asiani with the Yüe-chi. We are inclined to

[1] In the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 568, however, this river has been identified with a Persian stream, the Medus Hydaspes of Virgil.

[2] Sten Konow translates the passage from Justin thus: The Bactrians lost both their empire and their freedom, being harassed by the Sogdians, the Arachoti, the Drangae and the Arei, and finally oppressed by the Parthians (Corpus, ii. 1, xxi-xxii).

[3] H. and F.'s Tr., Vol. II, pp. 245-246. *Cf.* JRAS., 1906, 193 f.; Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 171.

[4] *Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 464. *Corpus*, II. 1, xxii, lvii f.

identify the Tochari with the Tukhāras who formed an important element of the Bactrian population in the time of Ptolemy and are described by that author as a great people.[1] They are apparently "the war-like nation of the Bactrians" of the time of the *Periplus*.

The **Drangians** referred to by Justin inhabited the country between Areia (Herat), Gedrosia (Baluchistān) and Arachosia (Kandahār), close to and perhaps including at times within its political boundaries the neighbouring province now called Sīstān (Śakasthāna).[2] Numismatic evidence indicates that a family whose territory lay mainly in southern Afghanistān, *viz.*, the **dynasty of Vonones**, supplanted Greek rule in a considerable part of the Helmund valley, Ghazni and Kandahār (Arachosia). Vonones is a Parthian (Imperial) name. Hence many scholars call his dynasty a Parthian family, and some go so far as to assert that this Vonones is the Arsakid king of that name who reigned from A. D. 8 to 14.[3] But names are not sure proofs of nationality. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls the dynasty Śaka.[4] The best name for the family would be Drangian, because the chief centre of their power probably lay in the Helmund valley,

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, pp. 395-396.

[2] *Corpus*, xl ; Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 92; MASI, 31. 7. Isidor, places Drangiana (Zarangiana) to the east of the Hamun or Zareh Lake, and locates Śakasthāna south-east of this territory and north of the Helmund river (ZDMG, 60, 1906, 57 f.). But Herzfeld points out that Sīstān is the Achaemenian 'Zrang.'

[3] *Camb. Short Hist.* 69.

[4] Isidor of Charax who flourished in the age of Augustus and is quoted by Pliny (JRAS. 1904, 706; 1905, 180 ; 1912, 990) refers (ZDMG., 1906, pp. 57-58; JRAS., 1915, p. 831) to Sigal in Sacastene as the residence of a Śaka (not Parthian) king about the beginning of the Christian era. The names of the brothers and nephew of Vonones seem to be Scythian (*cf.* Rapson quoted in *Corpus* II. 1, xlii). Thus the local rulers of southern Afghanistan in or about the period B.C. 27—A.D. 14 were probably Śakas. It is, however, possible that they acknowledged the supremacy of the great king of Parthia.

Arachosia being ruled by a viceroy.[1] On coins Vonones is associated with two princes, *viz.*,

(*i*) Śpalahora who is called *Mahārāja-bhrātā* (the king's brother).

(*ii*) Śpalaga-dama, son of Spalahora.

There is one coin which Edward Thomas and Cunningham attributed to Vonones and Azes I. But the coin really belongs to Maues.[2] There is a silver coin of a prince named Spalirises which bears on the obverse the legend *Basileus Adelphoy Spalirisoy*, and on the reverse "*Mahārāja bhrata dhramiasa Spaliriśasa*," *i.e.*, of Spalirises the Just, brother of the king. This king has been identified with Vonones.[3] Thus Vonones was a supreme ruler, and he appointed his brothers (?) Śpalahora and Spalirises viceroys to govern the provinces conquered by him, and after the death of the former, conferred the viceroyalty on his nephew Śpalagadama.[4] Vonones was succeeded as supreme ruler by his (?) brother Spalirises The coins of Spalirises present two varieties, *viz.*,

1. Coins which bear his name alone in both the legends :

2. Coins on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and those of Azes on the reverse in the *Kharoshṭhī* legend.

The second variety proves that Spalirises had a colleague named Azes who governed a territory where the prevailing

[1] *Corpus*, xlii.

[2] Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Pañjāb Museum* (*Indo-Greek Coins*), p. 93. Smith, *Catalogue*, 38.

[3] Herzfeld identifies the royal brother of Spalirises with Maues (*Camb. Short Hist.* 69).

[4] One specimen of the coins of Spalirises has been restruck on a copper coin of Spalyris and Śpalagadama (*Corpus*, II. 1, xli). This proves that Spalirises was later than Spalyris and Śpalagadama.

script was *Kharoshṭhī.* This Azes has been identified with king Azes of the Pañjāb about whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

As regards the Indian enemies of the Bactrian Greeks we must refer in the first place to the prince of the house of Pushyamitra who is represented in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram* as defeating the Yavanas on the Sindhu. An Indian named Bhadrayaśas seems to have had some share in the destruction of the Greek kingdom of the Eastern Pañjāb. The Nāsik *praśasti* of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi represents that king as the destroyer of the Yavanas, apparently of Western India.

The final destruction of Greek rule was, as Justin says, the work of the Parthians. Marshall tells us [1] that the last surviving Greek principality,[2] that of Hermaios in the Kābul valley, was overthrown by the Parthian king Gondophernes.[3] The Chinese historian Fan-ye, also refers to the Parthian occupation of Kābul.[4] "Whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien-tchou (India Proper), Ki-pin (Kāpiśa) or Ngansi (Parthia), became powerful, it brought Kābul into subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kābul.........Later, Kābul fell under the rule of Parthia." [5] The real conquest of Kābul by the Parthians could hardly have taken place before *c.* A. D.

1 *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 14.

2 Among the latest Greek rulers of the Kābul Valley we have to include Theodamas whose existence is disclosed by a Bajaur Seal Inscription (*Corpus*, II, i. xv, 6).

3 In ASI, AR, 1929-30 pp. 56 ff., however, Marshall modifies his earlier views in regard to the conquest of the Greek kingdom of Kābul by the Parthians. He suggests that the Kābul valley became a bone of contention between Parthians and Kushāns and changed hands more than once before the final eclipse of the Parthian power.

4 JRAS., 1912, 676; *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. I, p. 81.

5 *Cf.* Thomas JRAS., 1906, 194. For the results of India's contact with the Hellenic world in the domains of religion, administration, literature, science and art

14 because Isidor, a younger contemporary of Augustus (B.C. 27-A.D. 14), the Roman emperor, does not include the Kābul valley in the list of the eastern provinces of the Parthian Empire. By A.D. 43-44, however, Parthian rule had extended to this region as we learn from Philostratos.

see Bhandarkar, "*Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911); Raychaudhuri, "*Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect, Ist ed.*" p. 106; Foucher "*The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*," pp. 9, 111 f.; Coomaraswami, "*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*," pp. 41 f.; Sten Konow, "*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*," Vol. II, Pt. 1, xv; Hopkins, "*Religions of India*," pp. 544 f.; Keith, "*The Sanskrit Drama*," pp. 57 f.; Keith, "*A History of Sanskrit Literature*," pp. 352 f.; Max Müller, "*India—What can it teach Us*," pp. 321 f.; Smith, EHI[4], pp. 251-6; "*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*," Chap. XI; *Imp. Gaz.*, *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 105 f., 137 f., etc.

CHAPTER VIII. SCYTHIAN RULE IN NORTHERN INDIA.

SECTION I. THE ŚAKAS.

In the second and first centuries B.C., Greek rule in parts of Kāfiristān, Gandhāra and possibly the Hazāra country, was supplanted by that of the Śakas. In the days of Darius, the Achaemenid king of Persia (B. C. 522-486), the Śakas lived beyond Sogdiana (*para-Sugdam*) in "the vast plains of the Syr Darya, of which the modern capital is the town of Turkestan."[1] But already in the time of Augustus, emperor of Rome (B.C. 27-A.D. 14), they were established at Sigal in modern Sīstān.[2] The story of their migration from central Asia has been recorded by Chinese historians. The *History of the First Han Dynasty* (*Ts'ien Han-Shu*) states "formerly when the Hiung-nū conquered the Ta-Yüe-tchi the latter emigrated to the west, and subjugated the Tahia ;[3] whereupon the *Sai-wang* went to the south, and ruled over Kipin."[4] Sten Konow points out that the *Sai-wang* are the same people which are known in Indian tradition under the designation *Śaka-muruṇḍa*,[5] *Muruṇḍa* being a later form of a Śaka word which has the same meaning as Chinese "*wang*," *i. e.*, king, master, lord. In Indian inscriptions and coins it has frequently been translated with the Indian word *Svāmin*.

[1] E. Herzfeld, MASI, 34, 3.

[2] Isidor, *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, JRAS., 1906, 189; 1915, p. 831.

[3] *C.* 174-160 B.C. according to some scholars.

[4] JRAS., 1903, p 22; 1932, 958; *Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 464. The Śaka occupation of Ki-pin must be posterior to the reign of Eukradides and his immediate (Greek) successors.

[5] Professor Hermann identifies the Sai-wang with the Sakarauloi or Sakaraukoi of Strabo and other classical authors. *Corpus*, II. 1. xxf., For Muruṇḍa, see p. xx.

The name of the Śaka king who occupied Kipin is not known. The earliest ruler of that region mentioned in Chinese records is Wu-t'ou-lao whose son was ousted by Yin-mo-fu, the son of the prince of Yung-k'ü, with Chinese help. Yin-mo-fu established himself as king of Kipin during the reign of the Emperor Hsüan-ti, which lasted from 73 to 48 B.C., and killed the attendants of an envoy sent in the reign of the Emperor Yüan-ti (B.C. 48-33). In the reign of Chêng-ti (32-7 B.C.) the support of China was sought without success by the king of Kipin, probably the successor of Yin-mo-fu, who was in danger from some powerful adversary, apparently a king of the Yue-chi, who had relations with China about this time as is proved by the communication of certain Buddhist books to a Chinese official in 2 B.C.[1]

S. Lévi identified Kipin with Kaśmîra. But his view has been ably controverted by Sten Konow[2] who accepts the identification with Kāpiśa.[3] Gandhāra was the eastern part of the realm of Kipin. A passage of Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi* seems to suggest that the capital of the Sai-wang (*Śaka-Muraṇḍa*) was Lampāka or Laghman (*Lampākāstu Muraṇḍāḥ syuḥ*).[4] Sten Konow says that according to the *Ts'ien Han-shu*, or *Annals of the First Han Dynasty*, the Sai, *i.e.*, the Śakas, passed the *Hientu* (the hanging passage), *i.e.*, the gorge west of

[1] *Calc. Rev.*, Feb., 1924, pp. 251, 252; Smith, EHI., 3rd ed., p. 258n.; JRAS., 1913, 647; Ind. Ant.. 1905, *Kashgar and the Kharoshṭhī.*

[2] Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 291.

[3] The country drained by the northern tributaries of the river Kābul, *ibid.*, p. 290; *cf.* Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 259-260 The city of Kāpiśī probably stood at the junction of the Ghorband and the Panjshir (Foucher, *Indian Studies presented to Prof. Rapson*, 343). Kipin according to the *Tsien Han-shu* joins Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia) on the south-west. *Corpus*, II. 1. xxiv; JRAS., 1912, 684 n. *Cf.* Dr. Herrmann (JRAS., 1913. 1058 n.) who holds that Ki-pin was Gandhāra. The reference to a *gold* as well as a silver currency in Ki-pin is worthy of note (*Corpus*, II. 1. xxiv).

[4] Lampāka (Laghman) is 100 miles to the east of Kapisene (AGI, 49).

Skardu on their way to Kipin.[1] Though the Śakas wrested parts of Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) from the hands of Greek *meridarchs* (governors) they could not permanently subjugate Kābul,[2] where the *Basileus* (king) maintained a precarious existence. They were more successful in India. Inscriptions at Mathurā and Nāsik prove that the Śakas extended their sway as far as the Jumna in the east and the Godāvarî in the south, and destroyed the power of the 'Mitras' of Mathurā and the Śātavāhanas of Paiṭhan.[3]

No connected or detailed account of the Śaka potentates of Kipin is possible. Śakas are mentioned along with the Yavanas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[4] the *Mahābhārata*,[5] the *Manu-saṁhitā*[6] and the *Mahābhāshya*.[7] The *Harivaṁśa*[8] informs us that they shaved one-half of their heads. The Jaina work *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* states that their kings were called Śāhi.[9] Some of these 'Śāhis' are said to have been induced by a Jaina teacher to proceed to Suraṭṭha (Surāshṭra) *Vishaya* (country) and Ujjain in Hindukadeśa (India) where they overthrew some local chiefs and ruled for four years till they were themselves ousted by the founder of the era of 58 B.C.

The Śakas are also mentioned in the *Praśastis* of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi and Samudra Gupta. Their kingdom or empire "*Śakasthāna*" is probably mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrî* (95), in the Mathurā Lion Capital

1 Ep. Ind., XIV, 291. *Corpus*, II. 1. xxiii. For possible alternative routes of conquest, see JRAS., 1913, 929, 959, 1008, 1023.

2 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. I, p. 81.

3 Some of the Śakas seem to have penetrated to the far south of India. A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription refers to a Śaka named Moda and his sister Budhi. Ep. Ind. xx. 37.

4 I, 54. 22; IV. 43, 12.

5 II, 32. 17.

6 X. 44.

7 Ind. Ant., 1875, 244.

8 Chap. 14, 16. JRAS., 1906, 204.

9 ZDMG., 34, pp. 247 ff., 262; Ind. Ant., X. 222.

Inscription and in the Chandravalli Stone Inscription of the Kadamba Mayūraśarman. The passage in the Mathurā inscription containing the word Śakasthāna runs thus :—

Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.

Cunningham interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit of the people of Śakasthāna." Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kāthiāwāḍ and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwa." He took Sarva to be a proper name and translated the inscriptional passage referred to above as "a gift of Sarva in honour of his home." [1]

Fleet's objection is ineffective. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Śakas in Kipin, *i.e.*, Kāpiśa-Gandhāra. As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathurā, the site of the inscription, we should note that the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* [2] refers to a Śaka settlement in the *Madhyadeśa*. Dr. Thomas [3] points out that the epigraphs on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Śaka and Persian nomenclature. The name Mevaki for instance, which occurs in the inscriptions, is a variant of the Scythian name Mauakes.[4] The termination "*-ūs*" in Komūsā and °Śamūśo seems to be Scythic. Dr. Thomas further points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the "whole realm of the Śakas" since we find in the Wardak, Sui Vihār and other inscriptions even more comprehensive

[1] JRAS., 1904, 703 f.; 1905, 155, 613 f.; Mr. N. G. Majumdar (JASB., 1924, 17) takes Sakastana to mean Śakrasthāna, *i.e.*, 'the place of Indra.' *Cf.* Fleet in JRAS., 1904, 705.

[2] Chapter 58.

[3] Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 138 ff.; JRAS., 1906, 207 f., 215 f.

[4] *Cf.* Maues, Moga, and Mavaces, the commander of the Śakas who went to the aid of Darius Codomannus (Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 142). *Cf.* also the coin-name Mevaku (S. Konow, *Corpus*, xxxiii n.).

expressions, *e.g.*, *Sarva sattvanam*—'of all living creatures.' As regards Fleet's renderings "*svaka*" and "*sakatthāna*," one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion Capital contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Śaka dominions.

Śakasthāna, doubtless, included the district of Scythia mentioned in the *Periplus*, "from which flows down the river Sinthus (Indus) the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea (Indian Ocean)." The metropolis of "Scythia" in the time of the *Periplus* was Minnagara; and its market town was Barbaricum on the seashore.

Princes bearing Śaka names are mentioned in several inscriptions discovered in Taxila, Mathurā and Western India. According to Dr. Thomas "whatever Śaka dynasties may have existed in the Pañjāb or India, reached India neither through Afghanistān nor through Kaśmīra but, as Cunningham contended, by way of Sindh and the valley of the Indus." [1] This theory cannot be accepted in its entirety in view of the Chinese account of the Śaka occupation of Kipin and the epigraphic evidence regarding the existence of a Scythian Satrapy at Kāpiśi and a Śaka principality in the Hazāra country.[2] We cannot also overlook the fact that some of the Śaka names hitherto discovered are those of the Northern Śakas who lived near the Sogdianoi.[3] The names Maues, Moga[4] and Mevaki,[5] for

[1] JRAS., 1906, p. 216.

[2] JASB., 1924, p. 14; S. Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. 13 f. The Śaka conquest of Ki-pin did not mean the total extinction of the Greek principality in the Kābul region. The *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (A.D. 25-220) refers to the existence, side by side, of the kingdoms of Ki-pin and Kābul before the conquest of the latter state by the Parthians. Like the Sātavāhanas, the Greeks of the Kābul territory may have restored their fallen fortunes to a certain extent after the first rush of barbarian invasion had spent its force. It is also possible that Scythian chiefs for a time acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Greek *Basileus*.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, pp. 399-400. [4] Taxila plate. [5] Mathurā Lion Capital.

instance, are variants of the Śaka name Mauakes. We learn from Arrian that a chief named Mauakes or Mavaces led the "Sacians (Śakas), a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwelt in Asia," who lived outside the jurisdiction of the Persian governor of the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, but were in alliance with the Persian king. Chhaharata, Khakharāta, or Kshaharāta, the family designation of several satrapal houses of Taxila, Mathurā, Western India and the Deccan, is perhaps equivalent to **Karatai**, the name of a Śaka tribe of the North.[1]

The conquest of the Lower Indus Valley, Cutch and parts of Western India may, however, have been effected by the Śakas of Western Śakasthāna (Sîstān) who are mentioned by Isidor of Charax. The name of the capitals of "Scythia" (*i.e.*, the Lower Indus Valley) and of the Kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus?) in the time of the *Periplus* was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidor.[2] Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the Western Kshatrapas of Chashṭana's line, *viz.*, "*Dāman*" (*-dama*) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the *Kārddamaka* family from which, according to a Kanheri Inscription, the daughter of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārddama river in the realm of the Persians.[3]

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 400; *cf.* *Corpus*, II, I. xxxvi: "Kharaosta and Maues would belong to the north-western Śakas of Ki-pin and not to the branch which came to India from Seistān." *Cf.* xxxiii (case of Liaka).

[2] JRAS., 1915, p. 830.

[3] Shamasastry's trans. of the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 86, n. 6. For another view see Ind. Ant., XII. 273 n. The word *Kārdamika* occurs in the *Mahābhāshya* (IV. 2.1; Word Index, p. 275). The Kārddama river may be identified with the Zarafshan which flowed through the old Achæmenian Satrapy of Bactria or Balkh. The *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Chs. 100 and 102) connects a line of Kārddama kings with Bāhlī or Bāhlika (IHQ., 1933, pp. 37 ff.).

The earliest Śaka kings mentioned in Indian inscriptions are, perhaps, Damijada[1] and **Maues**. The latter is usually identified with Moga of the Taxila plate. He is possibly mentioned also in the Maira Inscription.[2] Maues-Moga was a mighty sovereign (*Maharaya*). His dominions included Chuksha near Taxila which was ruled by a satrapal, *i.e.*, a viceregal, family.

The dates assigned to Maues by various scholars range from B.C. 135 to A.D. 154. His coins are found ordinarily in the Pañjāb, and chiefly in the western portion of the province of which Taxila was the ancient capital. There can thus be no doubt that Maues was the king of Gandhāra. Now it is impossible to find for Maues a place in the history of the Pañjāb before the Greek king Antialkidas who was reigning at Taxila when king Bhāgabhadra was on the throne of Vidiśā in Central India for fourteen years. The date of Bhāgabhadra is uncertain but he must be placed later than Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, who ruled from *cir*. B.C. 151 to 143. The fourteenth year of Bhāgabhadra, therefore, could not have fallen before *c*. 129 B. C. Consequently Antialkidas could not have been ruling earlier than the second half of the second century B. C., and his reign could not have ended before 129 B.C. The Śaka occupation of Gandhāra must, therefore, be later than 129 B. C. All scholars except Fleet identify Maues with *Maharaya* Moga of the so-called Sirsukh or Taxila plate, dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era. The generally accepted view is that the era is of Śaka institution. As the era is used only in Northern India and the borderland, it is permissible to conjecture that it came into existence after the Śaka

[1] Or Namijada, Shahdaur Ins., *Corpus*, II. i. 14, 16.

[2] At Maira in the Salt Range, a *Kharoshṭhī* Inscription has been found in a well which seems to be dated in the year 58 and possibly contains the word *Moasa*, 'of Moa or Moga.'

occupation of those regions. We have already seen that this occupation could not have taken place before 129 B.C. The era used in the Taxila plate could not, therefore, have originated before 129 B.C. The year 78 of the era could not have fallen before B.C. (129 – 78=) 51. Consequently the rule of Maues-Moga cannot have ended before B.C. 51. He must be placed even later, because we learn from Chinese records that Yin-mo-fu was in possession of Kipin or Kāpiśa-Gandhāra about 48-33 B.C., and he was preceded by Wu-tou-lao and his son. As there is no real ground for identifying Maues-Moga with any of these rulers he will have to be placed after 33 B.C. He cannot perhaps be placed later than the middle of the first century A.D., because we learn from Philostratos and the author of the *Periplus* that about that time or a little later both Taxila and Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, *i.e.* the Śaka kingdom in the Indus valley, had passed into the hands of the Parthians. It seems, therefore, that Maues-Moga ruled after 33 B. C., but before the latter half of the first century A.D. According to Fleet Moga flourished in the year 22 A.D.—the year 78 of the era commencing 58 B.C., which afterwards came to be known as the *Kṛita-Mālava-Vikrama* era. But the matter must be regarded as not definitely settled. The Khalatse Inscription of the year 187(?) of Uvima (Wema Kadphises?) and the Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of the year 191 of Jihonika possibly suggest that the era to which the dates of these inscriptions, and presumably that of the so-called Sirsukh (Taxila) plate of Moga, are to be referred, began much earlier than B.C. 58.

Numismatists say that Maues was succeeded on the throne of the Western Pañjāb by **Azes** who put an end to Greek rule in the Eastern Pañjāb by annexing the kingdom of Hippostratos. The coins of Azes are very closely related to the issues of the rulers of the Vonones group, and the

assumption has always been made that Azes, the king of the Pañjāb, is identical with Azes, the colleague of Spalirises. Some scholars think that there were two kings of the name of Azes and that the first Azes was the immediate successor, not of Maues, but of Spalirises, and that Maues came not only after Azes I, but also after Azes II. But the last part of the theory cannot be accepted in view of the synchronism of Gondophernes and Azes II proved by the fact that Aspavarman served as *Strategos*, *i.e.*, general or governor, under both the monarchs.[1] As Gondophernes ruled in the year 103,[2] while Maues-Moga ruled in the year 78,[3] and as both these dates are *usually* referred by scholars to the same era, both Gondophernes and his contemporary Azes II must be later than Maues-Moga. There is no room for Maues-Moga between Azes I and Azes II, because we shall see presently that the succession from Azes I to Azes II is clearly established by numismatic evidence. Maues came either before Azes I or after Azes II; but we have already seen that he could not have reigned after Azes II. He must, therefore, be placed before Azes I. He may have been ruling in the Pañjāb when Vonones was ruling in Sīstān. When Vonones was succeeded by Spalirises, Maues was succeeded by Azes I. We have already seen that Spalirises and Azes I issued joint coins.[4] The rela-

[1] Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Pañjāb Museum*, p. 150.

[2] *Cf.* the Takht-i-Bāhī Inscription.

[3] *Cf.* the Taxila Plate of Patika.

[4] Rapson on pp. 573-574 of *CHI.* identifies Azes, the colleague of Spalirises, with Azes II, and makes him the son of Spalirises. On page 572, however, the suggestion is found that Azes II was the son and successor of Azilises. It is difficult to see how the two views can be reconciled. For an inscription of Azes see *Corpus*, II. i. 17 (Shahdaur Inscription of Śivarakshita). The name of Aja or Aya (Azes) has also been recognised by certain scholars in the Kalawān Inscription of the year 134 and in the Taxila silver scroll record of the year 136. The absence of any honorific title before the name makes it difficult to say whether it refers to a king, and, if it does refer to a king, whether the ruler in question was Azes I or Azes II. Moreover, if Aja or Aya is a royal name, then it would seem, from the analogy of other early Indian epigraphs, that the years 134 and 136 actually belonged

tionship between the two monarchs is not known. They may have been related by blood, or they may have been mere allies like Hermaios and Kujūla Kadphises.[1]

King Azes I struck some coins bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of **Azilises** in *Kharoshṭhî* on the reverse. Then again we have another type of coins on which the name in Greek is Azilises, and in *Kharoshṭhî* is *Aya* (Azes). Dr. Bhandarkar and Smith postulate that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes similarly was subsequently the subordinate colleague of Azilises. The two princes named Azes cannot, therefore, be identical, and they must be distinguished as Azes I and **Azes II**. Whitehead, however, observes that the silver coins of Azilises are better executed and earlier in style than those of Azes. The best *didrachms* of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises with Zeus obverse and Dioskouroi reverse, and with other rare silver types of Azilises. If Azilises preceded Azes, then following Dr. Smith we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II. In conclusion Whitehead says that the differences in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign.[2] Marshall, however, points out that the stratification of coins at Taxila

to his reign. The absence of any honorific title has, however, led some writers to suggest that Aja-Aya was the *founder* of the reckoning mentioned in the epigraphs, and not the *reigning* sovereign in the years 134 and 136. The identity of the reckoning with the era of 58 B.C. cannot be regarded as certain, though the theory has many advocates. Another thorny problem is the relation between this reckoning and the reckoning or reckonings used by Moga and Gondophernes. For the Kalawān Inscription see *Ep. Ind.* XXI. 251 ff.; *IHQ*. 1932, 825; 1933, 141; India in 1932-33, p. 182.

[1] *Cf.* Whitehead, p. 178; Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 16.

[2] G. Hoffmann and Sten Konow not only reject the duplication of Azes, but suggest the identification of Azes with Azilises.

clearly proves the correctness of Smith's theory, according to which Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, and Azilises by Azes II.[1]

Recent discoveries have unearthed the gold coin of a king named **Aṭhama**. Whitehead has no hesitation in recognising him as a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises. His date is, however, uncertain.

Unlike most of the Indo-Greek princes,[2] the Śaka kings style themselves on their coins *Basileus Basileon*, corresponding to the *Prākrit* on the reverse, *Mahārājasa Rājarājasa*. They also appropriate the epithet *Mahatasa*, corresponding to the Greek *Megaloy*, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. The title *Rājarāja*—king of kings—was not an empty boast. Moga had under him the viceroys (*satraps*) Liaka and Patika of Taxila. One of the kings named Azes had under him at least one subordinate ruler, *e.g.*, the *Strategos* Aspavarman. The title *Satrap* or *Kshatrapa* occurs in the Behistun Inscription of Persia in the form *Khshathrapāvan* which means 'protector of the kingdom.'[3] "*Strategos*," a Greek word, means a general. It is obvious that the Scythians continued in North-Western India the Perso-Hellenic system of government by *Satraps* and military governors. Coins and Inscriptions prove the existence of several other Satrapal families besides those mentioned above.

[1] The coins which Smith assigns to Azes II are found *generally* nearer the surface than those of Azes I (JRAS., 1914, 979). For Konow's view, see *Ep. Ind.*, 1926, 274 and *Corpus*, II. i. xxxix-xl. The name 'Azes' is found in association with several rulers of various dates, while that of Azilises is found only with one (*viz.*, Azes). This possibly points to the plurality of the kings named Azes.

[2] With the exception perhaps of Eukratides one of whose coins bears the legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa* Evukratidasa (*Corpus*, II. i. xxix n.), and of a few other rulers including Hermaios (Whitehead, p. 85).

[3] *Cf. Ksha-pāvan* of the *Rig-veda* (*Vedic Index*, I. 208), *Rāshṭra-pāla* of the *Arthaśāstra* and *Goptṛi* or *Deśa-goptṛi* of the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the Gupta inscriptions.

The **North Indian Kshatrapas** or Satraps may be divided into three main groups, *viz.* :—

1. The Satraps of Kāpiśi and Abhisāraprastha,
2. The Satraps of the Western Pañjāb, and
3. The Satraps of Mathurā.

A Māṇikiālā inscription affords the bare mention of a **Satrap of Kāpiśi**, who was the son of the Satrap Graṇavhryaka.[1] The name of Śivasena, '*the Kshatrapa* in the town of Abhisāraprastha' occurs in the legend of a copper seal ring found in the Pañjāb.[2]

The **Pañjāb Satraps** belonged to three families, *viz.*—

(*a*) The **Kusulua** or **Kusuluka Group**.—It consisted of Liaka and his son Patika, possibly of the Chhaharata or Kshaharāta family, who apparently governed the district of Chuksha.[3] According to Fleet there were two Patikas.[4] But in the opinion of Marshall there was only one viceroy of the name of Patika.[5] The Satrapal line of Kusuluka was intimately connected with the Satraps of Mathurā.[6] The coins of Liaka Kusuluka show the transition of the district to which they belonged, *i.e.*, a part of Eastern Gandhāra, from the rule of the Greek house of Eukratides to the Śakas.[7] We learn from the Taxila, or the so-called Sirsukh, plate, dated in the year 78, that Liaka was a Satrap

[1] Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, ci; *Ancient India*, 141; JASB., 1924, 14, *Corpus*, II. i, 150-1.

[2] *Corpus*, II. i. 103.

[3] Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 54; Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. 25-28. Chuksha, according to Stein, is the present Chach in the north of the District of Attock. See also *AGI* [2], 63, 126.

[4] JRAS., 1907, p. 1035. The existence of at least two Liakas is, however, proved by the Taxila plate and the Zeda inscription (*Corpus*, II. i. 145). A Lia(ka) appears also to be mentioned in the Mānsehrā inscription of the year 68. He may have been identical with the father of Patika, Ep. Ind. XXI, 257.

[5] JRAS., 1914, pp. 979 ff.

[6] *Cf.* Inscription G on the Mathurā Lion Capital.

[7] Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 154.

of the great king Moga and that Patika, his son, was a great gift-lord (*mahādānapati*).[1]

(*b*) **Manigul** and his son **Zeionises** or **Jihonika.**—They were considered to be Satraps of Pushkalāvatī during the reign of Azes II. But the Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of the year 191 discovered by Marshall in 1927 [2] shows that Jihonika was a *Kshatrapa* in Cukhsha and not Pushkalāvatî in the year 191 of an era of Śaka institution whose exact epoch is not known.[3]

(*c*) **The House of Indravarman.**—It consisted of Indravarman, his son Aspavarman, and Aspa's nephew Sasa. Aspavarman acted as governor of both Azes II and Gondophernes, while Sasa served under Gondophernes and Pakores.

The Satraps of Mathurā.

The earliest of this line of princes probably were the associated rulers Hagāna and Hagāmasha. They were perhaps succeeded by Rājuvula. The genealogical table of the house of Rājuvula or Rājula as arranged by Sten Konow [4] is given below in a foot-note.

Rājuvula or Rājula is known from inscriptions as well as coins. An inscription in *Brāhmī* characters at

1 Ep. Ind., XXI, 257; JRAS, 1932, 953n.

2 JRAS., 1928, January, 137 f. *Corpus*, II. i. 81f.

3 Ep. Ind., XXI. 255f.

4 *Corpus*, II. i. 47.

Arṭa = Piśpasri
- Abuhola = Kharaosta Kamuia
  - Hayuara
    - Hana
  - Ayasi Komuia =
    - Nada Diaka
- Khalamasa
- Maja
- Rajula =
  - Suḍasa Naūluda
  - Kalui

The genealogy, as reconstructed by Sten Konow, is not accepted by many scholars.

Mora near Mathurā calls him a *Mahākshatrapa* or Great Satrap (viceroy). But the Greek legend on some of his coins describes him as "king of kings, the Saviour" showing that he probably declared his independence.

Rājuvula was apparently succeeded by his son Suḍasa, Soṁdāsa or **Soḍāsa**. Inscription B on the Mathurā Lion Capital mentions him as a *Kshatrava* (Satrap) and as the son of the *Mahākshatrava* Rajula (Rājuvula). But later inscriptions at Mathurā written in *Brāhmī* characters call him a *Mahākshatrapa*. One of these inscriptions gives a date for him in the year 72 [1] of an unspecified era. It is clear that during his father's lifetime he was only a *Satrap*. But on his father's death some time before the year 72, he became a Great Satrap. Sten Konow adduces grounds for believing that Soḍāsa dated his inscription in the so-called *Vikrama* era.[2] Consequently the year 72, in his opinion, possibly corresponds to A. D. 15.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar refers the dates of the Northern Satraps (of Taxila and Mathurā) to the *Śaka* era, and places them in the middle of the second century A.D. But Ptolemy, who flourished about that time, places neither Taxila nor Mathurā within Indo-Scythia, *i.e.*, the Saka dominion. This shows that neither Taxila nor Mathurā was a Saka possession in the second century A.D. The principal Indo-Scythian possessions in Ptolemy's time were Patalene (the Indus Delta), Abiria (the Ābhira country in Western India), and Syrastrene (Kāthiāwāḍ).[3] This is exactly what we find in the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Saka ruler Rudradāman I, who flourished in the middle of the second century A.D. In Ptolemy's time Taxila was included within the Arsa (*Sanskrit* Uraśā) territory,[4] and Mathurā belonged to the Kaspeiraioi.[5]

1 42 according to Rapson. But 72 is preferred by most scholars.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 139-141.
3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 354.
4 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 348.
5 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 350.

Dr. Majumdar suggests that Ptolemy probably noticed the Śaka empire of Maues and his successors (which included Taxila, Mathurā and Ujjayinī) under the name of 'Kaspeiraioi.'[1] But we should remember that far from including Taxila, Mathurā and Western India within one empire, Ptolemy sharply distinguishes the land of the Kaspeiraioi from Indo-Scythia which was the real Śaka domain in the middle of the second century A.D.[2] Moreover, the territory of the Kaspeiraioi must have included Kaśmīra (the land of Kaśyapa);[3] and there is no evidence that the dynasty of Maues ever ruled in Kaśmīra. It was only under the kings of Kanishka's dynasty that Kaśmīra and Mathurā formed parts of one and the same empire. As suggested by the Abbé Boyer the Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy evidently referred to the Kushān empire.

We learn from the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions that when Suḍasa, *i.e.* Śoḍāsa, was ruling as a mere *Kshatrapa*, Kusuluka Patika was a *Mahākshatrapa.* As Śoḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa in the year 72, he must have been a Kshatrapa before 72. Consequently Kusuluka Patika must have been reigning as a *Mahākshatrapa* contemporary of the *Kshatrapa* Śoḍāsa *before* the year 72. The Taxila plate of the year 78, however, does not style Patika as a *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa*. It calls him *Mahādānapati* (great gift-lord) and gives the satrapal title to his father Liaka.[4] Dr. Fleet thinks[5] that we have to do with two different Patikas. Marshall and Sten Konow on the other hand, hold the view that the *Mahādānapati* Patika, who issued the Taxila plate, is identical with the *Mahākshatrapa*

[1] *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 98 n.

[2] *Cf.* Ptolemy, *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 354, and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman.

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 27. IA. IV, 227.

[4] Sten Konow, *Corpus*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 28; *Ep. Ind.* XIX, 257.

[5] JRAS., 1913, 1001 n.

Kusuluka Patika of the Mathurā Lion Capital, but the era in which the inscription of *Sam* 72 is dated, is not the same as in the Taxila plate of *Sam* 78. In other words while Fleet duplicates kings, Marshall and Sten Konow duplicate eras. It is difficult to come to any final decision from the scanty data at our disposal. Fleet's theory is not improbable in view of the fact that we have evidence regarding the existence of at least two Liakas. But the duplication of kings is not absolutely necessary as the designation '*mahādānapati*' given to Patika in the Taxila plate does not preclude the possibility of his having been a *Mahākshatrapa* as well a few years back. We should remember in this connection that there are instances among the Western Kshatrapas of Chashṭana's line, of *Mahākshatrapas* being reduced to a humbler rank [1] while other members of the family held the higher office,[2] and of a *Kshatrapa* (Jayadāman) being mentioned without the satrapal title.[3] It is, therefore, not altogether improbable that the inscription of *Sam* 72 and that of *Sam* 78 are dated in the same era, and yet the two Patikas are identical.[4] If Sten Konow and Sir John Marshall are right in reading the name of Aja-Aya (Azes) in the Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the year 134 and the Taxila Inscription of 136, we have additional instances of a ruler of this age being mentioned without any title indicative of his rank.

Kharaosta was according to Konow the father-in-law, and according to Fleet, a grandson (daughter's son), of

[1] *Cf.* Majumdar, *The Date of Kanishka*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1917.

[2] Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., cxxiv f.

[3] Andhau Inscriptions.

[4] The *Rājataraṅginī* furnishes an instance of a son being replaced by his father as king (*cf.* the case of Pārtha), and of a king abdicating in favour of his son and again resuming control over the kingdom ; *cf.* the case of Kalaśa who continued to be a co-ruler after the resumption of control by his father, and that of Rājā Mānsingh of Jodhpur (1804-43). The case of Zāfar Khān of Gujarāt may also be cited in this connection (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, III, 295).

Rājuvula and consequently a nephew of Śoḍāsa.[1] The inscriptions A and E on the Mathurā Lion Capital mention him as the *Yuvaraya* Kharaosta. Sten Konow thinks[2] that he was the inheritor to the position as "king of kings" after Moga. His known coins are of two types, presenting legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in *Kharoshṭhī* on the reverse. The *Kharōshṭhī* legend runs thus: *Kshatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Arṭasa putrasa.* '*Pra*' according to Sten Konow, may be a reflex of *Prachakshasa.*[3]

The coins of the family of Rājuvula are imitated from those of the Stratos and also of a line of Hindu princes who ruled at Mathurā. This shows that in the Jumna valley Scythian rule superseded that of both Greek and Hindu princes.

A fragmentary inscription found by Vogel on the site of Gaṇeshrā near Mathurā revealed the name of a Satrap of the Kshaharāta family called Ghaṭāka.[4]

The Nationality of the Northern Satraps.

Cunningham held that the inscription P on the Mathurā Lion Capital—*Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae*—gave decisive proof that Rājuvula or Rājula, Śoḍāsa and other connected Satraps were of Śaka nationality. Dr. Thomas shows, however, that the Satraps of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Śaka domination. This is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Patika of Taxila, who bears himself a Persian name, mentions as his overlord the great king Moga whose name is Śaka. The inscriptions on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Śaka nomenclature.[5] Attention

1 JRAS., 1913, 919, 1009.

2 *Corpus*, 36.

3 *Corpus*, xxxv, '*prachakshasa*' (=epiphanous, "of the gloriously manifest one"), occurs on coins of Strato I and Polyxenos. It is, however, possible that the Sanskrit equivalent of the name of the Satrap is *prakhara-ojas*, "of burning effulgence"

4 JRAS., 1912, p. 121.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 138 ff.; JRAS., 1906, 215 f. For Sten Konow's views see *Corpus*, II. i. xxxvii.

may, however, be called here to the fact that in the *Harivaṁśa* there is a passage [1] which characterises the Pahlavas or Parthians as "*śmaśrudhārinaḥ*" (bearded).[2] Judged by this test, kings of the family of Rājuvula and Nahapāna, who are not unoften taken to be Parthians, could not have belonged to that nationality as their portraits found on coins[3] show no traces of beards and whiskers. They were, therefore, almost certainly Śakas.

[1] I. 14, 17.

[2] The passage is also found in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 88, 141.

[3] JRAS., 1913, between pp. 630-631.

Section II. The Pahlavas or Parthians.

Already in the time of Eukratides, Mithradates I, King of Parthia (*c.* 171-138 B. C.), had conquered portions of the Pañjāb, and in the days of the Śaka Emperors of the family of Maues-Moga, princes of mixed Śaka-Pahlava origin ruled as Satraps in Northern India. But it is important to note that Isidor of Charax, a younger contemporary of Augustus (B.C. 27-A.D. 14), dces not include the Kābul Valley, Sind or the Western Pañjāb within the empire of the Parthians or Pahlavas. The easternmost provinces of the Parthian empire mentioned by that writer are Herat (Aria), Farrah (the country of the Anauoi), the districts between the Hamun and the Helmund (Drangiana and Śakasthāna), and Kandahār (Arachosia). Towards the middle of the first century A.D., however, Śaka sovereignty in parts of Gandhāra must have been supplanted by that of the Parthians. In 43-44 A. D., when Appollonios of Tyana is reputed to have visited Taxila, the throne was occupied by Phraotes, evidently a Parthian. He was however independent of Vardanes, the great King of Babylon and Parthia (*c.* 39-47 A. D.), and himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain power over the Satrap of the Indus. Christian writers refer to a king of India named Gundaphar or Gūdnaphar and his brother Gad who are said to have been converted by the Apostle St. Thomas and who, therefore, lived in the first century A.D.[1] We have no independent confirmation of the story of the biographer of Apollonios. But the " so-called " Takht-i-Bāhī record

[1] The original Syriac text of the legend of St. Thomas belongs probably to the third century A.D. (JRAS., 1913, 634). *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 3. 309.

of the year 103 (of an unspecified era) shows that there was actually in the Peshāwar district a king named **Guduvhara (Gondophernes)**. The names of Gondophernes and, in the opinion of some scholars, of his brother Gad, are also found on coins.[1] According to Rapson the two brothers were associated as sub-kings under the suzerainty of Orthagnes (Verethragna). Sten Konow, however, identifies Orthagnes with Guduvhara himself, while Herzfeld suggests that he was the " unnamed son of Vardanes, mentioned by Tacitus, who claimed the throne against Volagases I about A.D. 55." [2] Dr. Fleet referred the date of the Takht-i-Bahaī (Bāhī) inscription to the Mālava-Vikrama era, and so placed the record in A.D. 47.[3] He remarked " there should be no hesitation about referring the year 103 to the established Vikrama era of B. C. 58 ; instead of having recourse, as in other cases too, to some otherwise unknown era beginning at about the same time. This places Gondophernes in A.D. 47 which suits exactly the Christian tradition which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas the Apostle."

The power of Gondophernes did not probably in the beginning extend to the Gandhāra region. His rule seems to have been restricted at first to southern Afghanistān.[4] He succeeded, however, in annexing the Peshāwar district before the twenty-sixth year of his reign. There is no

[1] Whitehead, pp. 95, 155. Gondophernes = Vindapharna, " Winner of glory " (Whitehead, p. 146, Rapson and Allan). The king assumed the title of Devavrata. Konow, following Fleet, takes the word Guḍana on the coins to refer to the *tribe* of Gondophernes (*Corpus*, II. i. xlvi).

[2] *Corpus*, xlvi; *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 70.

[3] JRAS., 1905, pp. 223-235; 1906, pp. 706-710; 1907, pp. 169-172; 1013-1040; 1913, pp. 999-1003. *Cf.* the views of Cunningham and Dowson (IA. 4, 307). The discovery of the Khalatse and the Taxila silver vase inscriptions however makes the theory of Fleet probably untenable unless we believe in the existence of a plurality of Saka-Pahlava eras. Dr. Jayaswal was inclined to place Gondophernes in 20 B.C. But this date is too early to suit the Christian tradition.

[4] JRAS., 1913, 1003, 1010.

epigraphic evidence that he conquered Eastern Gandhāra (Taxila) though he certainly wrested some provinces from the Azes family. The story of the supersession of the rule of Azes II by him in one of the Scythian provinces is told by the coins of Aspavarman. The latter at first acknowledged the suzerainty of Azes (II) but later on obeyed Gondophernes as his overlord. Evidence of the ousting of Śaka rule by the Parthians in the Lower Indus Valley is furnished by the author of the *Periplus* in whose time (about 60 or 80 A.D.) Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, *i.e.*, the Śaka kingdom in the Lower Indus Valley, was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out. If Sten Konow and Sir John Marshall are right in reading the name of Aja-Aya or Azes in the Kalawān Inscription of 134 and the Taxila Inscription of 136, then it is possible that Śaka rule survived in a part of Eastern Gandhāra,[1] while Peshāwar and the Lower Indus Valley passed into the hands of the Parthians. But the absence of an honorific title before the name of Aja-Aya and the fact that in the record of the year 136 we have reference to the establishment of relics of the Buddha in Takshaśilā "for the bestowal of health on the *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* Khushāṇa," probably suggest that the years 134 and 136 belong, not to the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* (the increasingly victorious reign) of Azes, but to a period when his reign was a thing of the past (*atītarājya*), though the reckoning was still associated with his honoured name. The dating in the Jānībighā inscription (*Lakshmaṇa-senasya =atītarājye* saṁ 83) possibly furnishes us with a parallel.[2]

1 For Fleet's interpretation of "*Sa 136 ayasa ashaḍasa masasa, etc.*," see JRAS., 1914, 995 ff.; also *Calcutta Review*, 1922, December, 493-494. Konow thought at one time that *ayasa* stood for *ādyasya* (=the first). He took the word as qualifying *ashaḍasa*. But he changed his views after the discovery of the Kalawān Inscription of 134. He now thinks that 'the addition *ayasa, ajasa* does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as 'connected with Parthian rulers' (*Ep. Ind.*, xxi. 255 f.). He refers the dates 134, 136 to the era of 58 B. C.

2 Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 165 f.

The Greek principality in the Upper Kābul Valley had apparently ceased to exist when Apollonios travelled in India. We learn from Justin that the Parthians gave the *coup de grace* to the rule of the Bactrian Greeks. Marshall says[1] that the Kabul valley became a bone of contention between the Parthians and the Kushāns. This is quite in accordance with the evidence of Philostratos who refers to the perpetual quarrel of the " barbarians " with the Parthian king of the Indian borderland in 43-44 A.D.

With Gondophernes were associated as subordinate rulers his nephew Abdagases, his generals Aspavarman and Sasa, and his governors Sapedanes and Satavastra.

After the death of the great Parthian monarch his empire split up into smaller principalities. One of these (probably Sīstān) was ruled by **Sanabares,** another (probably embracing Kandahār and the Western Pañjāb) by **Pakores** and others by princes whose coins Marshall recovered for the first time at Taxila. Among them was Sasa who acknowledged the nominal sway of Pakores. The internecine strife among these Parthian princelings is probably reflected in the following passage of the *Periplus* :—

" Before it (Barbaricum) there lies a small island and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara ; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out."

Epigraphic evidence proves that the Pahlava or Parthian rule in Afghanistān, the Pañjāb and Sind was supplanted by that of the Gushana, Khushana or **Kushān** dynasty. We know that Gondophernes was ruling in Peshāwar in the year 103 (A.D. 47 according to Fleet, somewhat earlier according to others). But we learn from the Panjtar inscription that in the year 122 the sovereignty of the region

[1] *ASI*, AR, 1929-30, 56 ff.

had passed to a Gushana or Kushān king.[1] In the year 136 the Kushān suzerainty had extended to Taxila. An inscription of that year mentions the interment of some relics of the Buddha in a chapel at Taxila "for bestowal of perfect health upon the *Mahārāja, rājātirāja devaputra* Khushāṇa." The Sui Vihār and Mahenjo Daro Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions prove the Kushān conquest of the Lower Indus Valley. The Chinese writer Panku, who died in A. D. 92, refers to the Yue-chi occupation of Kao-fou or Kābul. This shows that the race to which the Kushāns belonged took possession of Kābul before A. D. 92. It is, no doubt, asserted by a later writer that Kao-fou is a mistake for Tou-mi. But the mistake in Kennedy's opinion would not have been possible, had the Yue-chi not been in possession of Kao-fou in the time of Panku.[2] The important thing to remember is that a Chinese writer of 92 A. D., thought Kao-fou to have been a Yue-chi possession long before his time. If Sten Konow is to be believed, the Kushāns had established some sort of connection with the Indian borderland as early as the time of Gondophernes. In line 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription Sten Konow reads "*erjhuṇa Kapasa puyae,*"[3] "in honour

[1] We learn from Philostratos that already in the time of Apollonios (A.D. 43-44) the barbarians (Kushāns?) who lived on the border of the Parthian kingdom of Taxila were perpetually quarrelling with Phraotes and making raids into his territories (*The Life of Apollonius*, Loeb Classical Library, pp. 183 ff.).

[2] JRAS., 1912, pp. 676-678. Note also Pan-ku's reference to a man's head on the coins of Ki-pin (JRAS., p. 685 n.) which possibly suggests an acquaintance with the coinage of Kuyula Kaphsa.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 294; XVIII (1926), p. 282. *Corpus*, II, i. 62. It is interesting to recall in this connection a statement of Philostratos (*The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Loeb Classical Library, p. 185) that in A.D. 43-44, the Parthian king of Taxila had enlisted the services of certain " barbarians " to patrol his country so that instead of invading his dominions they themselves kept off the " barbarians " that were on the other side of the frontier and were difficult people to deal with. Prince " Kapa " may have been at first one of these friendly barbarian chiefs. His date is indicated by his imitation of a Roman emperor's head of a style not later than about A.D. 60 (JRAS., 1913, 918).

of prince Kapa," *i.e.*, Kujūla Kadphises, the Kushān king, who is said to have succeeded Hermaios in the Kābul valley. Kujūla Kadphises has been identified with the Kouei-chouang (Kushān) prince K'ieou-tsieou-k'io who took possession of Kao-fou (Kābul), Po-ta and Ki-pin. It appears from numismatic evidence that this Kushān chief was possibly an ally of Hermaios with whom he appears to have issued joint coins. He seems also to have been at first on friendly terms with the Parthian rulers of Gandhāra. But the destruction of Hermaios' kingdom by the Parthians probably supplied him with a *casus belli.* He made war on the latter and eventually destroyed their power in the north-west borderland of India.

SECTION III. THE GREAT KUSHĀNS.

We are informed by the Chinese historians that the Kushāns (chiefs of the Kuei-shuang or Kouei-chouang principality) were a section of the Yueh-chi (Yüe-chï) race. The modern Chinese pronunciation of the name according to Kingsmill is said to be Yué-ti. M. Lévi and other French scholars write Yue-tchi or Yué-tchi.

We learn from Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien (the Chinese annalist, who recorded the story of the travels of Chang-K'ien, the famous envoy), that in or about B.C. 165 the Yue-chi were dwelling between the Tsenn-hoang (Tun-huang) country and the K'i-lien mountains, or Tien-chan Range in Chinese Turkestan.[1] At that date the Yue-chi were defeated and expelled from their country by the Hiung-nū who slew their king and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain ruler succeeded to her husband's power. Under her guidance the Yue-chi in the course of their westward migration attacked the Wu-sun whose king was killed.[2] After this exploit the Yue-chi attacked the Śakas in the plains of the Jaxartes or the Syr Darya and compelled their king to seek refuge in Kipin (Kāpiśa-Lampāka-Gandhāra).

Meantime the son of the slain Wu-sun king grew up to manhood and drove the Yue-chi further west into the Ta-hia (Dahae?) territory washed by the Oxus. The Ta-hia, who were devoted to commerce, unskilled in war and wanting

1 Smith says (EHI[4], p. 263) that they occupied lands in the Kansuh Province in North-Western China.

2 The main section of the Yue-chi passed on westwards beyond Lake Issykkūl, the rest diverged to the South and settled on the frontier of Tibet. The latter came to be known as the "Little Yue-chi." Eventually they established their capital at Purushapura in Gandhāra. Smith, EHI[4], 264; Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. lxxvi

in cohesion, were easily reduced to a condition of vassalage by the Yue-chi who established their capital or royal encampment to the north of the Oxus, in the territory now belonging to Bukhārā (in ancient Sogdiana). The Yue-chi capital was still in the same position when visited by Chang-Kien in or about B. C. 130-125.[1]

The adventures of Chang-Kien as related by Ssū-ma-ch'ien in the *Sse-ki* or *Shi-ki* (completed before B. C. 91) were retold in Pan-ku's *Ts'ien Han-shu* or *Annals of the First Han Dynasty* that dealt with the period B. C. 206—A.D. 24, and was completed by Pan-ku's sister after his death in A.D. 92), with three important additions, namely :—

1. That the kingdom of the Ta-Yue-chi had for its capital the town of Kien-chi (Kien-she), to the north of the Oxus,[2] and Kipin lay on its southern frontier.

2. That the Yue-chi were no longer nomads.

3. That the Yue-chi kingdom had become divided into five principalities, *viz.*, Hi(eo)u-mi (possibly Wakhān), Chouangmi or Shuang-mi (possibly Chitral), Kouei-chouang or Kuei-shuang, the Kushān principality, probably situated between Chitral and the Panjshir country), Hit(h)un (Parwān on the Panjshir) and Kao-fou (Kābul).[3]

We next obtain a glimpse of the Yue-chi in Fan-Ye's *Hou Han-shu* or *Annals of the Later Han Dynasty* which cover the period between A.D. 25 and 220. Fan-Ye based his account on the report of Pan-young (*cir.* A.D. 125) and

[1] JRAS., 1903, pp. 19-20; 1912, pp. 668 ff., PAOS., 1917, pp. 89 ff.; Whitehead, 171; Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. xxii-xxiii, liv, lxii ; contra p. lvi where the Yue-chi capital is said to have been in Badakshan to the south of the Oxus.

[2] *Cf. Corpus* II. i. liv. But see p. lvi, where the capital is placed in Badakshan.

[3] A later historian regards Kao-fou as a mistake for Tou-mi which however, was probably not far from Kābul, JRAS., 1912, 669. For the proposed identifications see *Corpus*, II. i. lvi. *Cf.* JRAS., 1903, 21; 1912. 669. In Ep. Ind., XXI, 258, S. Konow suggests the identification of Kuei-shuang with Gandhāra or the country immediately to its north.

others.[1] He himself died in 445 A.D. The capital of the Yue-chi was then probably the old Ta-hia city of Lan-shi (Lan-sheu) in Badakshān to the south of the Oxus. Fan-Ye gives the following account of the Yue-chi conquest :

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hiung nū. They then went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among five *Hi-h(e)ou* or *Yabgous*, *viz.*, those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the *Yabgou* (*Yavuga*) of Kouei-chouang (Kushān) named **K'ieou-tsieou-k'io** attacked and vanquished the four other *Yabgous* and called himself king (*Wang*); he invaded Ngan-si (the Arsakid territory, *i.e.*, Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kao-fou (Kābul), overcame Po-ta [2] and Ki-pin and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-k'io died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-kao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T'ien-tchou (India), and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designated them Kushān after their king, but the Han retained the old name, and called them Ta-Yue-chi."

"Kieou-tsieou-kio" has been identified with **Kujula**[3] **Kadphises (I)**,[4] or Kozola Kadaphes, the first Kushān king

1 *Cf.* Konow, *Corpus*, liv : "It is accordingly the events of the period A. D. 25-125 which are narrated by Fan Ye, though there are some additions referring to a somewhat later time in the case of countries which were near enough to remain in contact with China after the reign of Emperor Ngan" (107-25) See also Ep. Ind., XXI, 258.

2 Perhaps identical with the country of Po-tai which, in the time of Sung-yun, sent two young lions to the King of Gandhāra as present (Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, ci). Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 278) identified P'u-ta with Ghazni, but later on (Ep. XXI, 258) suggested its identification with Butkhāk, ten miles east of Kābul.

3 *Cf. Kusuluka.* The expression probably means 'strong' or beautiful (*Corpus*, l).

4 Pahlavi *Kad*=chief, JRAS., 1913, 632 n.

who struck coins to the south of the Hindukush. Numismatic evidence suggests that he was the colleague or ally,[1] and afterwards the successor, of Hermaios, the last Greek prince of the Kābul valley. The prevalent view that Kadphises conquered Hermaios is, in the opinion of Marshall, wrong. Sten Konow finds his name mentioned in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 belonging to the reign of Gondophernes.[2] The inscription probably belongs to a period when the Kushān and Parthian rulers were on friendly terms. But the Parthian attack on the kingdom of Hermaios apparently led to a rupture which ended in war. The result was that the Parthians were ousted by Kadphises I.

Marshall identifies Kadphises I with the Kushān king of the Panjtar record (of the year 122) and the Taxila scroll of the year 136.[3] We should, however, remember that in the Taxila inscription of 136 the Kushān king is called *Devaputra*, a title which was characteristic of the Kanishka group and not of Kadphises I or II unless we identify Kadphises I with Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. The monogram on the scroll is by no means characteristic only of coins of the Kadphises group, but it is also found, in Marshall's and S. Konow's opinion, on the coins of Zeionises and Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. If, however, S. Konow and Marshall are right in reading the name of Uvima Kavthisa in the Khalatse inscription of the year 184 or 187, and that of Jihonika in the Taxila inscription of the year 191, the king of the Panjtar and Taxila records of 122 and 136 must be a predecessor of Wema (Vima), and should preferably be identified with Kadphises I.

[1] In the opinion of some scholars Hermaios was dead at the time of the Kushān conquest. Coins bearing his name continued, according to this view, to be struck long after he had passed away.

[2] The interpretation of Konow is not accepted by Professor Rapson, JRAS., 1930, p. 189.

[3] JRAS., 1914, pp. 977-78.

Kadphises I probably coined no gold but only copper. His coinage shows unmistakable influence of Rome.[1] He copied the issues of Augustus or those of his immediate successors, and used the titles *Yavuga* (chief), *Mahārāja*, *Rājātirāja* (the great king, the king of kings) and "*Sachadhrama hita*" (Steadfast in the True Faith of the Buddha).[2]

"K'ieou-tsieou-k'io," or Kadphises I, was succeeded by his son **Yen-kao-tchen,** the Vima, Wima or Wema Kadphises of the coins, who is usually designated as **Kadphises II**. We have already seen that he conquered Tien-tchou or the Indian interior and set up a chief who governed in the name of the Yue-chi. According to Sten Konow[3] and Smith[4] it was Kadphises II who established the Śaka Era of A.D. 78. If this view be accepted then he was possibly the overlord of Nahapāna, and was the Kushān monarch who was defeated by the Chinese and compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Ho-ti (A. D. 89-105). But there is no direct evidence that Kadphises II established any era. No inscription or coin of this monarch contains any date which is referable to an era of his institution. On the contrary we have evidence that Kanishka did establish an era, that is to say, his method of dating was continued by his successors, and we have dates ranging probably from the year 1 to 99.

[1] In one class of his copper coins appears a Roman head which was palpably imitated from that of Augustus (B. C. 27-A.D. 14), Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), or Claudius (A.D. 41-54). JRAS., 1912, 679; 1913, 912; Smith, *Catalogue*, 66; *Camb. Short Hist.* 74. Rome and its people, Romakas, first appear in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 51, 17) and occur not unfrequently in later literature. Diplomatic relations between Rome and India were established as early as the time of Augustus who received an embassy from king 'Pandion' (*Camb. Hist. Ind.* I. 597) about B.C. 22. An Indian embassy was also received by Trajan (A.D. 98-117) shortly after A.D. 99. Strabo, Pliny and the *Periplus* refer to a brisk trade between India and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. See JRAS., 1904, 591; IA. 5. 281; 1923, 50. Pliny deplores the drain of specie (JRAS, 1912. 986; 1913, 644).

[2] Smith, *Catalogue*, 67n; Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. lxiv f.; Whitehead, 181.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 141.

[4] *The Oxford History of India*, p 128.

The conquests of the Kadphises kings opened up the path of commerce between China and the Roman Empire and India. Roman gold began to pour into this country in payment for silk, spice and gems. Kadphises II began to issue gold coins. He had a bilingual gold and copper coinage.[1] The obverse design gives us a new lifelike representation of the monarch. The reverse is confined to the worship of Śiva, which was gaining ground since the days of the *Śiva-Bhāgavatas* mentioned by Patañjali.[2] In the *Kharoshṭhī* inscription Kadphises II is called "the great king, the king of kings, lord of the whole world, the *Mahiś-vara*, the defender."[3]

We learn from Yu-Houan, the author of the *Wei-lio*[4] which was composed between A.D. 239-265 and covers the period of the Wei down to the reign of the emperor Ming (227-239),[5] that the Yue-chi power was flourishing in Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra), Ta-hia (Oxus valley), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-tchou (India) as late as the second quarter of the third century A.D. But the early Chinese annalists are silent about the names of the successors of Yen-kao-tchen (Kadphises II). Chinese sources, however, refer to a king of the Ta-Yue-chi named Po-tiao or Puā-d'ieu (possibly Vāsudeva) who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230.[6] Inscriptions discovered in India have preserved the names with dates of the following great Kushān sovereigns besides the Kadphises

[1] A silver piece resembling the ordinary small copper type of Vima Kadphises is also known (Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 174). Other silver coins of the monarch are apparently referred to by Marshall (*Guide to Taxila*, 1918, 81). Smith (EHI[4], p. 270) makes mention of a silver coin of Huvishka.

[2] V, 2, 76; *cf.* Śaiva, Pāṇini, IV, 1, 112.

[3] Sten Konow finds the name of Vima (Uvima) Kavthisa (Kadphises) in the Khalatse (Ladakh) inscription of the year 187 (?). *Corpus*, II. i. 81.

[4] A History of the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 220-264).

[5] *Corpus*, II, i. lv.

[6] *Corpus*, II, i. lxxvii.

group, *viz.*, **Kanishka** I (1-23),[1] Vāsishka (24-28), Huvishka (28-60),[2] Kanishka II, son of Vā-jheshka (41), and Vāsudeva (74-98). Huvishka, Vā-jheshka and Kanishka II are probably referred to by Kalhaṇa as Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who apparently ruled conjointly. It will be seen that Kanishka II ruled in the year 41, a date which falls within the reign of Huvishka (28-60). Thus the account of Kalhaṇa is confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

In the chronological order generally accepted by numismatists, the Kanishka group succeeded the Kadphises group. But this view is not accepted by many scholars. Moreover, there is little agreement even among scholars who place the Kanishka group after the Kadphises kings. The more important theories of Kanishka's date are given below :

1. According to Dr. Fleet, Kanishka reigned *before* the Kadphises group, and was the founder of that reckoning, commencing B.C. 58, which afterwards came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat.[3] This view (held at one time by

[1] See JRAS., 1913, 980; 1924, p. 400, "*Three Mathurā Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushān Dynasty*" by Dayārām Sahni; and IHQ., Vol. III (1927), p. 853, "*Further Kanishka Notes*" by Sten Konow.

[2] See Ep. Ind., XXI, 55 ff.—*Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription of the Year* 28.

[3] For discussions about the origin of the so-called *Vikrama* era see JRAS., 1913, pp. 637, 994 ff.; Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.* xx. (1891) 124 ff., 397 ff.; *Bhand. Com. Vol.*, pp. 187 ff.; CHI., pp. 168, 533, 571; ZDMG., 1922, pp. 250 ff.; Ep. Ind. xxiii. 48 ff.; Kielhorn and Altekar point out that the early use of the era, as may be inferred from records with dates that may be recognised to refer to this reckoning, was mainly confined to Southern and Eastern Rājputāna, Central India and the Upper Ganges Valley. From the fifth to the ninth century the reckoning was believed to be used especially by the princes and people of Mālava. The connection of the name Vikrama with the era grew up gradually and was far from being *generally* adopted even in the ninth century A.D. The phraseology employed in the poems and inscriptions of the next centuries shows a gradual advance from the simple *Samvat* to *Vikrama Samvat*, *Śrīnripa Vikrama Samvat* and so on. The change in nomenclature was probably brought about by the princes and people of Gujarāṭ whose hostility to the Mālavas is well known. The Sātavāhanas could not have founded this or any other era because they always used regnal years, and Indian literature distinguishes between *Vikrama* and *Śālivāhana*. As to the claims of Azes, see *Calcutta Review*, 1922, December, pp. 493-494. Fleet points out (JRAS., 1914,

Cunningham and Dowson, and maintained by Franke) was accepted by Kennedy, but was ably controverted by Dr. Thomas, and can no longer be upheld after the discoveries of Marshall.[1] Inscriptions, coins as well as the testimony of Hiuen Tsang clearly prove that Kanishka's dominions included Gandhāra, but we have already seen that according to Chinese evidence Yin-mo-fu, and not the Kushāns, ruled Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) in the second half of the first century B.C. Allan thinks that "the gold coinage of Kanishka was suggested by the Roman *solidus*" and that the Kushān monarch can hardly be placed before Titus (79-81 A.D.) and Trajan (98-117 A.D.).[2]

2. According to Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and several other scholars Kanishka's rule began about 125 A.D.,[3] and ended in the second half of the second century

995 ff.) that even when the name of a real king stands before the statement of the years, so that the translation would be "in the year of such and such a king" he is not necessarily to be regarded as the actual founder of that particular reckoning. The nomenclature of an era, current in a comparatively late period, more than a century after its commencement, is no proof of origins. Therefore the use of the terms *Ayasa* or *Ajasa* in connection with the dates 134 and 136 of the Kalawan and Taxila inscriptions, does not prove that Azes was the *founder* of the particular reckoning used. His name may have been connected with the reckoning by later generations in the same way as the name of the Valabhi family came to be associated with the Gupta era, that of Śātavāhana with the Śaka era, and that of Vikrama with the "Kṛita"-Mālava reckoning itself which commenced in 58 B.C. Regarding the claims of Vikrama see *Bhand. Com. Vol.* and *Ind. Ant.*, cited above. The *Purāṇas* while mentioning Gardabhilla are silent about Vikramāditya. Jaina tradition places Vikramāditya after 'Nahavāhana, or Nahapāna. Regarding the contention of Fleet that the Vikrama era is a *northern* reckoning attention may be invited to the observations of Kielhorn and to a note on *Chola Pāṇḍya Institutions* contributed by Professor C. S. Srinivasachari to *The Young Men of India*, July, 1926. The Professor points out that the era was used in Madura in the 5th century A.D. Kielhorn proves conclusively that the area where the era of 58 B.C. was used in the earliest times did not include the extreme north-west of India.

[1] Thomas, JRAS., 1913 ; Marshall, JRAS., 1914. [2] *Camb. Short History*, p. 77.

[3] The argument that India was still in A.D. 125 governed by a Viceroy (and therefore not by Kanishka or Huvishka) is effectively disposed of by Thomas in JRAS., 1913, 1024. He points out that the historian of the Later Han is obviously referring to the conditions at the time of the invasion of Wima Kadphises, and not to the state of things in A.D. 125.

A.D.[1] Now, we learn from the Sui Vihār inscription that Kanishka's dominions included a portion at least of the Lower Indus Valley. Again we learn from the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, that the *Mahākshatrapa's* conquests extended to Sindhu and Sauvīra (which included Multān according to the Purāṇas and Alberuni) and even to the land of the Yaudheyas in the direction of the Sutlej. Rudradāman certainly flourished from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. He did not owe his position as *Mahākshatrapa* to anybody else (*svayam adhigata Mahākshatrapa nāma*). If Kanishka reigned in the middle of the second century A.D., how are we to reconcile his mastery over the Sui Vihār region in the Lower Indus Valley with the contemporary sovereignty of Rudradāman ?[2] Again Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vāsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 28-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98, suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era, ever current in North-West India, which commenced in the second century A.D.

3. Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the era founded by Kanishka was the Traikuṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era of 248-49 A.D.[3] Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil points out that this is not possible.[4] " In fact, the reign of Vāsudeva, the last of the Kushāns, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscrip-

[1] Dr. Sten Konow's views are difficult to ascertain. In the *Indian Studies in honour of C. R. Lanman* (Harvard University Press), p. 65, he mentions A.D. 134 as the initial point of the Kanishka reckoning which he and Dr. Van Wijk " have tried to establish " (*cf. Acta Orientalia*, III, 54 ff.). But in IHQ., III (1927), p. 851, he, along with Dr. Van Wijk, shows a predilection for A.D. 128-29 (*cf. Corpus*, lxxvii; *Acta Orientalia*, V, 168 ff.). Professor Rapson (in JRAS., 1930, 186 ff) points out the conjectural and inconclusive character of the two doctors' calculations. " The year 79," says he, " seems to be out of the running and a dark horse, the year 128-9, is the favourite."

[2] See IHQ., March, 1930, 149.

[3] For this era see JRAS., 1905, pp. 566-68.

[4] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 31.

tions prove that Vāsudeva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudeva, was occupied about 350 A.D. by the Yaudheyas and the Nāgas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmāvatī." The Kushān realm in the Indian borderland was, in A.D. 360, ruled by Grumbates.[1] The theory of Dr. Majumdar cannot, moreover, be reconciled with the Tibetan tradition which makes Kanishka a contemporary of king Vijayakīrti of Khotan,[2] and the Indian tradition which makes Huvishka a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, and hence of a king of the Imperial Śātavāhana line, who can hardly be placed later than the second century A.D., as he is described as 'lord of the three seas' and sovereign of (South) Kośala (in the Upper Deccan).[3] Lastly, the catalogues of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* state that An-Shih-Kāo (148-170 A.D.) translated the *Mārgabhūmi Sūtra* of Saṅgharaksha who was the chaplain of Kanishka.[4] This shows conclusively that Kanishka flourished long before 170 A.D.[5] The arguments against the theory of Dr. Majumdar are equally applicable to the surmise of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who placed Kanishka's accession in A.D. 278.

4. According to Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson and many other scholars Kanishka was the

[1] E.H.I.[4], p. 290.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 142.

[3] *Rājataraṅginī*, I. 173 ; *Harsha-charita* (Cowell), p. 252 ; Watters, *Yuan-Chwang*, II, p. 200. The epithet *trisamudrādhipati* which the *Harsha-charita* (Book VIII) applies to tha Śātavāhana friend of Nāgārjuna cannot fail to remind one of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī 'whose chargers drank the water of the three oceans' (*tisamudatoya pitavāhana*), or one of his immediate successors.

[4] Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 64n. Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*, App. II, 4.

[5] According to the theory of Dr. Majumdar, Vāsudeva I ruled from (249 + 74) 323 to (249 + 98) 347 A.D. But Chinese evidence places a Po-tiao (Vāsudeva?) in 230 A.D. The Khalatse Ins. also presents difficulties.

founder of that reckoning commencing A.D. 78, which came to be known as the *Śaka* era.[1] This view is not accepted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the following grounds :—

(*a*) If we admit that Kujūla-Kadphises and Hermaios reigned about 50 A.D. and that Kanishka founded the Śaka era in 78 A.D. we have scarcely 28 years for the duration of the end of the reigns of Kadphises I and the whole of the reign of Kadphises II.

(But the date, A.D. 50, for Kadphises I is uncertain. Even if we accept it as correct, the period of 28 years is not too short in view of the fact that Kadphises II succeeded an octogenerian. When Kadphises I died "at the age of more than eighty" his son must have been an old man. It is therefore, improbable that "his reign was protracted.")

[1] For the origin of the *Śaka* era see Fleet, CII., preface 56; JRAS., 1913, pp. 635, 650, 987 ff. ; Dubreuil, A. H. D., 26 ; Rapson *Āndhra Coins*, p. cv ; S. Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. xvi f. Nahapāna, who was not even a *Mahākshatrapa* in the years 42-45, and who never became a paramount sovereign, could not have been the founder of the era. The theory which represents Nahapāna as the founder of the era used in his inscriptions (dated 42-46) is also contradicted by a Jaina tradition (relied on by Sten Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. xxxviii) which assigns to him (Nahavāhana) a period of only 40 years. Chashṭana has no better claims and the evidence of the *Periplus* shows that he could not have ruled at Ujjain in 78 A.D. As to the theory that Kadphises II founded the reckoning in question, it may be pointed out that no inscription or coin of this monarch contains any date which is referable to an era of his institution. The only Scythian king who did establish an era in the sense that he used a regnal reckoning that was continued by his successors, is Kanishka. And the only reckoning that is attributed by Indian writers, since the days of the early Chalukyas, to a Scythian king is the Śaka era of 78 A.D.

Regarding the objection that the Śaka era was foreign to the north it may be pointed out that the era of 58 B.C., was equally foreign to the extreme north-west of India. The assertion that the Śaka era was never used in the north-west simply begs the question. It assumes what it has not to prove, *viz.*, that the reckoning used by the house of Kanishka does not refer to the Śaka era. The very name Śaka points to its foreign, and possibly north-western, origin, as the imperial Śakas resided in that region, and it is only the viceroys who dwelt in Mālwa, Kāthiāwār and the Deccan. On the analogy of every famous Indian regnal reckoning it may be confidently asserted that the Śaka era, too, originated with a sovereign and not with a viceroy.

(*b*) Marshall, says Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, has discovered at Taxila in the Chir Stūpa a document dated 136 which, in the *Vikrama* era, corresponds to 79 A.D., and the king mentioned therein is probably Kadphises I, but certainly not Kanishka.

(Now, the epithet *Devaputra* applied to the Kushān king of the Taxila scroll of 136, is characteristic of the Kanishka group, and not of the Kadphises kings.[1] So the discovery need not shake the conviction of those that attribute to Kanishka the era of 78 A.D. The omission of the personal name of the Kushān monarch does not necessarily imply that the first Kushān is meant. In several inscriptions of the time of Kumāra Gupta and Budha Gupta, the king is referred to simply as *Gupta nṛipa*.)

(*c*) Professor Dubreuil says : " Sten Konow has shown that the Tibetan and Chinese documents tend to prove that Kanishka reigned in the second century."

(This Kanishka may have been Kanishka of the Ārā Inscription of the year 41 which, if referred to the Śaka era, would give a date in the second century A.D. Po-t'iao of Sten Konow,[2] the king of the Yue-chi who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230, may have been one of the successors of Vāsudeva I. " Coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away."[3] Dr. Smith, Mr. R. D. Banerji and Dr. S. Konow himself clearly recognise the existence of more than one Vāsudeva.)[4]

[1] The Kadphises kings meant here are Kujūla (Kadphises I), and Vima (Wema) and not Kuyula Kara Kaphsa whose identification with Kadphises I is a mere surmise. Even if Kuyula Kara be identical with Kujūla (*cf. Corpus*, II, i. lxv) and the Kushān king of the Taxila inscription of 136, it may be pointed out that it is by no means certain that the date 136 refers to the *Vikrama* era.

[2] Vāsudeva ? Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141. *Corpus*, II, i. lxxvii ; *cf. Acta*, II, 183.

[3] EHI, 3rd ed., p. 272.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 272-78. *Corpus*, ii, l. lxxvii.

(*d*) Sten Konow has shown that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era and those of the Śaka era are not dated in the same fashion. (But the same scholar also shows that all the inscriptions of the Kanishka era are also not dated in the same fashion. In the *Kharoshṭhī* inscriptions, Kanishka and his successors recorded the dates in the same way as their Śaka-Pahlava predecessors, giving the name of the month and the day within the month. On the other hand, in their *Brāhmī* records Kanishka and his successors *usually* adopted the Ancient Indian way of dating.[1] Are we to conclude from this that the *Kharoshṭhī* dates of Kanishka's inscriptions are not to be referred to the same era to which the dates of the *Brāhmī* records are to be ascribed ? If Kanishka adopted two different ways of dating, we fail to understand why he could not have adopted a third method to suit the local conditions in Western India. Sten Konow himself points out that in the Śaka dates we have the name of the month as in the *Kharoshṭhī* records, with the addition of the *Paksha*. "The Śaka era which (the Western *Kshatrapas*) used was a direct imitation of the reckoning used by their cousins in the north-west, the additional mentioning of the '*paksha*' being perhaps a concession to the custom in the part of the country where they ruled." It is not improbable that just as Kanishka in the borderland used the old Śaka-Pahlava method, and in Hindusthān Proper used the ancient Indian way of dating prevalent there, so in Western India his officers added the '*paksha*' to suit the custom in that part of the country.)[2]

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 141. For an exception see *ibid*, XXI. 60.

[2] As to the statement of Fleet endorsed by S. Konow, *Corpus*, lxxxvii, that the use of the Śaka era was foreign to Northern India attention may be invited to Kielhorn's *List of Ins. of Northern India*, Nos 351, 352, 362, 364-365, 368, 379, etc. So far as North-West India is concerned there is as little positive proof of the *early* use of the *Vikrama* era as of the era of 78 A.D. The paucity of early records dated in the Śaka era in the valley of the Upper Ganges and its tributaries is possibly due to the

According to Sten Konow Kanishka came from Khotan[1] and belonged to the Little Yüe-chi. The theory presents many difficulties.[2] It is certain that his successors in 230 were still known as the Ta (Great ?) Yüe-chi. The family name according to Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitīkā* was Kiu-sha.[3]

Kanishka completed the Kushān conquest of Upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Kāpiśa, Gandhāra and Kaśmīra to Benares. Traditions of his conflict with the rulers of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra in Eastern India are preserved by Tibetan and Chinese writers.[4] Epigraphic records give us contemporary notices of him, with dates, not only from Peshāwar and possibly from Zeda (near Uṇḍ) in the Yuzufzai country, but also from Māṇikiāla near Rāwalpindi, from Sui Vihār about 16 miles south-west of Bahāwalpur (north of Sind), from Mathurā and Śrāvastî, and from Sārnāth near Benares.[5] His coins are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghāzipur and Gorakhpur. The eastern portion of his empire was apparently governed by the *Mahā-Kshatrapa* Kharapallāna and the *Kshatrapa* Vanashpara. In the northern portion we find the general Lala and the Satraps Vespasi and Liaka. He fixed his own

fact that the era of 58 B.C. already held the field. Later eras of undoubtedly northern origin, like those of the Guptas and Harsha, have practically been forgotten, but the era of 58 B.C. is still in use. In Southern India the case is different. The use of regnal years in the records of the Mauryas (many of which are located in the south) and those of the Śātavāhanas, Chetas, and other early dynasties, proves beyond doubt that there was no early reckoning in use that could compete with the new era that was introduced by the Śaka satraps. The story of the foundation of the Chālukya Vikrama era suggests that the Śaka reckoning was at times deliberately sought to be discontinued because of its foreign association. This might have happened in the north as well as in the south.

1 *Corpus*, II, i. lxxvi; *cf.* lxi; JRAS., 1903, 334.

2 *Ibid*, p. lxxvii.

3 *Cf.* Kuśa of *Kanikha leka* and Kuśadvīpa of the *Purāṇas*.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 142 ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 382; *Corpus*, II, i, pp. lxxii and lxxv.

5 In recent years Mr. K. G. Goswami has drawn attention to a Brāhmī Inscription of Kanishka, dated in the year 2, which he found in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad (*Calcutta Review*, July, 1934, p. 83).

residence at Peshāwar (Purushapura) and possibly established Kanishkapura [1] in Kaśmīra. It is, however, more probable that Kanishkapura was established by his namesake of the Ārā inscription. After making himself master of the south (*i.e.*, India) Kanishka turned to the west and defeated the king of the Parthians.[2] In his old age he led an army against the north and died in an attempt to cross the Tsung-ling mountains (Tāghdumbāsh Pāmīr) between the Pāmīr Plateau and Khotan. The Northern expedition is apparently referred to by Hiuen-Tsang who speaks of his rule in the territory to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains, and of a Chinese Prince detained as a hostage at his court.

It is not improbable that Kanishka was the Kushān king repulsed by general Pan-ch'ao during the reign of the Emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105). It has no doubt been argued that Kanishka "must have been a monarch of some celebrity and if the Chinese had come into victorious contact with him, their historians would have mentioned it." But if we identify Pan-ch'ao's Kushān contemporary with Kadphises II, the silence of the Chinese becomes still more mysterious and inexplicable because he was certainly well known to the annalists. On the other hand, Kanishka was not known to them, and the non-mention of his name, if he were Pan-ch'ao's contemporary, cannot be more surprising than that of his predecessor, Wema. In favour of Kanishka's identity with Pan-ch'ao's antagonist we may urge that Kanishka is known to have come into conflict with the Chinese, but the same cannot be said with regard to Wema, the events of whose reign, as recorded by Chinese annalists, do not include a first class war with China. The legend of Kanishka's death published by S. Lévi contains

[1] Cunningham (AGI², 114) located it near Śrīnagar. Stein and Smith identify it with Kānispar, "situated between the Vitastā river and the high road leading from Varāhamūla to Śrīnagar" (EHI⁴, p. 275).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 382.

a significant passage which runs thus :—"I have subjugated three regions ; all men have taken refuge with me, the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission." [1] Have we not here a covert allusion to his failure in the encounter with his mighty northern neighbour ?

Kanishka's fame rests not so much on his conquests, as on his patronage of the religion of Śākyamuni. Numismatic evidence and the testimony of the Peshāwar Casket inscriptions show that he actually became a convert to Buddhism at the commencement of his reign, if not earlier. He showed his zeal for his faith by building the celebrated relic tower and *Saṅghārāma* at Purushapura or Peshāwar which excited the wonder of Chinese and Muslim travellers.[2] He convoked the last great Buddhist council which was held in Kaśmîra or Jālandhar.[3] But though a Buddhist, the Kushān monarch continued to honour the Greek, Sumerian, Zoroastrian, Elamite, Mithraic and Hindu gods worshipped in the various provinces of his far-flung empire.[4] The court of Kanishka was adorned by Pārśva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, Charaka, Nāgārjuna,[5] Saṁgharaksha, Māṭhara, Agesilaos

[1] EHI[4], p. 285; JRAS, 1912, 674.

[2] The fame of the *Kanishka Mahāvihāra* remained undiminished till the days of the Pāla Kings of Bengal as is apparent from the Ghoshrāvan Inscription of the time of Devapāla. Kanishka's *Chaitya* is referred to by Alberuni.

[3] One account possibly mentions Gandhāra as the place where the Assembly met. The earliest authorities seem to locate it in Kashmîr. *Kundalavana vihāra* appears to be the name of the monastery where the theologians assembled probably under the presidency of Vasumitra. The chief business of the Synod seems to be the collection of canonical texts, and the preparation of commentaries on them (Smith, *EHI*[4], pp. 283 ff; Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, 71).

[4] See JRAS, 1912, pp. 1003, 1004. The Elamite (Sumerian ? Hastings, 5,827) goddess Nana possibly gave her name to the famous Nāṇaka coins (*cf.* Bhand., *Carm. Lec.*, 1921, p. 161). For the influence of the Mithra (Mihr, Mihira, Miiro) cult on Kushān India, see Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 154. According to Professor Rapson (*Andhra Coins*, xii) the diversity of coin-types does not show religious eclecticism, but reflects the different forms of religion which prevailed in the various districts of the vast empire of the Great Kushāns.

[5] It is possible that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary, not of Kanishka I, but of Kanishka II and Huvishka.

the Greek and other worthies who played a leading part in the religious, literary, scientific, philosophical and artistic activities of the reign. Excavations at Māt near Mathurā have disclosed a life-size statue of the great king.[1]

After Kanishka came **Vāsishka,** Huvishka and Kanishka of the Ārā inscription. We have got inscriptions of Vāsishka dated 24 and 28 which prove his control over Mathurā and Eastern Mālwa. He may have been identical with Vājheshka, the father of Kanishka of the Ārā inscription, and Jushka of the *Rājataraṅginī*, the founder of the town of Jushkapur, modern Zukur to the north of Śrînagar.[2]

Huvishka's dates range from 28 to 60. A Mathurā Inscription[3] represents him as the grandson of a king who has the appellation "*Sacha dharmaṭhita,*" *i.e.*, steadfast in the true Law, which occurs on the coins of Kuyula Kaphsa. Kalhaṇa's narrative leaves the impression that Huvishka ruled simultaneously with Jushka and Kanishka, *i.e.*, Vā-jheshka and **Kanishka of the Ārā inscription** of the year 41. The Wardak vase inscription proves the inclusion of Kābul within his dominions. But there is no evidence that he retained his hold on the Lower Indus Valley which was probably wrested from the successors of Kanishka I by Rudradāman. In Kaśmīra Huvishka built a town named Hushkapura.[4] Like Kanishka I, he was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathurā.[5] He also resembled Kanishka in his taste for a diversity of coin-types. Besides a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian deities we have, on one of his coins, the remarkable figure of Roma.[6]

1 EHI[4], p. 272. *Cf.* Coin-portrait, JRAS, 1912, 670.

2 EHI[4], p. 275.

3 JRAS, 1924, p. 402.

4 It is identified with Ushkūr inside the Bārāmūla Pass (EHI[4], p. 287).

5 *Cf.* Lüders, List No. 62.

6 *Camb. Short Hist.*, 79. Numismatic evidence possibly suggests that the 'lion-standard' was to some of the Great Kushāns was the *Garuḍa-dvaja* was to their Gupta successors. *Cf.* Whitehead, 196.

A Mathurā inscription refers to the restoration during his reign of a delapidated *Devakula* of his grandfather.

Smith does not admit that the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 was different from the great Kanishka. Lüders, Fleet, Kennedy and Sten Konow, on the other hand, distinguish between the two Kanishkas.[1] According to Lüders, Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was a son of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I. Kanishka II had the titles *Mahārāja*, *Rājātirāja*, *Devaputra* and possibly *Kaisara* (Caesar). It is probable that he, and not Kanishka I, was the founder of the town of Kanishkapura in Kaśmîra.

The last notable king of Kanishka's line was **Vāsudeva I**. His dates range from the year 74 to 98, *i.e.*, A.D. 152 to 176 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist. His coins exhibit the figure of Śiva attended by Nandi. There can be no doubt that he reverted to Śaivism, the religion professed by his great predecessor Kadphises II. A king named Vāsudeva is mentioned in the *Kāvya Mîmāṁsā* as a patron of poets and a *Sabhāpati*, apparently 'President of a Society' (of learned men). That the Kushān Age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of Śaivism and the allied cult of Kārttikeya, of the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism and the cults of Mihira and of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kāśyapa Mātaṅga (*c.* 61-67 A.D.).

[1] *Cf. Corpus*, II. i. lxxv; 163. Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 143. JRAS, 1913, 98. The mention of a distinguishing patronymic in the record of the year 41, and the fact that no inscriptions of Kanishka are known that are referable to the period 24 to 40 of the era used by the family (when the Kushān throne was occupied by Vāsishka and possibly Huvishka as a junior partner), suggest that Kanishka of the year 41 is not to be identified with Kanishka of the years 1-23.

"The dynasty of Kanishka opened the way for Indian civilization to Central and Eastern Asia."

The inscriptions of Vāsudeva have been found only in the Mathurā region. From this it is not unreasonable to surmise that he gradually lost his hold over the north-western portion of the Kushān dominions.

About the middle of the third century A.D., we hear of the existence of no less than four kingdoms all 'dependent on the Yue-chi,' and ruled probably by princes of the Yue-chi stock.[1]

These were Ta-hia (the Oxus region), Ki-pin (Kāpiśa), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-tchou (India proper). In 230 the Ta Yue-chi (Great [?] Yue-chi king) Po-tiao sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor. The Yue-chi kingdom of Tientchou probably disappeared in the fourth century A.D.,

[1] *Cf.* Kennedy, JRAS, 1913, 1060 f. Among the successors of Vāsudeva may be mentioned Kanishka (III), Vasu (Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 211-12), Po-tiao, A.D. 230 (*Corpus*, II. i. lxxvii) and Grumbates, A.D. 360 (Smith, *EHI*[4], p. 290). Kings claiming to belong to the family of Kanishka continued to rule in Ki-pin and Gandhāra long after he had passed away (*Itinerary of Oukong*, Cal. Rev., 1922, Aug.-Sept., pp. 193, 489). The last king of Kanishka's race was, according to tradition, Lagatūrmān who was overthrown by his Brāhmaṇa minister Kallar (Alberuni, II, 13). For an alleged invasion of India in the later Kushān period by Ardeshir Bābagān (A.D. 226-41), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, see Ferishta (Elliot and Dowson, VI, p. 55). Varhrān II (A.D. 276-93) conquered the whole of Śakasthāna and made his son Varhrān III governor of the conquered territory. Śakasthāna continued to form a part of the Sassanian empire down to the time of Shāpūr II. A Pahlavī Inscription of Persepolis, which Herzfeld deciphered in 1923, dated probably in A.D 310-11, when Shāpūr II (309-79) was on the throne, refers to the Sassanian ruler of Śakasthāna as "*Sakānsāh*, minister of ministers (*dabīrān dabīr*) of Hind, Śakasthāna and Tukhāristhān" (MASI, *38*, 36). The Paikuli Inscription mentions the Śaka chiefs of North-Western India among the retainers of Varhrān III, governor of Śakasthāna in the last quarter of the third century A.D. (JRAS, 1933 219). The Ābhiras of Western India seem also to have acknowledged the sway of the Sassanians (Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, cxxxiv). J. Charpentier points out (*Aiyangar Com. Vol* 16) that at the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (*c.* 500 A.D.) the right side of the Indus Delta belonged to Persia. Persians figure also in early Chalukya epigraphs and the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kalidāsa.

being conquered by the Nāgas. Śakasthāna and parts of North-West India were conquered by the Sassanians in the days of Varhrān II (A.D. 276-93). During the early part of the reign of Shāpūr II (A.D. 309-79) the Sassanian suzerainty was still acknowledged in parts of North-Western India.

Section IV. The Nāgas and the Later Kushāns.

The successors of the Great Kushāns in Mathurā and certain adjoining tracts were the Nāgas. The prevalence of Nāga rule over a considerable portion of northern and central India in the third and fourth centuries A. D., is amply attested by epigraphic evidence. A Lahore copper seal inscription of the fourth century A.D. refers to a king named Maheśvara Nāga, the son of Nāgabhaṭṭa.[1] The Allahabad Pillar inscription refers to King Ganapati Nāga, while several Vākāṭaka records mention **Bhava Nāga**, sovereign of the Bhāraśivas, whose grandson's grandson Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II, and who accordingly must have flourished long before the rise of the Gupta Empire. Some idea of the great power of the rulers of Bhava Nāga's line and the territory over which they ruled may be gathered from the fact that the dynasty performed ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices and " were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) *Bhāgirathī* (Ganges) that had been *obtained by their valour*." [2] The valiant deeds of the family culminating in the performance of ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices indicate that they were *not* a feudatory line owing allegiance to the Kushāns. We learn from the *Purāṇas* that the Nāgas established themselves at Vidiśā, Padmāvatî, Kāntipurî and even Mathurā which was the southern[3] capital of Kanishka and his successors. The greatest of the Nāga Kings was perhaps Chandrāṁśa,[4] 'the second Nakhavant,' whose name reminds us of the great king **Chandra** of the Delhi Iron

[1] Fleet, CII, p. 283. [2] CII, p. 241 ; AHD, p. 72. [3] JRAS, 1905, p. 233.

[4] " *Nṛpān Vaidiśakāṁś c=āpi bhaviṣyāṁstu nibodhata*
Śeṣasya Nāga-rājasya putraḥ para purañjayaḥ
Bhogī bhaviṣyate rājā nṛpo Nāga-kul-ôdvabaḥ,
Sadācandras tu Chandrāṁśo dvitīyo Nakhavāṁs tathā."

—*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.

Pillar inscription. The hand of a Nāga princess was sought by Chandra Gupta II in the fourth century, and a Nāga officer governed the Gangetic Doāb as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.[1] The Kushāns, however, continued to rule in the Kābul valley and parts of the Indian borderland. One of them gave his daughter in marriage to Hormisdas (or Hormizd) II, the Sassanian King of Persia (A.D. 301-09). As already stated Varhrān II (A.D. 276 93) and his successors up to the time of Shāpūr II seem to have exercised suzerainty over their Scythic neighbours. "When Shāpūr II besieged Amida in A.D. 350, Indian elephants served under his command."[2] Shortly afterwards the Sassanian supremacy was replaced by that of the Guptas, and the "*Daivaputra shāhi shāhānushāhi,*" *i.e.*, the Kushān monarch or monarchs of the North-West Provinces sent valuable presents to Samudra Gupta.[3] In the fifth century the **Kidāra Kushāns** established their rule over Gandhāra and Kaśmîra.[4] In the sixth century the Kushāns had to fight hard against the Huns and in the following centuries, against the Muslims. In the ninth century A.D. a powerful Muslim dynasty, that of the Saffārids, was established in Sīstān (Seistan) and the sway of the family soon extended to Ghazni, Zābulistān, Herat, Balkh and Bamiyan. The later kings of the race of Kanishka seem to have had one residence in Gandhāra at the city of Uṇḍ, Ohind, Waihand or Udabhāṇḍa, on the Indus. Another capital was situated in the Kābul valley. The family was finally extinguished by the Brāhmaṇa Kallār or Lalliya who founded the Hindu Shāhiyya dynasty towards the close of the ninth century A.D. A part of the kingdom of Kābul fell into the hands of Alptigin in the tenth century.[5]

[1] For later traces of Nāga rule, see Bom. Gaz., I. 2, pp. 281, 292, 318, 574; Ep. Ind., X, 25.

[2] JRAS, 1913, p. 1062. Smith (EHI[4], p. 290) and Herzfeld (MASI, 38, 36) give the date A.D. 360.

[3] *Cf.* also JASB, 1908, 93.

[4] JRAS, 1913, p. 1064. Smith, *Catalogue*, 64, 89. R. D. Banerji, JASB, 1908, 91

[5] Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Maḥmud*, 26, 186.

CHAPTER IX. SCYTHIAN RULE IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA

SECTION I. THE KSHAHARĀTAS.

We have seen that in the second and first centuries B.C., the Scythians possessed Ki-pin (Kāpiśā-Gandhāra) and Śakasthāna (Seistan) and soon extended their sway over a large part of Northern India. The principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the north. But a Satrapal family, the Kshaharātas, extended their power to Western India and the Deccan, and wrested parts of Mahārāshṭra from the Śātavāhanas. The Śātavāhana king apparently retired to the southern part of his dominions, probably to the *Janapada* of the Bellary District which came to be known as Śātavāhanihāra, and was at one time under the direct administration of a military governor (*mahāsenāpati*) named Skandanāga.[1] The waning power of the indigenous rulers of the Deccan and the waxing strength of the invaders seem to be hinted at in the following lines of the *Periplus* :

"The city of Calliena (Kalyāna) in the time of the elder Saraganus (probably Śātakarṇi I) became a lawful market town; but since it came into the possession of Sandanes (possibly Sunandana Śātakarṇi) [2] the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza (Broach) under guard."

The name of the Scythian conquerors of the Broach region and of Mahārāshṭra, Kshaharāta, seems to be identical

[1] Ep. Ind., XIV, 155.

[2] *Cf.* IHQ, 1932, 234. JBORS, 1932, 7f.

with "Kara'ai," the designation of a famous Śaka tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy.[1]

The known members of the Kshaharāta, Khakharāta, or Chaharata family are Liaka, Patika, Ghaṭāka, Bhūmaka and **Nahapāna**. Of these Liaka, Patika and Ghaṭāka belonged to the Taxila and Mathurā regions respectively. Bhūmaka was a *Kshatrapa* of Kāṭhiāwār. Rapson says that he preceded Nahapāna. His coin-types are "arrow, discus and thunderbolt." These types have been compared with the reverse type "discus, bow and arrow" of certain copper coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes (I).

Nahapāna was the greatest of the Kshaharāta Satraps. Eight Cave Inscriptions discovered at Paṇḍulena, near Nāsik, Junnar and Karle (in the Poona district) prove the inclusion of a considerable portion of Mahārāshṭra within his dominions. Seven of these inscriptions describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta (Ṛishabhadatta), the Śaka, while the eighth inscription specifies the charitable works of Ayama, the *Amātya* (minister or district officer). Ushavadāta's inscriptions indicate that Nahapāna's political influence probably extended from Poona (in Mahārāshṭra) and Śūrpāraka (in North Koṅkaṇ) to Prabhāsa in Kāṭhiāwār, Mandasor (Daśapura) and Ujjain in Mālwa and the district of Ajmir including Pushkara, the place of pilgrimage to which Ushavadāta resorted for consecration after his victory over the Mālayas or Mālavas.

The Nāsik records give the dates 41, 42, and 45, of an unspecified era, and call Nahapāna a *Kshatrapa*, while the Junnar epigraph of Ayama specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapāna as *Mahākshatrapa*. The generally accepted view is that these dates are to be referred to the Śaka era of

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 400. Mr. Y. R. Gupte points out (*Ind. Ant.*, 1926, 178) that among the shepherds of the Deccan we have the surname Kharāta which he considers to be a shortened form of Khakharāta (Kshaharāta).

78 A.D. The name Nahapāna is no doubt Persian, but the Kshaharāta tribe to which Nahapāna belonged was probably of Śaka extraction and Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, distinctly calls himself a Śaka. It is, therefore, probable that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of *Śaka* era from the Śaka princes of the House of Nahapāna. Rapson accepts the view that Nahapāna's dates are recorded in years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., and, therefore, assigns Nahapāna to the period A.D. 119 to 124.[1] Several scholars identify Nahapāna with Mambarus (emended into Nambanus)[2] of the *Periplus* whose capital was Minnagara in Ariake. According to one theory Minnagara is modern Mandasor,[3] and Ariake is Aparāntika.[4]

R. D. Banerji and G. Jouveau-Dubreuil are of opinion that Nahapāna's dates are not referable to the Śaka era. They say that if we admit that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated in the Śaka era, there will be only an interval of five years between the inscription of this king, dated 46 and the inscriptions of Rudradāman, dated 52. Within these years must have taken place :

(1) The end of Nahapāna's reign ;
(2) The destruction of the Kshaharātas ;

[1] Allan thinks that the coins of Nahapāna cannot be assigned to so late a date in the second century A.D. He points among other things to the similarity of the bust on the obverse of Nahapāna's silver coins and that on the coins of Rājuvūla. But he admits that this may be due to derivations from a common prototype such as the coins of Strato I. *Camb. Short Hist.*, 80 f.

[2] JRAS, 1912, p. 785.

[3] This is the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who apparently follows *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. 1. 15 n.; *cf.* however, *Ind. Ant.*, 1926, p. 143, *Capital of Nahapāna* (=Junnar). Fleet identifies Minnagara with Dohad in the Pañch Mahāls (JRAS, 1912, p. 788; 1913, 993n). In a paper read at the sixth conference of Orientalists at Patna Dr. Jayaswal referred to a Jaina work which mentions Broach as the capital of Nahapāna (see now *Avaśyaka sūtra*, JBORS, 1930, Sept.-Dec., 290). For a different tradition see IHQ. 1929, 356.

[4] *Cf.* also IA, 7, 259, 263; Ariake may also be Aryaka of Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*.

(3) The accession of Chashṭana as *Kshatrapa*, his reign as *Kshatrapa*, his accession as a *Mahākshatrapa*, and his reign as *Mahākshatrapa* ;

(4) The accession of Jayadāman as *Kshatrapa*, his reign as *Kshatrapa*, and perhaps also his reign as *Mahākshatrapa* ;

(5) The accession of Rudradāman and the beginning of his reign.

There is no necessity, however, of crowding the events mentioned above within five years (between the year 46, the last known date of Nahapāna, and the year 52, the first known date of Rudradāman). There is nothing to show that Chashṭana's family came to power *after* the destruction of the Kshaharātas. The line of Chashṭana may have been ruling in Cutch and perhaps some adjacent territories, as the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 suggest, while the Kshaharātas were ruling in parts of Mālwa and Mahārāshṭra. Moreover, there is no good ground for believing that a long interval elapsed from the accession of Chashṭana to that of Rudradāman. Drs. Bhandarkar and R. C. Majumdar have pointed out that the Andhau inscriptions clearly prove that Chashṭana and Rudradāman ruled conjointly in the year 52. Professor J. Dubreuil rejects their view on the ground that there is no "*cha*" after Rudradāman in the text of the inscription : *Rājña Chashṭanasa Ysāmotika-putrasa rājña Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshe dvipachāse, 50, 2.* Professor Dubreuil translates the passage thus :

" In the 52nd year, in the reign of Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, *grandson* of Chashṭana and *great-grandson* of Yśāmotika."

The Professor who objects to a '*cha*' himself makes use not only of "and" but also of the words "grandson" and " great-grandson " no trace of which can be found in the

original record. Had his translation been what the writer of the Andhau inscriptions intended, we should have expected to find the name of Ysāmotika first, and then the name of Chashṭana followed by those of Jayadāman and Rudradāman—*Ysāmotika prapautrasa Chashṭana pautrasa Jayadāma-putrasa Rudradāmasa.*[1] Moreover, it is significant that in the text of the inscription there is no royal title prefixed to the name of Jayadāman who ruled between Chashṭana and Rudradāman according to Dubreuil. On the other hand, both Chashṭana and Rudradāman are called *rājā*. The two are mentioned in exactly the same way—with the honorific *rājā* and the patronymic. The literal translation of the inscriptional passage is "in the year 52 of king Chashṭana son of Ysāmotika, of king Rudradāman son of Jayadāman," and this certainly indicates that the year 52 belonged to the reign both of Chashṭana and Rudradāman.[2] The conjoint rule of two kings was known to ancient Hindu writers on polity.[3] The theory of the conjoint rule of Chashṭana and his grandson is supported by the fact that Jayadāman did not live to be *Mahākshatrapa* and must have predeceased his father, Chashṭana, as, unlike Chashṭana and Rudradāman, he is called simply a *Kshatrapa* (not *Mahākshatrapa* and *Bhadramukha*) even in the inscriptions of his descendants.[4] We have already noticed the fact that the title *rājā*, which is given to Chashṭana

[1] *Cf.* the Junāgaḍh, Guṇḍa and Jasdhan inscriptions.

[2] *Cf.* the coin legends "*Heramayasa Kaliyapaya,*" "*Gudupharasa Sasasa,*" etc., where, too, we have no *cha* after the second name. Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 86, 147.

[3] *Cf. Dvirāja* in the *Atharva Veda* (V. 20, 9); *Dvairājya* in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* p. 325; *Dorajja* of the Āyārañga Sutta; the classical account of Patalene, p. 209 *ante*; the case of Dhṛitarāshṭra and Duryodhana in the Great Epic; of Eukratides and his son in Justin's work; of Strato I and Strato II; of Azes and Azilises, etc., etc. The *Mahāvastu* (III. 432) refers to the conjoint rule of three brothers :—"*Kaliṅgeshu Siṁhapuraṁ nāma nagaraṁ tatra trayo bhrātaro ekamātṛikā rājyaṁ kārayaṁti.*" See also IA, 6. 29. *Cf.* Nilakanta Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom*, 120, 122, 180.

[4] *Cf.* the Guṇḍa and Jasdhan inscriptions.

and Rudradāman in the Andhau inscriptions, is not given to Jayadāman.

Mr. R. D. Banerji says that the inscriptions of Nahapāna cannot be referred to the same era as used on the coins and inscriptions of Chashṭana's dynasty because if we assume that Nahapāna was dethroned in 46 Ś. E., Gautamîputra must have held Nāsik up to 52 Ś. E. (from his 18th to his 24th year), then Pulumāyi held the city up to the 22nd year of his reign, *i.e.*, up to at least 74 Ś. E. But Rudradāman is known to have defeated Pulumāyi and taken Nāsik before that time. Banerji's error lies in the tacit assumption that Rudradāman twice occupied Nāsik before the year 73 of the Śaka era. There is no clear evidence to suggest that the Sātavāhanas lost Poona and Nāsik to that great satrap. Another untenable assumption of Mr. Banerji is that Rudradāman finished his conquests before the year 52 or A. D. 130, whereas the Andhau inscriptions merely imply the possession of Cutch and perhaps some adjoining tracts by the House of Chashṭana.

The theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the Śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Professor Rapson, and Dr. Bhandarkar after him, that a Nāsik inscription of Nahapāna refers to a *gold* currency, doubtless of the Kushāns who could not have ruled in India before the first century A. D.[1]

The power of Nahapāna and his allies, the Uttamabhadras, was threatend by the Mālayas (**Mālavas**) from the north, and the Śātavāhanas from the south. The incursion of the Mālavas was repelled by Ushavadāta. But the Śātavāhana attack proved fatal to Śaka rule in Mahārāshṭra.

We know very little about Chakora and Śivasvāti mentioned in the Purāṇas as the immediate successors of Sunandana

[1] Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, pp. lviii, clxxxv; Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1918-1919, ' Deccan of the Śātavāhana Period.'

during whose reign Śātavāhana prestige had sunk very low and marauders from Barygaza had been harrying the ports that had once enjoyed the protection of the elder Śātakarṇi, probably Śātakarṇi I. But the king whose name occurs next in the list, *viz.*, Gautamîputra, regained the lost power of his house and dealt a severe blow at the power of the intruders from the north. The Nāsik *praśasti* calls him the "uprooter of the Kshaharāta race" and the "restorer of the glory of the Śātavāhana family." That Nahapāna himself was overthrown by Gautamîputra is proved by the testimony of the Jogalthembi hoard (in the Nāsik district) which consisted of Nahapāna's own silver coins and coins restruck by Gautamîputra. In the restruck coins there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapāna as would certainly have been the case if any ruler had intervened between Nahapāna and Gautamîputra.

Section II. The Restoration of the Śātavāhana Empire.

Gautamîputra's victory over the Kshaharātas led to the restoration of the Śātavāhana power in Mahārāshṭra and some adjoining provinces. The recovery of Mahārāshṭra is proved by a Nāsik inscription, dated in the year 18 [1] and a Karle epigraph addressed to the *Amātya* or the king's officer in charge of Māmāla (the territory round Karle, modern Māval in the Poona district). But this was not the only achievement of Gautamîputra. We learn from the Nāsik record of queen Gautamî Balaśrî that her son destroyed the Śakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians), and that his dominions extended not only over Asika,[2] Asaka (Aśmaka on the Godāvarî, *i.e.*, Mahārāshṭra),[3] and Mūlaka (the district around Paiṭhan), but also over Suratha (Kāṭhiāwār), Kukura (in Western or Central India, possibly near the Pāriyātra or the Western Vindhyas),[4] Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), Anupa (district around Māhiśmatî on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Berar), and Ākara-Avanti (East [5] and West Mālwa). He is further styled lord of all the mountains from the Vindhyas to the Malaya or Travancore hills, and from the Eastern (Mahendra) to the Western (Sahya) Ghāṭs. The possession of Vejayanti in the Kanarese country is specially referred to in the Nāsik

1 The Nāsik Edict was issued from the victorious camp at Vejayanti and was addressed to the *Amātya* or the king's officer in charge of Govardhana (Nāsik).

2 *Cf.* Ārshika, Patañjali. IV, 2 2.

3 Shamasastry's translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 143, n. 2.

4 *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, XIV, 4.

5 Eastern Mālawa was under Vāsishka, the successor of Kanishka I, in the year 28 of the Kushān Era which corresponds to A.D. 106 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages

inscription of the year 18. The names of the Andhra country (Andhrāpatha) and South Kosala are, however, conspicuous by their absence. Inscriptions and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang prove that both these territories were at one time or other included within the Śātavāhana empire. The earliest Śātavāhana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra region is Pulumāyi, son of Gautamîputra. It is, however, possible that some vague claim of suzerainty over the areas in question is implied in the boast that the "chargers of Gautamîputra drank the water of the three oceans" (*tisamudatoya-pîta-vāhana*).

In the Nāsik *praśasti* Gautamîputra figures not only as a conqueror, but also as a social reformer. "He crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interest of the twice-born, apparently the Brāhmaṇas, as well as the lowest orders (*Dvijāvarakuṭubavivadhana*)[1] and stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas* (castes)."

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Gautamîputra reigned conjointly with his son Pulumāyi. They give the following reasons in support of their theory :—

(1) In Gautamî's inscription (dated in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumāyi) she is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.

(2) If it were a fact that Gautamîputra was dead when the queen-mother's inscription was written, and Pulumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription.

[1] *Kuṭumba* means 'a household,' 'a family' and *avara-kuṭuba* may be taken to mean 'households or families of the lowly.' The use of the word *kuṭuba* may suggest that the 'lowly' order or orders, whose families or households are referred to, are the traders and agriculturists (*kuṭumbika*).

But there is not a word in praise of him. A king dead for 19 years is extolled, and the reigning king passed over in silence.

(3) The inscription dated in the year 24, engraved on the east wall of the Veranda of the Nāsik Cave No. 3, which records a grant made by Gautamîputra and the "king's mother whose son is living," in favour of certain Buddhist monks "dwelling in *the cave which was a pious gift of theirs*," presupposes *the gift of the Nasik Cave No. 3* in the 19th year of Pulumāyi. Consequently Gautamîputra was alive after the 19th year of his son.

As regards point (1), it may be said that usually a queen sees only her husband and sometimes a son on the throne. Queen Gautamî Balaśrī, on the other hand, was one of the fortunate (or unfortunate) few who saw grandchildren on the throne. Therefore she claimed to be the mother of a great king and the grandmother of a great king.

As to point (2), is the silence satisfactorily explained by the theory of conjoint rule ? Those who prefer the opposite view may point out that although it is not customary for an ordinary subject to extol a dead king and pass over a reigning monarch in silence, still it is perfectly natural for a queen-mother in her old age to recount the glories of a son who was associated with her in a previous gift.

As to point (3), it is not clear that the gift referred to in the postscript of the year 24 was identical with the grant of the year 19 of Pulumāyi. The donors in the postscript were king Gautamîputra and the *rājamātā*, the king's mother, apparently Balaśrī, while the donor in the year 19 of Pulumāyi was the queen-mother *alone*. In the inscription of the year 24, the queen-mother is called *Mahādevî* **Jīvasutā** *Rājamātā*, the great queen, the king's mother, whose *son is alive*. In Pulumāyi's inscription the epithets *Mahādevî* and *Rājamātā* are retained but the epithet

"*Jīvasutā*," "whose son is alive," is significantly omitted. The donees in the former grant were the *Tekirasi* or Triraśmi ascetics in general, the donees in the latter grant were the monks of the *Bhadavānîya* school. The object of grant in the former case may have been merely the *Veranda* of Cave No. 3, which contains the postscript of the year 24, and whose existence before the 19th year of Pulumāyi is attested by an edict of Gautamîputra of the year 18. On the other hand, the cave given away to the *Bhadavānîya* monks was the whole of Cave No. 3.

If Gautamîputra and his son reigned simultaneously, and if the latter ruled as his father's colleague in Mahārāshṭra, then it is difficult to explain why Gautamîputra was styled "*Govadhanasa Benākaṭakasvāmi*," "lord of Benākaṭaka in Govardhana" (Nāsik),[1] and why he addressed the officer at Govardhana directly, ignoring his son who is represented as ruling over Mahārāshṭra, while in the record of the year 19, Pulumāyi was considered as so important that the date was recorded in the years of his reign, and not in that of his father who was the senior ruler.[2]

The generally accepted view is that Pulumāyi came after Gautamîputra.

The date of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi is a matter regarding which there is a wide divergence of opinion. There are scholars who believe that the epithets *varavāraṇa-vikrama, chāru-vikrama*, "whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant," and *Śaka-nishūdana*, destroyer of Śakas, suggest that he was the original of *Rājā* Vikramāditya of legend who founded the era of 58 B. C. But, as

[1] The use of the expression "Govadhanasa" suggests that there were other localities named Benākaṭaka from which this particular place is distinguished. A Bennākaṭa in the eastern part of the Vākaṭaka kingdom is mentioned in the Tiroḍi plates of Pravarasena II (IHQ, 1935, 293; Ep. Ind. XXII, 167 ff).

[2] *Cf* R. D. Banerji, JRAS, 1917, pp 281 *et seq*. Note also the epithet (*Dakshiṇā*) *patheśvara* 'lord of the Deccan,' applied to Pulumāyi in the *praśasti* of the year 19.

already pointed out, the use of regnal years by Gautamîputra and his descendants indicate that no era originated with the dynasty. Further, Indian literature clearly distinguishes between Vikramāditya of Ujjain and Śālivāhana or the Śātavāhanas of Pratisṭhāna. The view accepted in these pages is that Gautamîputra was the conqueror of Nahapāna and that his 18th year fell after the year 46 of the Śaka era, the last recorded date of his vanquished opponent. In other words the conquest of Nāsik by Gautamîputra took place some time after A. D. 78+46=124, and his accession after A. D. 124–18=106. As he ruled for at least 24 years, his reign must have terminated after A. D. 130.

In the Purāṇic lists compiled by Pargiter the immediate successors of Gautamîputra are Pulomā, his son, and Śātakarṇi. Pulomā is doubtless identical with Siro P(t)olemaios of Baithana mentioned by Ptolemy and Vāsishṭhīputra Svāmi Śrī **Pulumāvi** of inscriptions and coins. Śātakarṇi is perhaps to be identified with **Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi** of a Kanheri Cave Inscription, or with Vāsishṭhīputra-Chatarapana Śātakarṇi of a Nānāghaṭ record. His exact position in the genealogical list cannot be determined with precision. The Kanheri epigraph represents Vasishṭhīputra Śrî Śātakarṇi as the husband of a daughter of the *Mahākshatrapa* Ru(dra). Rapson identifies this Rudra with Rudradāman I. There can hardly be any doubt that the Śātavāhana king mentioned in the Kanheri record, or one of his close relations who bore a similar name, was identical with Śātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, whom Rudradāman "twice in fair fight completely defeated, but did not destroy on account of the nearness of their connection." Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of Vāsishṭhîputra Śrî Śātakarṇi of Kanheri with Vāsishṭhīpura Śiva Śrî Śātakarṇi of coins and Śiva Śrî of the *Matsya Purāṇa* cannot be regarded as more than a conjecture. The ruler mentioned in the Kanheri Inscription may have been a brother of Pulumāyi.

We have seen that the capital of **Pulumāyi** was Baithan, *i.e.*, Paiṭhan or Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarî, identified by Bhandarkar with Navanara, or Navanagara, *i.e.*, the new city. Inscriptions and coins prove that the dominions of this king included the Kṛishṇā-Godāvarî region as well as Mahārāshṭra. It has already been pointed out that the Andhra country is not mentioned in the list of territories over which Gautamîputra held his sway. It is not altogether improbable that Vāsishṭhîputra Pulumāyi was the first to establish the Śātavāhana power in that region. Sukhtankar identifies him with Siri Pulumāyi, king of the Śātavāhanas, mentioned in an inscription discovered in the Adoni tāluk of the Bellary district. But the absence of the distinguishing metronymic makes the identification uncertain and probably indicates that the king referred to in the inscription is Pulumāyi I of the Purāṇas or some other prince of the dynasty who bore the same name. D. C. Sircar identifies him with the last king of Pargiter's list. Numismatic evidence suggests that the political influence of a Pulumāyi extended to the Coromandel coast, and possibly the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. But in the absence of epigraphic corroboration the matter cannot be regarded as definitely proved. Moreover, the absence of the metronymic *Vāsishṭhîputra* makes it uncertain in some cases as to whether the son of the great Gautamîputra is meant.

Vāsishṭhîputra Pulumāyi must have come to the throne some time after A.D. 130. He is known from a Karle epigraph to have ruled for at least 24 years, so that his reign terminated after A.D. 154.

The successors of Pulomā according to the Purāṇic lists compiled by Pargiter are Śiva Śrî and Śivaskanda (or Śivaskandha) Śātakarṇi. The former is possibly identical with king Śiva Śrî Āpilava or with Vāsishṭhîputra Śiva Śrî Śātakarṇi of coins, and the latter with king Śrî Śivamaka Śāta of an Amarāvatī Inscription, as D. C.

Sircar suggests, or with Māṭharîputra Śrî Śāta of Kanheri. Closely connected, with these rulers was the king Vāsishṭhîputra "Siri Cada Sāti" whose name is found on coins. This prince may be identified with Vāsishṭhīputra "Sāmi Siri Chaṁḍa Sāti" of the Koḍavali Rock Inscription discovered near Piṭhapuram in the Godāvarī district. The Purāṇas represent Chaṇḍa Śrī as the third ruler after Śivaskanda and make him the penultimate king of the line Rapson concludes from numismatic evidence that there were possibly two kings bearing the name Śrî Chandra (Chaṇḍa) of whom one is connected with Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi and the other, a later king, is probably to be identified with Chandra (Chaṇḍa) Śrî of the Purāṇas.

Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi.[1]

The immediate successor of Śivaskanda according to the collated text of Pargiter was Yajña Śrī. If the Purāṇas are to be believed his accession took place more than 35 years after the close of the reign of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi, *i.e.*, after A.D. 165 and ended after A.D. 194. Yajña Śrī's inscriptions, which prove that he reigned for at least 27 years, are found at the following places, *viz.*, Nāsik in Mahārāshṭra, Kanheri in Aparānta, and China in the Kṛishṇā district. His coins are found in Gujrāṭ, Kāṭhiāwār, Aparānta, the Chanda District in the Central Provinces, and the Kṛishṇā district of the Madras Presidency. There can be no doubt that he ruled over both Mahārāshṭra and the Andhra country and

[1] In JRAS, July, 1934, 560ff, Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that the name of this king was Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi as stated in inscriptions, and not Yajña Śrī (as stated in the Purāṇas). It should, however, be remembered that *Śrī* is here an honorific and it is frequently used as a suffix in the names of members of the Śātavāhana royal house (*cf.* Veda or Skanda-Siri, Haku-Siri, Bala Śrī, Śiva-Śrī, etc.; Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, pp. xlvi, l, lii). The mere fact that in certain documents Śrī precedes the name of a king does not prove conclusively that it was never used as a suffix. In the famous inscription of Khāravela the king is called both Siri Khāravela and Khāra-vela-Siri. In the *Mudrārākshasa* Śrīmat Chandragupta is also styled Chanda-Siri

recovered Aparānta (N. Koṅkan) from the successors of Rudradāman I. Smith says that his silver coins imitating the coinage of the Śaka rulers of Ujjain probably point to victories over the latter, and that the coins bearing the figure of a ship suggest the inference that the king's power extended over the sea. He thus anticipated the naval ventures of the Kadambas of Goa, of Śivājī and of Angria.[1]

Yajñaśri was the last great king of his dynasty. After his death the Śātavāhanas probably lost Mahārāshṭra to the **Ābhīra** king Īśvarsena.[2] The later Śātavāhana princes—Vijaya, Chaṇḍa Śrî and Pulomāvi of the Purāṇas—seem to have ruled in the Eastern Deccan and the Kanarese country. The existence of Vijaya has not yet been confirmed by archaeological evidence. Chaṇḍa Śrî, as already pointed out, is identified by Rapson with Śrî Chada II of the coins, while Pulomāvi is, in the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sircar, to be identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Myakadoni inscription of the Bellary District. Coins disclose the existence of a few other things of the line who must be assigned, to the latest Śātavāhana period. These include Śrî

[1] Rapson, however, says (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. 22) in reference to certain lead coins (of the Coromandel coast): "obv Ship with two masts. Inscr. not completely read, but apparently *Siri-Pu (ḷumā) visa.*"

[2] The earliest reference to the *Ābhīras* to which an approximate date can be assigned is that contained in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali. The *Mahābhāshya* as well as the *Mahābhārata* connects them with the Śūdras—the Sodrai of Alexander's historians. Their country—Abiria—finds mention in the *Periplus*. In the third quarter of the second century A.D., Ābhīra chieftains figured as generals of the Śaka rulers of Western India. Shortly afterwards a chief named Iśvaradatta, probably an Ābhīra, became *Mahākshatrapa*. His relation to the Ābhīra king Māḍharīputra Īśvara Sena, son of Śiva Datta, remains doubtful. But some scholars are inclined to identify the two chiefs. It is also suggested that this dynasty of Īśvara Sena is identical with the Traikūṭaka line of Aparānta, and that the establishment of the Traikūṭaka era in A.D., 248 marks the date at which the Ābhîras succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the Government of Northern Mahārāshṭra and the adjoining region. The last known rulers of the Traikūṭaka line were Indradatta, his son Dahrasena (455-56 A.D.), and *his* son Vyāghrasena (489-90), after whom the kingdom seems to have been conquered by the Vākāṭaka king Harishena.

Rudra Śātakarṇi of the Andhradeśa and Śrî Kṛishṇa (II) Śātakarṇi of the Chanda district in the Central Provinces. Śātavāhana rule in the Kṛishṇā, Guṇṭūr and Bellary districts was eventually supplanted by the **Ikshvākus** [1] and the **Pallavas.** [2]

Provincial Government under the Śātavāhanas.

A word may be said here regarding the internal organisation of the Śātavāhana empire. The sovereign himself seems to have resided in Pratishṭhāna or in "camps of victory" in Govardhana (Nāsik district), Vaijayantī (in North Kanara) and other places. The imperial dominions

[1] The *Ikshvākus* are known from inscriptions discovered on the ruins of the Jagayyapeta *stūpa* in the Kṛishṇā District and also at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guṇṭūr district (Ep. Ind., 1929, 1f.). They were matrimonially connected with the Kekayas, probably a ruling family of Ancient Mysore (Dubreuil, *AHD*, pp. 88, 101). The most well known rulers of the Ikshvāku family of the Eastern Deccan are Chāṁta-mūla, Śrî-Vîra-Purusha-datta and Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla II. The Ikshvākus were succeeded by the "Ānanda" kings of Guṇṭūr, the Bṛihat-phalāyanas of Kudurāhāra (near Masulipatam), the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi (*cf.* IA, 5. 175 and the Salakenoi of Ptolemy), and the Vishṇukuṇḍins of Leṇḍulura (near Veṅgī).

[2] The *Pallavas*—a people of unknown origin, claiming descent from Aśvatthāman and Nāga princesses, are the most important of all the dynasties that succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the Far South. The claim of descent from Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, the performance of the *Aśvamedha* and patronage of Sanskrit learning, connect the dynasty with the Śuṅgas, while the Brāhmaṇa-Nāga connection, the performance of Vedic sacrifices including the horse-sacrifice, early association with the Śātavāhana *Janapada* in the Bellary district and the use of *Prākṛita* in their early records, connect the family with the Śātavāhanas. There is no question of any Parthian affinity as the geneological lists of the family are singularly devoid of Parthian nomenclature. The well known hostility of the family to the Cholas and the decidedly northern character of their culture preclude the possibility of a pure Tamil extraction. The first great Pallava king, Śiva-Skanda-varman, is known from the inscriptions found at Mayidavolu (in Guṇṭūr) and Hîrahaḍagalli (in Bellary) to have ruled over an extensive empire including Kāñchî, Andhrāpatha and Śātahani *raṭṭha*, and performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. About the middle of the fourth century A.D. the emperor Samudra Gupta invaded Southern India, defeated the reigning Pallava king, Vishṇugopa, and gave a severe blow to the power and prestige of the empire of Kāñchî which, in the long run, probably led to its disruption. The evidence of the Penukoṇḍa Plates, the Tāḷagunda inscription and the Hebbaṭa grant (IHQ. 1927, 431) seems to suggest that the Pallava supremacy continued for some time to be acknowledged by the early Gaṅgas of Southern Mysore and the early Kadambas of Vaijayantî (Banavāsi). The

were divided into administrative units called *āhāra* or *janapada* and placed under rulers who fell into two classes, *viz.*, (*a*) *amātyas* who were ordinary civil functionaries and (*b*) military governors and feudatories styled *mahāsenāpati*, *mahārathi*, *mahābhoja*, and even *Rājan*. *Amātyas* are mentioned in connection with Aparānta (North Konkan), Govardhana (Nāsik), Māmāḍ(l)a (Poona), Vanavāsī (North

history of the Pallavas during the fifth and sixth centuries is obscure. Inscriptions disclose the names of the following kings, but little is known about them :—

Kings of Kṛishṇā, Guṇṭūr and Nellore districts.

Kumāravishṇu
Skandavarman I
Vīravarman*
(1) Vijaya Skandavarman II (Tāmbrāpa),
(2) Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopa (Palakkada).
(3) Siṁhavarman (Daśanapura, Menmātura and Veṅgorāshṭra).
(4) Vijaya Vishṇugopa Varman.

Oṁgoḍu Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḷūr, Pikira and Chūra grants.

King of Kāñchī.

Vishṇugopa
Skandamūla
Kāṇagopa
Vīrakūrcha II*
Skandavarman (Skandaśishya)
Kumāravishṇu I, recovered Kāñchī.
Buddhavarman, defeated Cholas.
Skanda Kumaravishṇu II

Vāyalūr, Velūrpalaiyam, Darśi and Chendalūr grants.

Buddhavarman
Skandavarman
Vishṇugopa
Vishṇudāsa
Skandavarman
Siṁhavarman
Vīravarman*
Skandavarman
Siṁhavarman
A.D. 436?
Skandavarman
Nandivarman
Siṁhavarman (two kings of this name)
Vishṇugopa
Siṁhavarman
Siṁhavishṇu
Mahendravarman I
Narasiṁhavarman I Contemporary of Pulakeśin II.

Udayendiram grant. Lokavibhāga A.D. 458 and Penukoṇḍa plates ?

Kanara) and Khaḍḍavali (Godāvarī region). *Mahārathis* are found associated with Chitaldrug, Nānāghāṭ, Karle and Kanheri (in the North Koṅkan). They intermarried with the imperial family (and at times adopted its nomenclature) and also with the Chuṭu, Kauśika and Vāsishṭha clans. The *Mahābhojas* had close relations with the Chuṭu rulers of Kanheri and Vanavāsī. *Mahāsenāpatis* are found in Nāsik in the days of Yajña Śrî and in Bellary in the time of a Pulumāyi. The rule of these military governors, some of whom contracted matrimonial alliances with the Kuśika family, was very much in evidence in the last days of the Śātavāhana empire. Potentates with the title of *rājā* ruled in the Kolhapur region. The most notable among these were Vāsishṭhīputra Vilivāyakura, Māṭharīputra Śivalakura and Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura (II). The Vilivāyakura group cannot fail to remind one of Baleokouros of Hippokoura mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (*c*. 150 A.D.).

It is from the ranks of military governors and feudatories that the princes who carved out independent principalities on the dissolution of the Śātavāhana empire, evidently sprang. The Śālaṅkāyanas (Salakenoi), for example, who appear to have been a feudatory family in the Andhra country, afterwards set up an independent sovereignty. The Pallavas were doubtless connected with the military governors of the Bellary district.

The Śātakarṇis of Kuntala.

In the days of the great Gautamīputra, son of Bala Śrî, Banavāsi or Vaijayantī seems to have been the capital of an imperial province under an *amātya* named Śivagupta. By an obscure transition the sovereignty of the territory passed into the hands of a family, possibly styled Chuṭu in inscriptions,[1] whose connection with

[1] Some scholars do not accept the theory that Chuṭu is a dynastic designation. They regard it as a personal name. *Prog. Rep. of the ASI*, *W. Circle*, 1911-12, p. 5.

the Śātavāhana-Śātakarṇis is not known. The evidence of the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the *Gāthāsaptasatī* and the *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā*, suggests that a line of Śātavāhanas preceded the so-called Chuṭu *kula* in Kuntala. They were great patrons of Prākrit learning. The most famous amongst them was Hāla. Another king of the group was Kuntala Śātakarṇi mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* whom the Purāṇas regard as a predecessor of Hāla. The Chuṭu line is represented by Hāritīputra Vishṇukaḍa-Chuṭu kulānanda Śātakarṇi, *Rājā* of Vaijayantîpura, and his daughter's son Śiva-Skandanāga Śrī who is identified by Rapson with Skanda-nāga Sātaka of a Kanheri Inscription, and also with Hāritīputra Śiva-[Skanda]-varman, lord of Vaijayantī, mentioned in a Malavalli record (in the Shimoga district of Mysore). The last identification seems to be doubtful as the mother and daughter of Vishṇukaḍa could hardly have belonged to the same *gotra*. Hāritīputra Śiva-varman was apparently succeeded by the Kadambas.[1] A new power—the Vākāṭaka—rose in Bhojakaṭa (in Berar) and the adjoining regions probably towards the close of the third century A.D., and for a time eclipsed the power of the local rulers of Kuntala.

[1] The *Kadamba* line was founded by Mayuraśarman, a Brāhmaṇa, who rose against the Pallavas and, helped by "Vrihad Bāṇa" and other kings, compelled the lord of Kañchī to confer on him the *Paṭṭabandha* of military governorship. He soon pushed his conquests to the western ocean His great-grandson Kākustha-varman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. Kṛishṇa-varman I performed the *Aśvamedha*. Mṛigeśa-varman defeated the Gaṅgas and Pallavas and had his capital at Vaijayantī. Junior branches of the family ruled at Palāśikā, Uchchaśṛiṅgī and Triparvata. The Kadambas were finally overthrown by the Chalukyas. See Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula*; Sircar, *JIH*, 1936, 301 ff.

Section III. The Śakas of Ujjain and Kāṭhiāwār.

The greatest rivals of the restored Sātavāhana Empire were at first the Śaka *Kshatrapas* of Ujjain. The progenitor of the Śaka princes of Ujjain was Ysamotika who was the father of Chashṭana, the first *Mahākshatrapa* of the family. The name of Ysamotika is Scythic.[1] His descendant, who was killed by Chandra Gupta II, is called a Śaka king by Bāṇa in his *Harsha-charita*. It is, therefore, assumed by scholars that .the *Kshatrapa* family of Ujjain was of Śaka nationality.

The proper name of the dynasty is not known. Rapson says that it may have been Kārddamaka. The daughter of Rudradāman boasts that she is descended from the family of Kārddamaka kings ; but she may have been indebted to her mother for this distinction. The Kārddamaka kings apparently derive their name from the Kārdama, a river in Persia.[2]

According to Dubreuil, **Chashṭana** ascended the throne in A.D. 78, and was the founder of the Śaka era. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the capital of Chashṭana (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene of Ptolemy), whereas we learn from the *Periplus* that Ozene was not a capital in the seventies of the first century A.D.[3] The *Periplus* speaks of Ozene as a former capital, implying that it was not a capital in its own time. The earliest known date of Chashṭana is Ś. E. 52, *i.e.*, A.D. 130. We learn from

[1] JRAS, 1906, p. 211. Lévi and Konow (*Corpus*, II. i, lxx) identify Ysamotika with Bhūmaka on the ground that the Śaka word "*Ysama*" means earth. But identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of persons. *Cf.* the cases of Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta.

[2] Pārasika, Shamasastry's translation of the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 86. See also IHQ, 1933, 37 ff.

[3] The *Periplus* mentions Malichos (Maliku), the king of the Nabataeans, who died in A. D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Hakale), king of the Auxumites, who reigned from A.D. 76 to 89 (*JRAS*, 1917, 827-830).

the Andhau inscriptions that in the year A.D. 130 Chashṭana was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Professor Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar point out that his foreign title *Kshatrapa*, and the use of the *Kharoshṭhī* alphabet on his coins, clearly show that he was a viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kushāns. Jayadāman, son of Chashṭana, seems to have acted merely as a *Kshatrapa* and to have predeceased his father, and the latter was succeeded as *Mahākshatrapa* by Rudradāman.

Rudradāman[1] became an independent *Mahākshatrapa* some time between the years 52 and 72 (A.D. 130 and 150). We learn from the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of the year 72 that men of all castes chose him as protector and that he won for himself the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. This probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (possibly Gautamîputra), and he had to restore the supreme satrapal dignity by his own prowess.

The place names in the inscription seem to show that the rule of Rudradāman extended over Purv-āpar-Ākar-Āvanti (East and West Mālwa), Anupa-nivṛit or the Māhishmatī region (Māndhātā in Nimāḍ, or Maheśvara)[2], Ānartta[3] (territory around Dwārakā), Surāshṭra (district around Junāgaḍh), Svabhra (the country on the banks of the Sābarmatī), Maru (Mārwār), Kachchha (Cutch), Sindhu-Sauvīra (the Lower Indus Valley),[4] Kukura (part of Western or Central India,

[1] For references to Rudradāman in literature, see Chatterjee, *Buddhistic Studies* (ed. Law), pp. 384 f.

[2] IA, 4, 346.

[3] Ānartta may, according to some, however, designate the district around Vaḍanagara (*Bom. Gaz.* 1, i, 6). In that case Kukura should be placed in the Dwārakā region. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* refers to Dwārakā as "*Kukur-Āndhaka-Vṛishṇibhiḥ guptāḥ*" (I. 11, 10). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (ch. 96, 131) represents Ugrasena, the *Yādava rājā*, as *Kukurodbhava*, cf Kukura extraction.

[4] Sindhu is the inland portion lying to the west of the Indus (Watters *Yuan Chwang*, II, 252, 253, read with 256; Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, Benares Ed., 295). Sauvīra includes the littoral (*Milinda Pañho*, S B. E., XXXVI, 269), as well as the inland portion lying to the east of the Indus as far as Multān (Alberuni, I, 302; IA, 7,259). The Jaina *Pravachanasāraddhāra* names Vītabhaya as the capital.

probably between Sind and the Pāriyātra Mt.),[1] Aparānta (N. Koṅkaṇ),[2] Nishāda (in the region of the Sarasvatī and the Western Vindhyas),[3] etc. Of these places Surāshṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa and Ākarāvanti formed part of Gautamîputra's dominions, and must have been conquered either from that king or one of his immediate successors. The Junāgaḍh inscription gives the information that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar this Śātakarṇi was Gautamîputra himself, whose son Vāsishṭhîputra Śātakarṇi was Rudradāman's son-in-law. According to Rapson the lord of the Deccan defeated by the Śaka ruler was Pulumāyi. It is more probable that the defeated ruler was Vāsishṭhîputra Śātakarṇi himself, who may have been a brother and a predecessor of Pulumāyi.

The Great Satrap also conquered the Yaudheyas, possibly of Johiya-bār along the Sutlej, who are known, from a stone inscription, to have occupied also the Bijayagaḍh region in the Bharatpur state. If the Kushān chronology accepted by us be correct then he must have wrested Sindhu-Sauvīra from one of the successors of Kanishka I.

Rudradāman apparently held his court at Ujjain, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of his grandfather Chashṭana, placing the provinces of Ānarta and Surāshṭra

[1] *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, V, 71; XIV, 4.

[2] Aparānta in its extended sense (*cf.* Aśoka, RE, V) no doubt embraces not only Śūrpāraka but Nāsik, Bharukachchha, the Mahī valley., Cutch, Surāshṭra, Ānartta, Abu, etc. (*Vāyu*, 45, 129 f.; *Matsya*, 114, 50-51; *Mārk*, 57, 49 f.—but the text is corrupt and Śurpārakīḥ, Kachchīyāḥ and Ānarttāḥ should be substituted for Sūryārakāḥ, Kāśmīrāḥ and Āvantyāḥ). But as the Junāgaḍh record distinguishes Aparānta from Surāshṭra, Ānartta, etc., it is clearly used here in its restricted sense.

[3] *Cf. Nishāda-rāshṭra*, Mbh., III. 130. 4; and *Pāriyātracharaḥ*, Mbh., XII, 135, 3-5. According to Bühler (IA, 7, 263) Nishāda probably corresponded with Hissar and Bhatnīr.

under his Pahlava (Parthian) *Amātya*[1] Suviśākha. The *Amātya* constructed a new dam on the famous Sudarśana Lake which owed its origin to the " care bestowed by the Maurya government upon the question of irrigation, even in the most remote provinces."

The Great *Kshatrapa* is said to have gained fame by studying grammar (*śabda*), polity (*artha*), music (*gandharva*), logic (*nyāya*), etc. As a test of the civilised character of his rule it may be noted that he took and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle. The Sudarśana embankment was rebuilt and the lake reconstructed by "expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by exacting taxes (*Kara*), forced labour (*Vishṭi*), benevolences (*Praṇaya*), and the like.[2] The king was helped in the work of government by an able staff of officials, who were "fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers" (*amātya-guṇa-samudyuktaiḥ*) and were divided into two classes, *viz.*, *Matisachiva* (Counsellors) and *Karma-sachiva* (Executive Officers).

Rudradāman had at least two sons and one daughter. The princess was given in marriage to Vāsishṭhîputrā Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana family of the Deccan. A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription[3] refers to a princess from Ujjain named Rudradhara Bhaṭṭārikā who was the queen (*Mahādevī*) of an Ikshvāku ruler of the Guṇṭūr district and some adjoining regions in the lower Kṛishṇā valley. It has been surmised by Vogel that she probably belonged

[1] With this bureaucratic designation is to be contrasted the title *Rājā* applied to Tushāspha, the local ruler of Surāshṭra in the days of Aśoka, who " was more than a mere official " (IA., 7, 257 n.). While some of the Śaka provinces or districts were placed under *amātyas* or officers whose functions were mainly of a civil character, others seem to have been governed by generals (*Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*). The name of such a military governor is disclosed by a Sāñchī inscription (JASB, 1923, 343).

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, 1, 39.

[3] Ep. Ind., XX, 1 ff.

to the house of Chashṭana. Her father is styled a *Mahārāja*, a title which seems to have been formally assumed by one of the latest successors of Rudradāman I, *viz.*, Svāmī-Rudrasena III, who ruled from *c.* A.D. 348 to 378, and was, apparently, a contemporary of Samudra-Gupta. It is, however, difficult to say if the Ikshvāku queen was a daughter of Rudrasena III or of some earlier prince.

Rudradāman I, was succeeded by his eldest son **Dāmaghsada I**. After Dāmaghsada there were, according to Rapson, two claimants for the succession: his son Jīvadāman and his brother Rudra Siṁha I. The struggle was eventually decided in favour of the latter. To **Rudra Siṁha's** reign belongs the Guṇḍa inscription of the year 103 (=A.D. 181) which records the digging of a tank by an Ābhira general named Rudrabhūti, son of the general Bāhaka. The Ābhiras afterwards possibly usurped the position of *Mahākshatrapa*. According to Dr. Bhandarkar an Ābhira named Īśvaradatta was the *Mahākshatrapa* of the period 188-90 A.D. But Rapson places Īśvaradatta after A.D. 236.

Rudra Siṁha I was followed by his sons **Rudrasena I**,[1] Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena. Three of Dāmasena's sons became *Mahākshatrapas*, *viz.*, Yaśodāman, Vijaysena and Dāmajada Śrī. This last prince was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II who was followed by his sons Viśvasiṁha and Bhartṛidāman. Under Bhartṛidāman his son Viśvasena served as *Kshatrapa*.

The connection of Bhartṛidāman and Viśvasena with the next *Mahākshatrapa* **Rudradāman II** and his successors cannot be ascertained. The last known member of the line was **Rudra Siṁha III** who ruled up to at least A.D. 388.

[1] To Rudrasena's reign belong the Mulwasar tank inscription of A. D. 200, and the Jasdhan Pillar Inscription of A. D. 205. In the latter epigraph we have the title *Bhadramukha* applied to all the ancestors of Rudrasena, excepting Jayadāma.

Rapson points out that from A.D. 295 to *c*. 340 there was no *Mahākshatrapa*. The elder branch of the family came to an end after 305 and passed by an obscure transition to a new line of Satraps and Great Satraps. The rulers from A.D. 295 to 332 held only the subordinate title of Satrap, and the higher title was not revived till a few years before A.D. 348, when Rudrasena III styled himself *Rājā Mahākshatrapa* and *Mahārāja Kshatrapa*. Now, it is precisely during the period when the old line passed away in obscurity, and the office of *Mahākshatrapa* remained in abeyance, that we find Śakasthāna and portions of Hind annexed to be Sassanian empire and dominated by Sassanian viceroys. The Sassanian conquest began before the end of the reign of Varhrān (Bahrām) II (A. D. 293) and the Sassanian suzerainty was maintained till the early part of the reign of Shāpūr II (A. D. 309-79). The hold of the Persians on the distant Indian provinces became weak in the middle of the fourth century A. D. when Rudrasena III assumed the title of *Mahārāja* and Samudra Gupta, the prototype of the Raghu of Kālidāsa, forced the foreign potentates of the north-west borderland to do him homage.

The revived power of the Śakas of Western India did not last long, being finally destroyed by the Guptas. Already in the time of Samudra Gupta the Śakas appear among the peoples who hastened to buy peace by the offer of maidens and other acts of respectful submission. The Udayagiri Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II testify to that monarch's conquest of Eastern Mālwa. One of the Inscriptions commemorates the construction of a cave by a minister of Chandra Gupta who " came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." The subjugation of western Mālwa is probably hinted at by the epithet "*Siṁha-vikrānta-gāmini*," or vassal of Siṁha Vikrama, *i.e.*, Chandra Gupta II, applied to

Naravarman of Mandasor.[1] Evidence of the conquest of Surāshṭra is to be seen in Chandra Gupta's silver coins which are imitated from those of the Śaka Satraps. Lastly, Bâṇa in his *Harsha-charita* refers to the slaying of the Śaka king by Chandra Gupta : *Ar(l)ipure cha para-kalatra kāmukam kāminī-veśaguptaścha Chandra Guptaḥ Śaka-patim aśātayaditi.*[2]

[1] *Ind. Int.*, 1913, p. 162. The small copper coins of Chandra Gupta II bearing a vase as type were probably struck by him in the Mālava territory which may have been under Śaka domination in the second century A.D. (Allan, *CICAI*, cvi).

[2] According to the commentator Śaṅkara the *Parakalatra* and *Kāminī* referred to above was Dhruva-devī and the ruler of the Śakas was secretly killed by Chandragupta disguised as Dhruva-devī while the former was making advances of love. The *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* by Bhoja throws additional light on the point quoting passages from the *Devīchandraguptam* (see *Aiyangar Com. Vol.*, 359ff; also Lévi, J. A. 1923. 201 ff; *Devīchandraguptam* by A. Rangaswami Sarasvatī, *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 181 ff.). The last mentioned work is a play by Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākshasa*. Quotations from the *Devīchandraguptam* are also found in the *Nāṭya darpana* of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SAKAS OF UJJAIN

- Ysamotika
  - **Chashtana** A.D. 130
    - *Jayadāman*
      - **Rudradaman I** A.D. 130-150
        - **Dama(gh)jada Sri I**
          - *Satyadāman*
          - **Jivadaman** A.D. 178 (?), 197-8.
        - **Rudrasimha I** Satrap, A.D. 180, 188 Great Satrap, A.D. 181-88, A.D. 191-96
          - **Rudrasena I** A.D. 200-222
            - *Prithivishena* Satrap, A.D. 222
            - *Dāmajada Śrī II* Satrap, A.D. 232-233
          - **Sanghadaman** A.D. 222-223
          - **Damasena** A.D. 222-226
            - *Vira dāman* Satrap, A.D. 234-238
              - **Rudrasena II** A.D. 256 (?)-274
                - **Visvasimha** A.D. 277-8
                - **Bhartridaman** A.D. 280-295
                  - *Viśvasena* Satrap, A.D. 294-301
            - **Yaso-daman I** A.D. 239
            - **Vijaya-sena** A.D. 240-50
            - **Damajada Sri III** A.D. 251-254
        - Daughter = Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi

- Svāmi Jivadāman
  - *Rudrasimha II* Sat ap A.D 305
    - *Yaśodāman II* Satrap, A.D. 317-32
  - **Rudradaman II**
    - **Rudrasena III** A.D. 348-378
    - Daughter
      - **Simhasena** A.D. 382
        - **Rudrasena IV**
      - **Satya Simha**
        - **Rudra Simha III** A.D. 388 + x

Section IV. Administrative Machinery of the Scythian Period. [1]

The little that we know about the administration of the Scythian Epoch leaves no room for doubt that the institutions of the age were not haphazard improvisations of military upstarts, having no relations with the past, but a highly developed and organised system—the fruit of the labours of generations of political theorists and practical statesmen (*Vaktṛi-Prayoktṛi*).

The influence of political thinkers (*Arthachintakas*) on Indo-Scythian Polity is evident. The ablest among the princes of the time assiduously studied the science of polity (*Artha-vidyā*);[2] and the care taken to train the occupant of the throne, the employment of officers endowed with ministerial qualifications (*Amātyaguṇa*), the classification of ministers and other high officials (*Sachivas*), abstention from oppressive imposition of *Praṇaya* (Benevolences), *Vishṭi* (forced labour), etc., and the solicitude for the welfare of the *Pauras* and *Jānapadas*, people of cities as well as country parts, clearly show that the teaching of the writers of treatises on polity (*Arthaśāstra*) was not lost upon the Scythian conquerors of India. There was no great cleavage with the past, and the references to *Mahāmātras*, [3] *Rajjukas*, [4] and *Saṁcharaṁtaka*

[1] The expression "Scythian Period" has been used in this section in a broad sense to denote the epoch of all the Post-Mauryan dynasties that ruled in India during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. During the greater part of this period the most powerful potentate in India was the Scythian "King of Kings" who had his metropolis in the North-West, but whose commands were not unoften obeyed on the banks of the Ganges and the Godāvarî. *See Cal. Rev.*, Sept., 1925.

[2] The Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman (*Ind. Ant.*, 1878, p. 261 ; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 36 f.).

[3] Lüders' Ins., Nos. 937. 1144. Note the employment of a *Śramaṇa* as *Mahāmātra* (High Officer) by a Śātavāhana ruler.

[4] Ins., Nos. 416, 1195, The *Rajjukas* were Surveyors and Judges in the country parts.

or *Sañchārin* [1] spies, indicate that the official machinery of the Maurya period had not ceased to function at least in Southern India.

But we must not suppose that the entire administrative structure of the period was a replica of the Maurya constitution. The foreign conquerors of North-Western India brought with them several institutions which had been prevalent for ages in the countries through which they passed. Thus the Persian system of government by Satraps was introduced in several provinces of Northern, Western and Southern India, and officials with the Greek titles of *Meridarch* [2] (probably District Officer) and *Strategos* (general or military governor) ruled contemporaneously with functionaries having the Indian designations of *Amātya* (minister or civil officer in charge of a district) and *Mahāsenāpati* (great general or military governor).

The tide of Scythian invasion could not sweep away the tribal republics which continued to flourish as in the days of Buddha aad Alexander. Inscriptions and coins testify to the existence of many such communities, [3] and like the *Lichchhavis* and *Śākyas* of old, the most powerful among them were found very often ranged against their aggressive royal neighbours who were now mostly Scythian. Unfortunately, the contemporary records do not throw much light on their internal organisation, and it serves no useful purpose to ascribe to them institutions which really belong to their predecessors or successors.

Though the Scythians could not annihilate the republican clans, they did destroy many monarchies of Northern

[1] Ins., No. 1200; *cf.* IA, 5, 52, 155.

[2] A Meridarkha Theüdora is mentioned in a Swāt Kharoshṭhī epigraph. Another Meridarkha is mentioned in a Taxila Kharoshṭhī inscription. The two *meridarchs* are mentioned as establishing Buddhist relics and sanctuaries (*Corpus*, II, i, xv.).

[3] *E. g.*, the Mālavas (Mālayas), Yaudhevas, Ārjunāyanas and possibly the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kunindas (see *Camb. Hist.*, 528, 529), and Uttamabhadras. *Cf.* Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, Sec. VII.

and Western India, and introduce a more exalted type of kingship. The exaltation of monarchy is apparent from two facts, namely, the assumption of high-sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers. The deification of rulers, and the use of big titles are not unknown to ancient Indian literature, but it is worthy of note that a supreme ruler like Aśoka, whose dominions embraced the greater part of India and Afghanistān, was content with the titles of "*Rājā*" and "*Devānampiya Piyadasi.*"[1] The great rulers of the Scythian age, on the other hand, were no longer satisfied with those modest epithets, but assumed more dignified titles like *Chakravartin* (emperor of a circle of states), *Adhirāja* (super-king), *Rājātirāja* (supreme king of kings), and *Devaputra* (the son and not merely the beloved of the gods).

In Southern India we come across titles of a semi-religious character like *Kshemarāja*,[2] *Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja* and *Dharma-Yuvamahārāja*,[3] assumed by pious defenders of Indian faiths, engaged in upholding *dharma* as practised by the ancient teachers and law-givers, and purging it of the evils of the Kali Age, probably to distinguish themselves from the unbelieving foreigners and barbarian outcastes of the North-West.

The assumption of big titles[4] by kings and emperors was paralleled by the use of equally exalted epithets in

[1] 'Of Gracious Mien, Beloved of the Gods.'

[2] Lüders' Ins., No. 1345. 'The beneficent or propitious king.' 'prince of peace'

[3] "The Rightoens King of Kings," "the Righteous Crown Prince." Lüders' Ins., Nos. 1196, 1200. For the significance of the title, *cf.* IA, 5, 51, "*Kaliyuga-doshāvasanna-dharmoddharaṇa-nitya sannaddha*" *Cf.* also the epithets "*Manvādipraṇīta-vidhi-vidhānadharmā Dharmarāja iva,*" "*prakshālita-kali-kalaṅkaḥ*" applied to the Maitraka Kings of Valabhī (*Bharnagar Inscriptions*, 31 ff.). Sometimes even Śaka rulers and generals posed as *Dharma-vijayī* (JASB, 1923, 343).

[4] It is a characteristic of Indian history that imperial titles of one period became feudatory titles in the next. Thus the title *Rājā* used by Aśoka became a feudatory title in the Scythian and Gupta periods, when designations like *Rājarāja*, *Rājādhirāja*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Parama-Rājādhirāja* (*Allan*, 63), came into general use. But even *Mahārājādhirāja* became a feudatory designation in the age of the Pratihāras when the loftier style of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* was assumed by sovereign rulers.

reference to their chief consorts. Aśoka's queens appear to have been styled merely *Devī*. The mother of Tīvara, for instance, is called "*Dutīā Devī*" (the second queen) and the implication is that the elder queen was *Prathamā Devī*. But in the Scythian epoch we come across the titles of *Agra-Mahishī* and *Mahādevī* which distinguished the chief queen from her rivals. Among such chief consorts may be mentioned Ayasi-Kamuia, Nāganikā, and Balaśrī.

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is strikingly illustrated by the growing practice of erecting *Devakulas* or "Royal galleries of portrait statues." The most famous of these structures was the *Devakula* of the *Pitāmaha* (grandfather) of Huvishka referred to in a Mathurā inscription.[1] The existence of royal *Devakulas* as well as ordinary temples, and the presence of the living *Devaputra* probably earned for Mathurā its secondary name of "The city of the gods."

The exaltation of royalty had the sanction of certain writers on kingly duty (*Rājadharma*) who represented the king as a "*Mahatî devatā*," a great divinity, in human shape. But it was probably due in the first instance to the Scythians[2] who acted as carriers of Persian, Chinese and Roman ideas of kingship. The title *Rājātirāja*, supreme king overpassing other kings, as Rapson points out, is "distinctively Persian." "It has a long history

[1] JRAS, 1924, p. 402. For images of later kings, *cf. Beginnings of South Indian History*, 141; Raverty, *Tabaqāt*, I, 622 (effigy of Bikramajit); C. S. Srinivasachari, *The Evolution of Political Institutions of South India*, Section IV ("*The Young Men of India*," June and July, 1924), p. 5. Images of Sundara Chola and one of his queens were set up in the Tanjore temple and deified. C. V. Vaidya (*Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, 98) refers to the prevalence of the custom of raising some temple at the place of burning the dead body of the kings. But it is not clear if the temples contained images of the dead king and his queens. The deification and worship of the dead kings may be compared to *devapitṛipūjā* referred to in the *Kauṭilīya* (II. 6).

[2] The titles 'Theos' and 'Theotropos' were used by certain Indo-Greek rulers, but their example does not seem to have been widely followed. Gondopbernes, it is true, calls himself *Devavrata*, but not yet *Deva* or *Devaputra*.

from the *Xshāyathiyānām Xshāyathiya* [1] of the inscriptions of Darius down to the *Shāhān Shāh* of the present day." The Kushān epithet "*Devaputra*" is apparently of Chinese origin, being the literal translation of the Chinese emperors' title "Son of Heaven" (*Tien-tze* ; *tien-tzu*).[2] If Lüders is to be believed, one at least of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns (Kanishka of the Ārā Inscription) assumed the Roman title of "*Kaisar*," and the dedication of temples in honour of emperors on the banks of the Tiber may have had something to do with the practice of erecting *Devakulas* on the banks of the Jumna.

A remarkable feature of the Scythian Age was the wide prevalence of the system of *Dvairājya* or Diarchy in Northern and Western India and *Yauvarājya* (rule of a crown-prince) in N. W. India and the Far South. Under both these forms of government the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. In a *Dvairājya* or Diarchy the rulers appear to have been of equal status, but in a *Yauvarājya* (rule of a crown-prince) the reigning prince was apparently a vice-gerent. As instances of *Dvairājya* may be mentioned the cases of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, Hagāna and Hagāmasha, Gondophernes and Gad, Gondophernes and Abdagases, Chashṭana and Rudradāman, Kanishka II and Huvishka, etc., etc. Among ruling *Yuvarājas* may be mentioned Kharaosta and the Pallava *Yuva-Mahārājas* Śiva-Skanda-varman, Vijaya-Buddha-varman [3] and Vishṇugopa of Palakkada.

[1] *Cf.* the use of the term '*Kshapayitvā*' in connection with the subversion of the Śuṅga sovereignty by Simuka. The expressions *Kshatrasya Kshatra* (*Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad*, I. 4. 14), *Adhirāja*, *Chakravartin*, etc., are, no doubt, known to our ancient literature. But there is no proof of the use of the last two as formal styles of sovereigns till the Post-Mauryan period, while the first is never so used.

[2] JRAS 1897, 903 ; 1912, 671, 682. Allan, *Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* xxvii.

[3] IHQ, 1933, 211.

The king, or viceroy, resided in cities called *Adhishṭhāna*. The number of such *Adhishṭhānas* and various other kinds of cities (*Nagara*, *Nagarī*), was fairly numerous. But regarding their administration our information is very meagre. We hear of "*nigama-sabhās*" or town councils and of a city official called *Nagarākshadarśa*[1] whose functions are nowhere distinctly stated in the inscriptions but seem to have been similar to those of the *Nagaravyāvahārikas*, or city judges, of the Maurya Age.

Regarding general administration, and the government of provinces, districts and villages, we have more detailed information. The designations of some of the highest officers of state did not differ from those in vogue during the Maurya period. *Mahāmātras*, and *Rajjukas* play an important part in the days of the Sātavāhanas and Scythians as in the time of Aśoka. But side by side with these functionaries we hear of others who do not figure in inscriptions of the Maurya Epoch, although some of them appear in the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to Kauṭilya.

The officers most intimately associated with the sovereign were the privy councillors,—the *Matisachivas* of the Junāgaḍh epigraph and the *Rahasyādhikṛta* of the Pallava grants. Among other prominent court officials must be mentioned the *Rāja Vaidya*,[2] Royal Physician, and the *Rāja Lipikara*, Royal Scribe.[3]

No less important than the privy councillors were the high military officials—the *Mahāsenāpati*,[4] the *Daṇḍa-*

[1] EHI[4], 226; Lüder's Ins., No. 1351 (Udayagiri Cave Inscription). *Cf. Akshadarśa*, Patañjali, *Index of Words*. Oka, *Amarakośa*, 123; *Agni Purāṇa*, 366, 3; *Vin.* iii. 47. According to the last mentioned text the '*akkhadassas*' constituted a class of *Mahāmattas*, like their prototypes in the time of Aśoka. In later ages the *Akshadarśa* might have had revenue functions. *Cf.* Kshīra's comment on the passage from the Amarakośa referred to above. The duties of the *Akshapaṭalikas* of the Gupta period may be mentioned in this connection.

[2] Ins., 1190-93.

[3] Ins., 271; Kauṭ., II, 10.

[4] 1124, 1146.

nāyaka and the *Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka* [1] who probably correspond to the *Senāpati* and *Nāyaka* [2] of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. These important functionaries had probably under them subordinates like *Senāgopas* (captains), *Gaulmikas* [3] (commanders of platoons), *Ārakshādhikṛitas* [4] (guards), *Aśvavārakas* [5] (troopers), *Bhaṭamanushyas* [6] (mercenaries), etc.

We have already referred to one class of civil officers (*Amātyas* or *Sachivas*), *viz.*, the *Mati sachivas* (counsellors). There was another class of *Amātyas* who served as executive officers (*Karma sachivas*). From them were chosen governors,[7] treasurers,[8] superintendents [9] and secretaries [10] as in the days of Megasthenes.

Among treasury officials mention is made of the *Gaṁjavara*,[11] the *Koshṭhāgārika*[12] and the *Bhāṇḍāgārika*[13] who was one of the principal ministers of state (*Rājāmātya*). But we have no epigraphic reference to the *Sannidhātṛi* (*lit.* piler) or the *Samāhartṛi* (collector) till the days of the Somavaṁśi kings of Kosala. The main heads of revenue received into the *Bhāṇḍāgāra* or *Kośa* (treasury) were, as enumerated in the Junāgaḍh Inscription, *Bali* (extra tribute), *Śulk* (duty), and *Bhāga* (customary share of the king). These sufficed to fill the exchequer of a benevolent prince like Rudradāman with *kanaka* (gold), *rajata* (silver), *vajra* (diamond),

1 1328. *cf.* Majumdar's *List of Kharoshṭhī Ins.* No. 36. For the duties of a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *cf.* IA, 4, 106, 275n; 5, 49; Fleet, CII, 16. Daṇḍanāyakas sometimes carved out principalities (*rājya*) for themselves (JASB, 1923, 343).

2 Kauṭ., Bk. X. Ch. 1, 2, 5.

3 Lüders' Ins., 1200; Ep. Ind., XIV, 155; *cf. Manu*, VII, 190.

4 Lüders, 1200.

5 Lüders, 381, 728.

6 Lüders, 1200.

7 Lüders, Ins., 965.

8 1141. 9 1186. 10 1125.

11 Lüders, 82; *Rājataraṅginī*, V, 177. Note the employment of a Brāhmaṇa treasurer by a Scythian ruler.

12 Ep. Ind., XX, 28.

13 Lüders, 1141.

vaiduryaratna (beryl), etc. Rulers less scrupulous than the *Mahākshatrapa* doubtless oppressed the people with arbitrary imposts, forced labour and benevolences (*kara-vishṭi-praṇaya-kriyā-bhiḥ*). Besides the *Bhāṇḍāgāra*, whose existence is implied by Lüders' Ins., No. 1141, we have reference to the store house, *Koshṭhāgāra*,[1] which is described in Book II, Chapter 15, of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. The inscriptions afford us glimpses of the way in which the revenue was spent. The attempts to provide for "*pānīya*" or drinkable water are specially noteworthy, The Junāgaḍh Inscription tells us how "by the expenditure of a vast amount of money from his own treasury" a great Scythian ruler and his *amātya* restored the Sudarśana lake. References to the construction or repair of tanks, wells, lakes and other reservoirs of water, *Pushkariṇīs*, *udapānas*, *hradas* or *taḍāgas*, are fairly common. Lüders' Ins., No. 1137, makes mention of makers of hydraulic engines (*Audayantrika*), while another epigraph[2] refers to a royal official called *Pānīyagharika* or superintendent of water-houses. Inscription No. 1186, after recording the gift of a *taḍāga* (pond), a *nāga* (statue of a serpent deity) and a *vihāra* (pleasance, monastery), refers to the *Amātya* Śkandasvāti who was the *Karmāntika* (superintendent of works), an official designation known to the *Arthaśāstra*.[3]

In the department of Foreign Affairs we have the *Dūta* (envoy or messenger), but we do not as yet hear of dignitaries like the *Sāmdhivigrahika* (officer in charge of peace and war) and *Kumārāmātya*[4] who figure so prominently in inscriptions of the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods.

[1] In Ins. No. 937. [2] Lüders, 1279. [3] Bk. I, Ch. 12.

[4] *Kumāra* means 'a youth,' 'a prince.' Hence *Kumārāmātya* may mean 'junior minister,' or 'prince's minister.' The word *Kumāra* as the opposite of *Prauḍha* may correspond to *Chikka*, *Chenna* or *Immaḍi* of the South. Another interpretation is also possible. *Kumārāmātya* may mean an *amātya* from one's youth just as *Kumāra-sevaka* means *ākaumāraparichārakaḥ*.

Inscriptions of the period under review refer also to officials like the *Mahāsāmiyas* who preserved records,[1] and others whose exact functions and status are nowhere indicated. Amongst these may be mentioned the *Abhyamtaropasthāyaka*, 'servant of the interior,' *Māḍabika*,[2] *Tūthika* and *Neyika*.[3]

The big empires of North-Western India were spilt up into vast satrapies and smaller provinces ruled by *Mahākshatrapas* and *Kshatrapas*. These satrapies as well as the kingdoms outside the limits of the Scythian Empire, were divided into districts called *Rāshṭra*, *Āhāra*, *Janapada*, *Deśa* or *Vishaya*. We do not as yet hear of the organisation into *Bhuktis* (*lit.* allotments, administrative divisions) so widely prevalent in Post-Scythian times. *Rāshṭra*, *Āhāra* (or *Hāra*) and *Janapada* seem to have been synonymous terms in this age, as is proved by the case of the Sātahani-*raṭṭha* (*rāshṭra*) or Sātavāhani-*hāra* which is styled a *janapada* in the Myakadoni Inscription. The chief officer in a *Rāshṭra* or *Āhāra* was the *Rāshṭrapati*, *Rāshṭrika* (*Raṭhika*) or *Amātya*. The *Amātya* Suviśākha, for instance, governed Surāshṭra under the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman. The *Amātyas* Vishṇupālita, Śyāmaka, and Śiva-skanda-datta successively governed the *Āhāra* or district of Govardhana (Nāsik) in the time of Gautamîputra Śatakarṇi and Pulumāyi, while the neighbouring *Āhāra* of Māmāla (Poona District) was under an *Amātya* whose name ended in—Gupta. In the Far South the chief officer of the *Āhāra* seems to have been called '*Vyāpṛita*.'[4] The *Janapadas*, particularly those on vulnerable frontiers, were sometimes placed under the charge of military governors (*Strategos*, *Mahā-*

[1] For another interpretation see JBBRAS, N.S., IV, 1928, pp. 64, 72 ; IHQ. 1933, 221. In the opinion of V.S. Bakhle the *Mahāsāmiya* "seems to refer to the resolution of the corporate assembly of the city or to that body itself "

[2] The word *Māḍabika* may perhaps be connected with *Maḍamba* of the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*, 89. Para. 62 refers to an official styled *Māḍambiya* (Burgomaster).

[3] Sircar equates *Neyika* with *Naiyogika*.

[4] Lüders, 1327, 1328.

senāpati, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, etc.). The *Janapada* of Śātavāhani-hāra was, for instance, under the *Mahāsenāpati* Skandanāga.[1] Part of Eastern Mālwa seems to have been governed by a Śaka *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* shortly before its annexation by the Imperial Guptas and portions of the Indian borderland were governed by a line of *Strategoi* (Aspavarman, Sasa) [2] under Azes and Gondophernes.

Deśa, too, is often used as a synonym of *Rāshṭra* or *Janapada*. It was under a *Deśādhikṛita*, the *Deshmukh* of mediaeval times, an officer mentioned in the Hīrahaḍagalli grant of Śiva-Skanda-varman. The next smaller unit was apparently the *Vishaya* governed by the *Vishayapati*.[3] But sometimes even '*Vishaya*' was used as a synonym of *Deśa* or *Rāshṭra*, and there were cases in the Post-Gupta period of the use of the term to designate a larger area than a *Rāshṭra*.[4]

The smallest administrative units were the villages called *Grāma* or *Grāmāhāra*,[5] and the smaller towns or emporia called *Nigama*.[6] The affairs of a *Grāma* were controlled by officers styled *Grāmeyika Āyutta* [7] who were apparently headed by the *Grāmaṇī*,[8] *Grāmika*,[9] *Grāmabhojaka* [10] or (*Grāma*) *Mahattaraka*. Lüders' (Mathurā) Inscription, No. 48, gives the names of two such *Grāmikas*, Jayadeva and Jayanāga. In Southern India we have the curious title "*Muluḍa*" applied to the head of a village.[11] The chief men of the *Nigamas* were the *Gahapatis*,[12] the counterparts of the

[1] *Cf.* the Myakadoni Inscription.

[2] For an *amātya* named Sasa, see the Koḍavali Rock Inscription of the Śātavāhana king Siri Chaṁḍa Sāti (Ep. Ind., XVIII, 318).

[3] 929*n* (Lüders). [4] Fleet, CII, 32 n [5] Ins., No. 1195.

[6] In Pali literature *Nigamas* are distinguished from *grāmas*, villages, as well as from *nagaras*, cities which had strong ramparts and gateways (*dṛiḍha prākāra toraṇa*).

[7] 1327. [8] 1333. [9] 48, 69a. [10] 1200.

[11] Ins., 1194. *Cf Muruṇḍa* = lord (Śaka). For the presence of Śakas in the far south, see Ep Ind., XX, 37.

[12] *Gṛihapati*, house-lord, was a designation specially applied to the leading men of the gentry, the wealthy middle class, *Kalyāna-bhattiko*, men accustomed to a good dietary. They are often distinguished from priests and nobles.

Grāmavṛiddhas of villages. In Lüders' Inscription, No. 1153, we have evidence of the corporate activity of a *dhamma-nigama* headed by the *Gahapati*. The *Grāma* and *Nigama* organisation was the most durable part of the Ancient Indian system of government, and centuries of Scythian rule could not wipe it out of existence. The village and the *Nigamas* were also the nurseries of those ideas of associate life which found vent in the organisation of societies, committees, assemblies and corporations styled *Goshṭhīs*,[1] *Nikāyas*,[2] *Parishads*,[3] *Saṁghas*,[4] etc., about which the inscriptions of the period speak so much. Not the least interesting of these institutions was the "*Goshṭhī*" which afforded a field for co-operation between kings and villagers. Lüders' Ins., Nos. 1332 to 1338, speak of a *Goshṭhī* which was headed by the *Rājan*, and which counted among its officials the son of a village headman.

A less pleasing feature of ancient Indian polity in the Scythian, as in other times, was the employment of spies, particularly of the "*Saṁcharaṁtakas*," or wandering emissaries, whose functions are described with gruesome details in the *Arthaśāstra*. The evidence of foreign witnesses in Maurya and Gupta periods seems, however, to suggest that political morality did not actually sink so low as a study of the *Arthaśāstra* would lead us to think. Vatsyāyana probably voices the real feelings of his countrymen when he says that every single maxim for which there is provision in a theoretical treatise need not be followed in actual practice, because theoretical manuals have to be comprehensive but practical application should have a limited range. No sane man will think of eating dog's flesh simply because its flavour, tonic power, dressing, etc., are discussed in medical treatises.

Na śāstramastītye tāvat prayoge kāranaṁ bhavet
śāstrārthān vyāpino vidyāt prayogāṁstvekadeśikān
rasa-vīrya vipākā hi śvamāṁsasyāpi vaidyake
kīrtitā iti tat kiṁ syād bhakshaṇīyaṁ vichakshaṇaiḥ.

[1] Lüders' Ins., 273, 1332, 1335, 1338. [2] 1133. [3] 125, 925. [4] 5, 1137.

CHAPTER X. THE GUPTA EMPIRE: THE RISE OF THE GUPTA POWER.

Imāṁ sāgaraparyantāṁ Himavad-Vindhya-kuṇḍalām
mahīm ekātapatrāṅkāṁ Rājasiṁha[1] *praśāstu naḥ*

—*Dūtavākyam.*

SECTION I. THE FOUNDATION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY.

We have seen that the tide of Scythian conquest, which was rolled back for a time by the Sātavāhanas, was finally stemmed by the Gupta Emperors. It is interesting to note that there were many Guptas among the officials of the Sātavāhana conquerors of the Śakas, *e.g*, Śiva Gupta of the Nāsik Inscription of the year 18, (Pura?) Gupta of the Karle inscription, and Śiva-Skanda Gupta of the same epigraph. It is difficult to say whether there was any connection between these Guptas and the Imperial Gupta family of Northern India, two of whom actually bore the names of Skanda Gupta and Pura Gupta.[2]

[1] With *Rājasiṁha* may be compared the epithet *Narendrasiṁha* occurring on coins of Chandragupta II (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, 43). All the letters here are not clearly legible (*ibid*, cxiii), but on many coins we find the analogous epithet *Siṁha-vikrama* (pp. 38 ff.). The reference in the *Dūtavākya* must be to a paramount ruler of Northern India, bounded by the seas and the Himālayan and Vindhyan ranges, who had the epithet 'lion-like king.' The ruler who answers best to the description is Chandra Gupta II. The author of the *Dūtavākya* possibly refers to this monarch. If he is identical with Bhāsa, a distinguished predecessor of Kālidāsa, his career as a poet may have begun *before* the accession of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, 'Narendra-Siṁha,' *i.e.*, in the time of the great patron and 'king of poets' (*Kavirāja*) Samudra Gupta.

[2] In the *Modern Review* (November), 1929, p. 499 f. it has been suggested that the Guptas are of *Kāraskara* origin But the evidence on the point is hardly conclusive. The identification of the "accursed" Chaṇḍasena of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* (adopted son of Sundaravarman), whose family was uprooted (p. 500) with Chandra Gupta I, son of *Mahārāja Śrī* Ghaṭotkacha whose dynasty ruled gloriously for centuries, is clearly untenable. The mere fact that Lichchhavis helped Chaṇḍasena

Scions of the Gupta family are not unoften mentioned in old *Brāhmī* Inscriptions. The Ichchhāwar[1] Buddhist Statuette Inscription[2] mentions the benefaction of Mahādevî, queen of Śrî Haridāsa, sprung from the Gupta race (*Gupta-vaṁśodita*). A Bharhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription[3] of the Śuṅga period refers to a "Gauptî" as the queen of *Rājan* Visadeva, and the grandmother of Dhanabhūti, probably a feudatory of the Śuṅgas.

Traces of Gupta rule in Magadha are found as early as the second century A.D. I-Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in the seventh century A.D., mentions a Mahārāja **Śrī Gupta** who built a temple near Mṛigaśikhā-vana. I-Tsing's date would place him about A. D. 175.[4] Allan rejects the date, and identifies Śrī Gupta with Gupta the great-grandfather of Samudra Gupta, on the ground that it is unlikely that we should have two different rulers in the same territory, of the same name, within a brief period. But have we not two Chandra Guptas and two Kumāra Guptas within brief periods?

is not enough to prove that the prince in question is identical with Chandra Gupta I. Lichchhavis appear as enemies of Magadha as early as the fifth century B.C. For a summary of the plot of the drama, which is attributed by some to a female writer, see *Aiyangar Com. Vol.*, 361f. If Sundaravarman, and his son Kalyānavarman are real historical figures, and if they actually ruled over Magadha, they must be placed either before *Mahārāja Śrī* Gupta or after Bālāditya (6th century A.D.). The memory of Varman *ādhipatya* over Magadha was fresh at the time of the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, 191). *Cf.* also Pūrṇavarman and Devavarman mentioned by Chinese writers, as well as kings of the Maukhari line. The origin of the Imperial Gupta family is wrapped up in obscurity. We only know that they probably belonged to the *Dhāraṇa* gotra (IHQ, 1930, 565). They may have been related to Queen Dhārinī, the chief consort of Agnimitra. Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out (IHQ, 1933, 930 ff) that according to a Javanese text (*Tantri Kāmandaka*) *Mahārāja* Aiśvaryapāla of the Ikshvāku race traced his genealogy to the family of Samudra Gupta. Little reliance can, however, be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late writers.

[1] Bāndā district.

[2] Lüders, No. 11.

[3] Lüders, No. 687.

[4] Allan, *Gupta Coins*, Introduction, p. xv. *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, X (1881), 110.

There is no cogent reason for identifying Śrî Gupta of *cir.* A.D. 175 with Samudra Gupta's great-grandfather who must have flourished about a century later.

The names of Śrî Gupta's immediate successors are not known. The earliest name of a member of the Gupta family of Magadha which appears in inscriptions is that of *Mahārāja* **Gupta** who was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* **Ghaṭotkacha**.

SECTION II. CHANDRA GUPTA I.

The first independent sovereign (*Mahārājādhirāja*) [1] of the line was Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghaṭotkacha, who may have ascended the throne in 320 A.D., the initial date of the Gupta Era.[2] Like his great fore-runner Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśâlī or of Nepāl,[3] and laid the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. The union of Chandra Gupta I with the Lichchhavi family is commemorated by a series of coins having on the obverse standing figures of Chandra Gupta and his queen, the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevî, and on the reverse a figure of Lakshmī, the goddess of luck, with the legend "*Lichchhavayaḥ*" probably signifying that the prosperity of Chandra Gupta was due to his Lichchhavi alliance. Smith suggests that the Lichahhavis were ruling in Pāṭaliputra as tributaries or feudatories of the Kushāns and that through his marriage Chandra Gupta succeeded to the power of his wife's relatives. But Allan suggests that Pāṭaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Śrî Gupta's time.[4]

From the record of Samudra Gupta's conquests it has been deduced that his father's rule was confined to Magadha and the adjoining territories. In the opinion of

[1] In the Ṛiddhapur plates (JASB, 1924, 58), however, Chandra Gupta I and even Samudra Gupta are called (carelessly) simply *Mahārājas*.

[2] JRAS, 1893, 80; Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Rep., Vol. IX, p. 21.

[3] Some scholars think that Chandra Gupta I's alliance was with the ruling family of Nepāl (JRAS, 1889, p. 55) or of Pāṭaliputra (JRAS, 1893, p. 81).

[4] Kielhorn's North Indian Inscription, No. 541, however, suggests some connection between the Lichchhavis and Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra).

Allan the Purāṇic verses defining the Gupta dominions refer to his reign :

Anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁcha Sāketam Magadhāṁstathā
Etān janapadān sarvān bhokshyante Guptavaṁśajāḥ.

"Kings born of the Gupta family will enjoy all these territories along the Ganges, *viz.*, Prayāga (Allahabad), Sāketa (Oudh), and Magadha (South Bihār)."

It will be seen that Vaiśālî (North Bihār) is not included in this list of Gupta possessions. Therefore, it is difficult to concur in Allan's view that Vaiśālî was one of Chandra Gupta's earliest conquests. Nor does Vaiśālî occur in the list of Samudra Gupta's acquisitions, though the reference to Nepāl as a border state in the famous Allahabad inscription may suggest that North Bihār was included within his dominions. It first appears definitely as a Gupta possession in the time of Chandra Gupta II, and constituted a viceroyalty under an imperial Prince. Prāyaga (Allahabad) may have been conquered from a line of kings whose existence is disclosed in certain inscriptions discovered at Bhīṭā. Two of these kings, Mahārāja Gautamîputra Śrî Śivamegha and Rājan Vāsishṭhîputrā Bhīmasena are assigned by Marshall to the second or third century A.D. The name Śivamegha reminds us of the 'Meghas' who ruled in Kosalā in the third century A.D.[1] Another king, Mahārāja Gautamîputra Vṛishadhvaja, is assigned to the third or fourth century A.D.

One of the most memorable acts of Chandra Gupta I was the selection, before the assembled councillors (*Sabhyas*) and princes of the blood, of Samudra Gupta as his successor.

[1] JRAS, 1911, 132; Pargiter, DKA, p. 51; see also a recent note on the *Kosam Stone Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman*, by Mr. A Ghosh in *Indian Culture*, 1936, 177 ff.

SECTION III. SAMUDRA GUPTA PARĀKRAMĀṄKA.[1]

The exact date when Chandra Gupta I was succeeded by his son, Samudra Gupta, is not known. If the evidence of the spurious Nālandā plate has any value the event may have happened before the year 5 of the Gupta Era, *i.e.*, A.D. 325. It is clear not only from the Allahabad *Praśasti* but from the epithet "*tatpādaparigṛihīta*," applied to Samudra Gupta in the Ṛiddhapur inscription, that the prince was selected from among his sons by Chandra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. The new monarch may have been known also as Kācha.[2]

It was the aim of Samudra Gupta to bring about the political unification of India and make himself an *Ekarāṭ* or sole ruler like Mahāpadma. But his only permanent annexation was that of portions of *Āryāvarta* in the upper valley of the Ganges and its tributaries, together with certain districts

[1] The titles *Parākrama*, *Vyāghraparākrama*, and *Parākramāṅka* are found on coins (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. cxi, 1f) and in the Allahabad *Praśasti* (CII, p. 6).

[2] The epithet *Sarva-rājo-chchhettā* found on Kācha's coins shows that he was in all probability identical with Samudra Gupta. *Cf.* Smith, *Catalogue*, 96; IA, 1902, 259 f. For another view see Smith, JRAS, 1897, 19; Rapson, JRAS, 1893, 81; Heras, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, p 83f. To us it is unthinkable that the style "uprooter of all kings" could have been assumed by a Gupta monarch other than the one who is actually credited with that achievement by a contemporary inscription, before the events presupposed by the expression had actually happened. In the Poona plates we find the epithet applied to Chandra Gupta II, son of Samudra Gupta, along with many other designations of the latter. But it should be remembered that the plates in question are not official records of the Guptas themselves. In no official epigraph of the Imperial Guptas is the style "*Sarva-rājo-chchhettā* applied to any other king except Samudra Gupta. The application of the term to Chandra Gupta II in the Poona Plates is due to the same carelessness which led the writer to describe Chandra Gupta I as a mere *Māhāraja* (and not *Mahārājādhirāja*). A comparison of the Amgāchhi record with the Bāṇagaḍ Inscription shows that writers of *Praśastis* not unoften carelessly applied to a later king eulogies really pertaining to a preceding ruler.

in Central and Eastern India. Following his "*Sarvakshatrāntaka*"[1] predecessor, this *Sarva-rājo-chchhettā*, "exterminator of all kings," uprooted Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman, and many other **kings of Āryāvarta**,[2] captured the scion of the **family of Kota** and made all the kings of forest countries (*āṭavika-rāja*) his servants. Rudradeva has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Rudrasena Vākāṭaka. But the Vākāṭakas can hardly be regarded as rulers of Āryāvarta, and they were far from being uprooted in the time of Samudra Gupta.[3] Equally untenable is the identification of Balavarman with a prince of Assam, a province that was looked upon as a border state (*Pratyanta*) and not as a part of Āryāvarta. Matila has been identified with a person named Mattila mentioned in a seal found in Bulandshahr in the Central Doāb. The absence of any honorific title on the seal leads Allan to suggest that it was a private one. But we have already come across several instances of princes being mentioned without any honorific. Chandravarman has been identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Susunia[4] inscription, who was the ruler of Pushkaraṇa and was possibly the founder of Chandravarman-koṭa mentioned in the Ghugrahātī grant. Some scholars identify Pushkaraṇa with Pokran or Pokurna in Mārwār, and further equate Siṁhavarman, the name of the father of Chandravarman, with Siṁhavarman of the Mandasor family. But there is very little to be said in support of this conjecture.

1 Destroyer of all Kshatriyas.

2 Father Heras thinks (*Ann. Bhan. Ins.*, IX, p. 88) that Samudra Gupta undertook two campaigns in *Āryāvarta*. But his theory involves the assumption that Achyuta and Nāgasena were "violently exterminated" in the second campagin after being "uprooted" in the first. To obviate the difficulty he takes "uprooted" to mean "defeated." This is, to say the least, unconvincing.

3 *Cf.* IHQ, I, 2, 254.

4 "A sandstone hill 12 miles to the north-west of Bankura."

No mention of Chandravarman, or reference to his exploits, is found in any epigraphic record of the Varman family of Western Mālwa. Pushkaraṇa is really to be identified with a village named Pokharan on the Dāmodar river in the Bankura District, some 25 miles to the north-east of Susunia Hill.[1]

Ganapati Nāga, Nāgasena and Nandi seem to have been Nāga princes. That Ganapati Nāga was a Nāga prince is evident. This ruler is also known from coins found at Pawāyā near Narwar and at Besnagar.[2] Nāgasena, scion of the house of Padmāvatī[3] near Narwar on the Sindh river between Gwalior and Jhansi, is mentioned in the *Harsha-charita* (*Nāga-kula-janmanaḥ sārikāśrāvita mantrasya*

[1] *Cf.* Dikshit, *ASI, AR,* 1927-28, p. 188; S. K. Chatterji, "*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,*" II, 1061; IHQ, I, 2, 255. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī believed that this local ruler who bore the modest title of *Mahārāja* was identical also with the mighty emperor (*bhumipati prāpta aikādhirājya*) Chandra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription who " in battle in the Vaṅga countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the Indus the Vāhlikas were conquered." Others suggest the identification of the great Chandra with one or other of the famous Chandra Guptas of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. But Chandra is never styled either Chandravarman or Chandra Gupta and, unlike the court poets of the Varmans and Guptas, the panegyrist of the mighty Chandra, who is said to have carried his arms to the distant corners of India, never gives the slighest hint about his pedigree. He does not even mention the name of his father. It may be noted here that the *Purāṇas* represent the Nāgas as ruling in the Jumna valley and Central India early in the fourth century A.D. We learn from the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* that Nāga dynasties ruled at Padmāvatī and Mathurā. A Nāga line probably ruled also at Vidiśā (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, p. 49). Two kings named Sadā-Chandra and Chandrāṁśa, "the second Nakhavant," are mentioned among the post-Andhran kings of Nāga lineage. One of these, preferably the latter, who was obviously a ruler of note, may have been the Chandra of the Meharauli Inscription. The Vāhlikas beyond "the seven mouths of the Indus" are apparently the Baktrioi occupying the country near Arachosia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy (*Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 408). An inscription of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī* Chandra has been discovered on a Jaina image at Vaibhāra hill (ASI, AR, 1925-26, p. 125). The identity of this Chandra is not clear.

[2] IHQ, I, 2. 255.

[3] Padmāvatī—"Padam Pawāya (25 miles n. e. of Narwar) in the apex of the confluence of the Sindhu and Pārā. Nāga coins have been found here; also a palm-leaf capital with an inscription of the first and second century B.C." EHI[4], p. 300 ASI, AR, 1915-16, pp. 101 ff.

āsīdnāśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyām.[1] Nandi was also probably a Nāga prince. In the *Purāṇas* Siśu Nandi and Nandiyaśas are connected with the Nāga family of Central India. We know also the name of a Nāga prince named Śivanandi.[2] Achyuta was probably a king of Ahichchhatrā, modern Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District. To him has been attributed the small copper coin bearing the syllables '*achyu*' found at Ahichchhatrā.[3] As to the *Kota-kula* Rapson[4] draws our attention to certain coins bearing the inscription *Kota.* These resemble the "Śruta coins" attributed to a ruler of Śrāvastī and should apparently be referred to the upper Gangetic region.[5]

The conquered territories were constituted as *Vishayas* or Imperial sub-provinces. Two of these *vishayas* are known from later inscriptions, namely, Antarvedī or the Gangetic Doāb and Airikiṇa in Eastern Mālwa. It is significant that a Nāga, styled the *Vishayapati* Śarvanāga, figures as a ruler of Antarvedī as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.

[1] "In Padmāvatī Nāgasena, born in the Nāga family, whose confidential deliberations were divulged by a *sārika* bird, met his doom."

[2] Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 31. It is interesting to note that Garuḍa was the emblem of the Gupta kings who did much to curb the power of the Nāgas. *Cf.* the passage of the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Skanda Gupta:

Narapati bhujagānām mānadarpot phanānām
pratikṛiti Garuḍājñām nirvishīm chāvakartā

In the Purāṇas Kṛishṇa, the deity honourd by the Guptas, crushes the head of the serpent Kāliya.

[3] Allan, *Gupta Coins*, xxii.

[4] JRAS, 1898, 449 f.

[5] Smith (*Coins in the Indian Museum*, 258) points out that the Kota coins are common in the Eastern Pañjāb and the Delhi bazaar. A Kota tribe is said to exist also in the Nilgiris (JRAS, 1897, 863; Ind. Ant., iii, 36, 96, 205). The passage in the Allahabad Inscription that "Samudra Gupta caused the scion of the Kota family to be captured by his armies and took pleasure at Pushpāhvaya" has been taken by some scholars to suggest that the *Kotas* were at the time the ruling family of Pāṭaliputra (*cf.* Jayaswal, *History of India, c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 113). The identification of the *Kota kula* with the *Māgadha family* of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* lacks proof.

The annexation of the northern kingdoms named above was not the only achievement of Samudra Gupta. He made the rulers of the *Āṭavika rājyas*, or forest states, his servants. But his most daring exploit was an expedition to the south, which made his power felt by the potentates of the Eastern Deccan. We perceive, however, a difference between his northern and southern campaigns. In the north he played the part of a "*digvijayī*" or "conqueror of the quarters," of the Early Magadhan type.[1] But in the south he followed the Epic and Kauṭilyan ideal of a "*dharmavijayī*" or "righteous conqueror," *i.e.*, he defeated the kings but did not annex their territory. He may have realised the futility of attempting to maintain effective control over these distant regions in the south from his remote base in the north-east of India. His successor tried to maintain his hold on the Deccan by a system of marriage alliances.

The **Āṭavika** *rājyas* undoubtedly included the realm of Ālavaka (Ghāzipur) as well as the forest kingdoms connected with Ḍabhālā, or the Jabbalpur territory.[2] The conquest of this region by Samudra Gupta is proved also by his Eraṇ inscription. One of the Āṭavika states may have been Koṭāṭavi mentioned in the commentary on the *Rāma-charita* of Sandhyākara Nandi.[3] In one epigraphic record [4] we have a reference to a place called Vaṭāṭavi, while another [5] mentions Sahalāṭavi.

[1] This kind of *Vijaya* or conquest is termed *Asura-vijaya* "demon's conquest" in the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 382). The name may have been derived from the Assyrians, the ruthlessness of whose warfare is well-known. Conquest of this type is first met with in India in the sixth century B.C. (*cf.* Ajātaśatru's subjugation of the Lichchhavis and Viḍuḍabha's conquest of the Śākyas) when Persia served as a link between Assyria and India.

[2] Fleet, CII, p. 114; Ep. Ind., VIII, 284-287. In the latter part of the fifth and early part of the sixth century A.D., the Ḍabhālā country was governed by the *Parivrājaka Mahārājas* as feudatories of the Guptas.

[3] p. 36.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 126.

[5] Lüders' List. No. 1195.

The **Kings of Dakshiṇāpatha** who came into conflict with the great Gupta were Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghra-rāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra, a chieftain of Pishṭapura whose precise name is uncertain,[1] Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī, Nīlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Veṅgī, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera of Devarāshṭra, Dhanaṁjaya of Kusthalapura and others.

Kosala in *Dakshiṇāpatha* or South Kosala comprised the modern Bilāspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally even a part of Gañjām.[2] Its capital was Śrīpura, the modern Sirpur, about forty miles east by north from Raipur.[3] Mahākāntāra is apparently a wild tract of Central India which probably included the Jaso State.[4] Kaurāla, supposed to be a variant of Kerala,[5] may be the district of which the capital in later times was Yayātinagarī on the Mahānadî (near Sonpur).[6] The poet Dhoyi, in his *Pavana-dūtam*, connects the Keralîs with Yayātinagarî :

Lîlām netuṁ nayana-padavîṁ Keralînām rateśchet
Gachchheḥ khyātām jagati nagarîm ākhyayātām Yayāteḥ

But Keralî in the above passage may be a misreading for Utkalî ; or it may refer to temporary sojourners of the

[1] For the various interpretations of the passage *Paishṭapuraka Mahendragiri Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta*," see Fleet, CII, Vol. 3, p. 7; JRAS, 1897, pp. 420, 868-870; IHQ, 1925, 252; Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, 224. It is not improbable that Mahendragiri in this passage is a personal name. *Cf.* the name Kumāra-giri given to a chief of Koṇḍaviḍu whose territories included a portion at least of the Godāvarī district (Kielhorn, S. Ins., 597). In JRAS, 1897, 870, we have reference to Kamtagir, an ally of Sindhia.

[2] Inclusion of Ratnapur, *Ep. Ind.*, X, 26; of Koṅgoda, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 141.

[3] Fleet, *CII*, p. 293.

[4] G. Ramdas (IHQ, I. 4, 684) identifies Mahākāntāra with the 'Jhāḍ-khaṇḍ' Agency tracts of Gañjām and Vizagapatam.

[5] Fleet, CII, p. 10.

[6] Ep. Ind., XI, p. 189. Kaurāla cannot be Kolleru or Colair which must have been included within the territory of Hastivarman of Veṅgī.

hetaera type. Dr. Barnett suggests the identification of Kaurāla with one of the villages that now bear the name Korāḍa [1] in South India.

Koṭṭūra has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles south-east of Mahendragiri in Gañjām.[2] Pishṭapura is Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarî district. Eraṇḍapalla is identified by Fleet with Eraṇḍol in Khandesh, and by Dubreuil with Eraṇḍapali, " a town probably near Chicacole " in the Gañjām district.[3] But G. Ramdas [4] suggests the identification of Eraṇḍapalla with Yeṇḍipalli in Vizagapatam or Eṇḍapilli in Ellore Tāluk. Kāñchî is Conjeeveram near Madras. Avamukta cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the name of its king Nîlarāja reminds us of Nîlapalli, "an old seaport near Yanam" in the Godāvarî district.[5] Veṅgī has been identified with Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, 7 miles north of Ellore between the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarî. Its king Hastivarman was identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman (of the Ānanda family).[6] But the more probable view is that he belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty.[7] Palakka is probably identical with Palakkada, the seat of a Pallava viceroyalty in South India. Allan and G. Ramdas locate it

1 *Cal. Rev.*, Feb., 1924, 253 n. *Cf.* Kuṟṟālam, Tj. 590 (*A Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, by V. Rangacharya).

2 There is another Koṭṭura ' at the foot of the Hills' in the Vizagapatam district (Vizag., District Gaz., I, 137). See also Koṭṭūru (IA, 4, 329) and Kottūr-nāḍu, MS. 333, Rangacharya's List.

3 Dubreuil, AHD, pp. 58-60.

4 IHQ, 1. 4, p. 683.

5 Gazetteer of the Godāvarî District, Vol. I, p. 213. Curiously enough the *Brahma Purāṇa* (ch. 113. 22f) mentions an *Avimukta-kshetra* on the bank of the Gautamî, *i. e.*, the Godāvarî. *Cf.* Avimukteśvara, Anantapur, 161 of Rangacharya's List.

6 Attivarman was wrongly assigned to the Pallava race. *Cf.* IHQ, I, 2, p. 253; Ind. Ant., IX, 102. But he is actually described as born in the lineage of the great saint Ānanda (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 334; Kielhorn, S. Ins., 1015; IA, IX, 102; ASI, 1924-25, p. 118).

7 The name Hastivarman is actually found in a Śālaṅkāyana *Vaṁśāvalî* (IHQ, 1927, 429; 1933, 212; Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II).

in the Nellore district.[1] Devarāshṭra is the Yellamañchili tāluk of the Vizagapatam district.[2] Kusthalapura is, according to Dr. Barnett, probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot.[3]

The capture and liberation of the southern kings, notably of the ruler of Koṭṭūra near Mahendragiri, reminds us of the following lines of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśam* :—

Gṛihîta-pratimuktasya sa dharma-vijayî nṛipaḥ
Śriyaṁ Mahendra-nāthasya jahāra natu medinîṁ

"The righteous conqueror (Raghu) took away from the lord of the Mahendra Mountain, who was made captive and then released, his glory but not his territory."

It is not a little surprising that the Allahabad *Praśasti* contains no clear reference to the **Vākāṭakas** who were now the predominant power in the region between Bundelkhand and the Kṛishṇā. The earliest reference to the Vākāṭakas occurs in certain inscriptions of Amarāvatî.[4] The dynasty rose to power under Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravarasena I. Pravarasena appears to have been succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I. Pṛithivisheṇa I, the son and successor of Rudrasena I, must have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta inasmuch as his son Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta's son Chandra Gupta II. Pṛithivisheṇa I's political influence extended from Nachnē-kî-talāî and Ganj in Bundelkhand[5] to the borders of Kuntala, or the Kanarese country.[6] One of the Ajaṇṭā inscriptions credits him with having conquered the lord of Kuntala. The Nach-nē-kî-talāî and Ganj regions were ruled by his vassal

[1] IHQ, I 2, 686.
[2] Dubreuil, AHD, p. 160; ASR, 1908-09, p. 123; 1934-35, 43, 65.
[3] *Cal. Rev.*, 1924, p. 253 n. *Cf.* Kutalapaṛṛu, MS. 179 of Rangacharya's List.
[4] Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 261, 267.
[5] Fleet, CII., p. 233; Ep. Ind., XVII, 12. *Cf.* Ind. Ant., June, 1926.
[6] Kārṇāṭa, Ind. Ant., 1876, p. 318.

Vyāghra-deva. Professor Dubreuil, however, says that the Nāchna and Ganj inscriptions, which mention Vyāghra, belong, not to Pṛithivisheṇa I, but to his great-great-grandson Pṛithivisheṇa II. This is improbable in view of the fact that from the time of Pṛithivisheṇa II's great-grandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A. D. 528, the princes of the region which intervenes between Nāchnā and Ganj and the proper Vākāṭaka territory,[1] owned the sway of the Gupta empire. Now as Vyāghra of the Nāchnā and Ganj records acknowledges the supremacy of the Vākāṭaka Pṛithivisheṇa, this Pṛithivisheṇa can only be Pṛithivisheṇa I, who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II[2] and not Pṛithivisheṇa II during whose rule the Guptas, and not the Vākāṭakas, were the acknowledged suzerains of the Central Provinces as we learn from the records of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas.*[3]

The absence of any clear reference to Pṛithivisheṇa I in Harisheṇa's *Praśasti* is explained by the fact that Samudra Gupta's operations were actually confined to the eastern part of Trans-Vindhyan India. There is no reliable evidence that the Gupta conqueror carried his arms to the central and western parts of the Deccan, *i.e.*, the territory ruled by Pṛithivisheṇa I himself. Professor Dubreuil has shown that the identification of Devarāshṭra with Mahārāshṭra and of Eraṇḍapalla with Eraṇḍol in Khandesh is probably wrong.[4]

Though Samudra Gupta did not invade the Western Deccan it is clear from his Eraṇ Inscription that he did

[1] This was Berar with the adjoining regions. A recent Vākāṭaka Inscription discovered in the Drug district contains an interesting reference to Padmapura which Professor Mirashi identifies with the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti and with the modern Padampur near Amgaon in the Bhaṇḍārā District of the Central Provinces. IHQ, 1935, 299; Ep. Ind., xxii, 207 ff.

[2] The Eraṇ and Udayagiri Inscriptions.

[3] *Cf. Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 475. For Dubreuil's views, Ind. Ant., June, 1926.

[4] *Cf. Modern Review*, 1921, p. 457.

deprive the Vākāṭakas of their possessions in Central India. These territories were not, however, directly governed by the Vākāṭaka monarch, but were under a vassal prince. In the time of Pṛithivishena this prince was Vyāghra. We should naturally expect a conflict between the Vākāṭaka feudatory and the Gupta conqueror. Curiously enough the Allahabad *Praśasti* refers to Samudra Gupta's victory over Vyāghra-rāja of Mahākāntāra.[1] It is probable that this Vyāghra-rāja is identical with the Vyāghra of the Nāchnā inscription who was the Central Indian feudatory of Pṛithivishena. As a result of Samudra Gupta's victory the Guptas succeeded the Vākāṭakas as the paramount power in Central India. Henceforth the Vākāṭakas appear as a purely southern power.

The victorious career of Samudra Gupta must have produced a deep impression on the **Pratyanta**[2] *nṛipatis* or frontier kings of North-East India and the Himālayan region, and the tribal states of the Pañjāb, Western India, Mālwa and the Central Provinces, who are said to have gratified his imperious command (*prachaṇḍa śāsana*) "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance." The most important among the eastern kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samataṭa (part of Eastern Bengal bordering on the sea, having its capital probably at Karmmānta or Baḍ-Kamta near Comilla),[3] Ḍavāka (not yet satisfactorily identified)[4] and Kāmarūpa (in Assam). We learn from the Dāmodarpur plates that Northern Bengal, then known as Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, formed an integral part

[1] Has the title *Vyāghra-parākrama*, found on a type of Samudra Gupta's coins that represents the king as trampling on a tiger, anything to do with the emperor's victory over *Vyāghra-rāja*? It is not a little curious that the next sovereign, conqueror of Rudrasiṁha III, the last Satrap, assumed the title of *Siṁha-vikrama*.

[2] For the significance of the term, see *Divyāvadana*, p. 22.

[3] Bhattasali, *Iconography*, pp. 4f. JASB, 1914, 85 ff.

[4] *Cf.* Dekaka (Dacca). Hoyland, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, 14. Mr. K. L. Barua identifies Ḍavāka with the Kopili Valley in Assam (*Early History of Kāmarūpa*, 42 n).

of the Gupta Empire from A.D. 443 to A. D. 543, and was governed by a line of *Uparikas* as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The identification of Ḍavāka with certain districts of North Bengal is, therefore, probably wrong. The Northern *Pratyantas* were Nepāl and Kartṛipura. The latter principality comprised probably Katārpur in the Jālandhar district, and the territory of the Katuria or Katyur *rāj* of Kumaun, Garhwāl and Rohilkhand.[1]

The **tribal states** which paid homage were situated on the western and south-western fringe of Āryāvarta proper. Among these the most important were the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas.

The Mālavas occupied a part of the Pañjāb in the time of Alexander. They were probably in Eastern Rājaputāna[2] when they came into conflict with Ushavadāta. Their exact location in the time of Samudra Gupta cannot be determined. In the time of Samudra Gupta's successors they were probably connected with the Mandasor region. We find princes of Mandasor using the reckoning, commencing B.C. 58, handed down traditionally by the Mālava-*gaṇa* (*Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta*).

The Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas are placed in the northern division of India by the author of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*. They may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Pañjāb.[3] The connection of the Ārjunāyanas with the Pāṇḍava Arjuna is apparent.[4] Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhishṭhira in the *Mahābhārata*.[5]

1 · EHI⁴., 302 n ; JRAS, 1898, 198.

2 *Cf.* Smith, *Catalogue*, 161. Allan, *CCAI*, p. cv. Mālava coins have been found in vast numbers in the Jaipur State (JRAS, 1897, 883).

3 Ind. Ant., XIII, 331, 349.

4 Their coins are found in the Mathurā region (Smith, *Catalogue*, 160).

5 Ādi., 95, 76.

The *Harivaṁśa*, a later authority, connects the Yaudheyas with Uśīnara.[1] A clue to the locality of this tribe is given by the Bijayagaḍh inscription.[2] The hill-fort of Bijayagaḍh lies about two miles to the south-west of Byānā in the Bharatpur state of Rājaputāna. But the Yaudheya territory must have extended beyond the limits of this area and embraced the tract still known as Johiyabār along both banks of the Sutlej on the border of the Bahāwalpur state.[3]

The Madrakas had their capital at Śākala or Siālkoṭ in the Pañjāb. The Ābhiras occupied the tract in western Rājaputāna, near Vinaśana[4] in the district called Abiria by the *Periplus*.[5] We have already seen that an Ābhīra possibly became *Mahākshatrapa* of Western India and probably supplanted the Śātavāhanas in a part of Mahārāshṭra before the middle of the third century A.D. A section of the tribe apparently settled in Central India and gave their name to the Āhirwār country between Jhansi and Bhilsa.[6] The territories of the Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas lay probably in Mālwa and the Central Provinces. The Prārjunakas are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to Kauṭilya[7] and are located by Smith[8] in the Narsinhapur District of the Central Provinces. A clue to the locality of the Sanakānīkas is given by one of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II discovered in Eastern Mālwa. The Kākas find mention

1 Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 380.

2 Fleet, CII, p 251. Yaudheya votive tablets have been found in the Ludhiana District (JRAS, 1897, 887). Coins have been found in the area extending from Saharanpur to Multan (Allan, *CCAI*, cli).

3 Smith, JRAS, 1897, p. 30. *Cf.* Cunningham, AGI, 1924, 281.

4 *Śūdrābhirān prati dveshād yatra nashṭā Sarasvatī*, Mbh., IX, 37.1.

5 *Cf.* Ind. Ant., III, 226 f.

6 JRAS, 1897, 891.

7 P. 194.

8 JRAS, 1897, p. 892.

in the *Mahābhārata*[1]—*Ṛishikā Vidabhāḥ Kākās Taṅganāḥ-Parataṅganāḥ*. In the *Bombay Gazetteer* Kāka is identified with Kākūpur near Bithur. Smith suggests that the name may be locally associated with Kākanāda (Sāñchī). The Kharaparikas may have occupied the Damoh District of the Central Provinces.[2]

The rise of a new indigenous imperial power could not be a matter of indifference to the **foreign potentates** of the North-West Frontier, Mālwa and Surāshtra (Kāṭhiāwār) who hastened to buy peace "by the acts of homage, such as offer of personal service, the bringing of gifts of maidens,[3] the soliciting of charters bearing the Garuḍa seal (*Garutmadaṅka*) confirming them in the enjoyment of their own districts and provinces (*svavishaya bhukti*)."[4] The foreign powers who thus established diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta were the *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi* and the Śaka *Muruṇḍas*[5] as well as the people of Siṁhala and all other dwellers in islands.[6]

[1] Mbh. VI, 9.61.

[2] Bhandarkar, IHQ, 1925, 258; Ep. Ind., XII, 46.

[3] The presence of Scythian maidens in the Hindu imperial harem is not surprising in view of the known facts about Chandra Gupta Maurya's alliance with Seleukos and the marriage of a Śātakarṇi with the daughter of a great satrap.

[4] *Cf.* Nilakanta Sastri, *The Paṇḍyan Kingdom*, 145 "The victor restored the crown and country of the Chola in the form of a religious gift, which was confirmed by the issue of a royal rescript with the Paṇḍyan seal on it."

[5] Note the imitation by Samudra Gupta of coins of Kushān type with *Ardochsho* reverse (Allan, xxviii, xxxiv, lxvi). Such coins were, according to scholars, issued by Scythians of the North-West.

[6] Some control over the islands in the neighbouring seas is possibly hinted at in the epithet *Dhanada-Varuṇendrāntakasama*, the equal of Dhanada (Kuvera, lord of wealth, guardian of the north), **Varuṇa** (the Indian **Sea-god**, the guardian of the west), Indra, king of the celestials and guardian of the east, and Antaka (Yama, god of death, and guardian of the south). The comparison of Samudra Gupta with these deities is apposite and possibly refers not only to his conquests in all directions, but to his possession of immense riches, **suzerainty over the seas**, the spread of his fame to the celestial region and his extirpation of various kings. Inscriptions discovered in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago testify to the activities of Indian navigators and military adventurers in the Gupta Age.

The *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi* belonged apparently to the Kushān dynasty of the north-west, which derived its origin from the *Devaputra* Kanishka.[1] The Śaka *Muruṇḍas* must have included the northern chiefs of Scythian nationality who issued the *Ardochsho* coins as well as the Śaka chieftains of Surāshṭra and Central India, the representatives of a power which once dominated even the Ganges valley. Sten Konow tells us that *Muruṇḍa* is a Śaka word meaning lord, Sanskrit *Svāmin*. The epithet *Svāmin* was used by the *Kshatrapas* of Surāshṭra and Ujjain. A Sāñchī inscription recently discovered by Marshall discloses the existence of another Śaka principality or province which was ruled about A.D. 319 by the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Srīdharavarman, son of Nanda.[2] A Muruṇḍa *Svāminī* (noble lady) is mentioned in a Khoh Inscription of Central India. To Scythian chiefs of the Vindhyan region should perhaps be attributed the so-called "Puri Kushān" coins which are found in large numbers in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Vindhyas and some adjoining tracts. The existence of a Muruṇḍa power in the Ganges valley a couple of centuries before Samudra Gupta is vouched for by Ptolemy.[3] The Jaina *Prabhāvaka-charita* testifies to the control that a Muruṇḍa family once exercised over the imperial city of Pāṭaliputra.[4]

Samudra Gupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarṇa. A Chinese writer, Wang Hiuen ts'e, relates that Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (*i. e.*, Srī Meghavarman or Meghavarṇa) sent an embassy with gifts to Samudra Gupta and obtained his permission to erect a splendid monastery to the north

[1] Smith (JRAS, 1897, 32) identified him with Grumbates. Some scholars take the expression to refer to different kings and chieftains *Cf.* Allan, xxvii.

[2] Ep. Ind., xvi, p. 232; JRAS, 1923, 337 ff.

[3] Ind. Ant., 1884, 377 ; Allan, xxix.

[4] C. J. Shah, *Jainism in N. India*, p. 194; *cf. Indian Culture*, III, 49.

of the holy tree at Bodh Gayā for the use of pilgrims from the Island.[1]

Allan thinks that it was at the conclusion of his campaigns that the Gupta conqueror celebrated the horse-sacrifice[2] which, we are told in the inscriptions of his successors, had long been in abeyance. But it should be noted that the *Aśvamedha* was celebrated by several kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Pushyamitra to that of Samudra Gupta, *e.g.*, Pārāśarīputra Sarvatāta, Śātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyanikā, Vāsishṭhīputra Ikshvāku Śrī-Chāṁtamūla, Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana, Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka, Śiva-skanda-varman Pallava and the Nāga kings of the house of Bhāraśiva. It is probable, however, that the court poets of the Guptas knew little about these monarchs. After the horse-sacrifice Samudra Gupta apparently issued coins bearing the legend *Aśva-medha-parākramaḥ*, 'whose prowess was demonstrated by the performance of the horse-sacrifice.'[3]

If Harishena, the writer of the Allahabad *Praśasti*, is to be believed, the great Gupta was a man of versatile genius. "He put to shame the preceptor of the lord of Gods and Tumburu and Nārada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accom-

[1] Geiger, the *Mahāvaṁsa* (trans.), p. xxxix; Lévi, Journ. As., 1900, pp. 316 ff, 401 ff.; *Ind Ant.*, 1902, 194.

[2] *Cf.* Diveka:, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, VII, pp. 164-65, "Allahabad *Praśasti* and *Aśvamedha*." In the Poona plates Samudra Gupta receives the epithet *anekāśvamedhayājin*. He was believed to have celebrated more than one horse sacrifice. Some of the campaigns described in the Allahabad panegyric may have been actually conducted by Princes or officers who kept guard over the sacrificial horse that was allowed to roam at large. In the inscription of Harisheṇa the credit for capturing some of the vanquished chieftains is given to the army. Among the great commanders were men like Tilabhaṭṭaka and Harisheṇa himself, who was the son of Dhruvabhūti.

[3] Rapson and Allan refer to a seal bearing a horse and the legend *Parākrama*, and the stone figure of a horse, now in Lucknow, which are probably reminiscent of the *Aśvamedha* of Samudra Gupta. (JRAS, 1901, 102; *Gupta Coins*, xxxi.)

plishments. He established his title of *Kavirāja* by various poetical compositions."[1] "He alone is worthy of the thoughts of the learned...His the poetic style which is worthy of study, and his are the poetic works which multiply the spiritual treasures of poets." Unfortunately none of these compositions have survived. But the testimony of Harisheṇa to his musical abilities finds corroboration in the lyrist type[2] of his coins. Himself a poet like Harsha, Mahendravarman and other kings of a later age, the Gupta monarch associated with men of letters who were none too prosperous and "put an end to the war between good poetry and plenty" (*satkāvyaśrīvirodha*). As a result "he enjoyed in the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory endured in many poems."

Samudra Gupta favoured poetry as well as the *śāstra*, while Aśoka seems to have specialised in scriptural studies alone. The former undertook military campaigns with the object of *sarva-pṛithivī-jaya*, conquest of the whole earth, as known to his panegyrist, the latter eschewed military conquest after the Kaliṅga war and organised missions to effect *Dhamma-vijaya*, conquest of the hearts of men, in three continents. Yet inspite of these differences there was much that was common to these remarkable men. Both laid stress on *parākrama*, ceaseless exertion in the cause in which they believed. Both expressed solicitude for the people committed to their care, and were kind even to vanquished enemies. And both laid emphasis on *Dharma*. Samudra Gupta, no less than Dharmāśoka, made firm the rampart of the true law (*Dharma-prāchira-bandhaḥ*).

[1] According to the *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā* (GOS. pp. xvi, 19) a "*Kavirāja* is one stage further than a *Mahākavi*, and is defined as one who is unrestrained in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments." For the intellectual activities of the Gupta Age see Bhandarkar, "*A Peep into the Early History of India*," pp. 61-74 and Bühler, *IA*, 1913. The son and successor of Samudra Gupta had the title *Rūpakṛiti*, 'maker of plays.'

[2] A lute-player (*Viṇā-gāthin*) plays an important part in the *Aśvamedha*.

The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kācha to Samudra Gupta may be accepted. But the emperor's identification with *Dharmāditya* (sun of the true faith) of a Faridpur grant is clearly wrong. The titles used by this monarch were *Apratiratha*, 'unrivalled car-warrior,' *Aprativāryavīrya*, 'of irresistible valour,' *Kṛitānta-paraśu*, 'axe of death,' *sarva-rāj-ochchhettā*,[1] 'uprooter of all kings,' *Vyāghra-parākrama*, 'possessed of the strength of a tiger,' *Aśva-medha-parākrama*, 'whose might was demonstrated by the horse-sacrifice,' and *Parākramāṅka*, 'marked with prowess,' but not *Dharmāditya*. Most of these epithets are connected with particular types of coins issued by the emperor. Thus *Parākrama* is found on the reverse of coins of the standard type, *Apratiratha* on coins of the archer type, *Kṛitānta-paraśu* on coins of the battle-axe type, *sarva-rāj-ochchhettā* on coins of the Kācha type, *Vyāghra-parākrama* (*Rājā*) on the tiger type of coins, and *Aśvamedha-parākrama* on the *Aśvamedha* type. The appearance of a goddess seated on a lion (*siṁha-vāhinī*, *i. e.*, Durgā or Pārvatī, Vindhya-vāsinī or Haimavatī) may point to the extension of the Gupta dominions to the Himavat and the Vindhya. The tiger and river-goddess (*makara-vāhinī*) type may indicate that the sway of Samudra Gupta spread from the Ganges valley to the realm of the 'Tiger king' in Mahākāntāra. The figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā occur frequently in door jambs of the Gupta Age. It has been surmised that they symbolise connection with the Gangetic Doāb.

Samudra Gupta's 'virtuous and faithful wife,' possibly Datta Devī, appears to be mentioned in an Eraṇ inscription referable to the period of his rule. We possess no genuine dated documents for the reign of the great emperor. The

[1] *Cf.* the epithet "*sarva-kshattrāntaka*" applied to his great fore-runner, Mahāpadma Nanda.

Nālandā[1] and Gayā grants profess to be dated in the years 5 and 9 respectively, but no reliance can be placed on them and the reading of the numeral in the Gayā record is uncertain. Smith's date (A.D. 330-375) for Samudra Gupta is conjectural. As the earliest known date of the next sovereign is A.D. 380-381,[2] it is not improbable that his father and predecessor died some time after A.D. 375. One of the last acts of Samudra Gupta was apparently the selection of his successor. The choice fell on Chandra Gupta, his son by Datta Devī.

[1] ASI, AR, 1927-28, p. 138.

[2] An inscription of Chandra Gupta II, dated in the year 61, corresponding to A.D. 380-81 has been discovered recently in the Mathurā district (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 1 ff.).

CHAPTER XI. THE GUPTA EMPIRE—(*continued*): THE AGE OF THE VIKRAMĀDITYAS.

Kāmaṁ nṛipāḥ santu sahasraśo' nye
rājanvatîmāhuranena bhūmim
nakshatra-tārā-graha saṅkulâpi
jyotishmatî Chandramasaiva rātriḥ.

—*Raghuvaṁśam.*

SECTION I. CHANDRA GUPTA II VIKRAMĀDITYA.

Epigraphic evidence indicates that Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, also called Narendra Chandra, Siṁha Chandra, Narendra Siṁha and Siṁha Vikrama, born of queen Dattadevî. Chandra Gupta was chosen out of many sons by his father as the best fitted to succeed him.[1] Another name of the new monarch disclosed by certain Vākāṭaka inscriptions, several types of coins and the Sāñchī inscription of A.D. 412-3, was Deva Gupta, Deva-śrî or Deva-rāja.[2]

[1] That Samudra Gupta had many sons and grandsons appears clear from the Eraṇ epigraph. The theory of Dr. Altekar (JBORS, XIV, pp. 223-53; XV, pt. i-ii, pp. 134 f.), that a king named Rāma (Sarma?) Gupta intervened between Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II is unsupported by any contemporary epigraphic evidence. The tradition that a Gupta king killed his brother and took his wife and crown, dates only from the ninth century. The literary evidence on the point is discrepant and hardly conclusive. The version given by Bāṇa and his commentator differs in important respects from the story known to the author of the *Kāvya-Mîmāṁsā* (*Cf. Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1933, 201 ff.; JBORS, XVIII, 1 [1932], 17 ff.). The simple story, narrated in the *Harsha-Charita*, that Chandra Gupta, disguised as a female, destroyed a Śaka king, who coveted the wife of another, in the very city of the enemy, was doubtless embellished by later poets and dramatists, and (as shown by Mr. V. V. Mirashi in IHQ, March, 1934, 48 ff.), details not found in the earlier accounts continued to be added in the days of Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 815-78) and Govinda IV (A.D. 918-933). The *Devī Chandraguptam* and similar works are as much unsuited to form bases of the chronicles of Chandra Gupta II as the *Mudrārākshasa* and the *Aśokāvadāna* are in regard to the doings of the great Mauryas.

[2] *Cf.* Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 160.

For the reign of Chandra Gupta II, we possess a number of dated inscriptions so that its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. His accession should be placed before A.D. 381, and his death in or about A.D. 413-14.

The most important external events of the reign were the emperor's matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, son of Pṛithivisheṇa I, and the war with the Śaka Satraps which added Western Mālwa and Surāshṭra (Kāṭhiāwār) to the Gupta dominions.

Matrimonial alliances occupy a prominent place in the foreign policy of the Guptas. The Lichchhavi connection had strengthened their position in Bihār. After the conquest of the upper provinces they sought alliances with other ruling families whose help was needed to consolidate the Gupta power in the newly acquired territory and prepare the ground for fresh conquests. Thus Samudra Gupta received presents of girls (*kanyopāyana*) from Śaka-Kushān chiefs and other foreign potentates. Chandra Gupta II married Kuberanāgā, a princess of **Nāga** lineage,[1] and had by her a daughter named Prabhāvatī, whom he gave in marriage to Rudrasena II, the Vākāṭaka king of Berar and the adjoining provinces. According to Dr. Smith[2] "the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Śaka Satraps of Gujrāṭ and Surāshṭra. Chandra Gupta adopted a prudent precaution in giving his daughter

[1] *Nāga-kulotpannā*, *cf.* JASB, 1924, p. 58. It is possible, as urged by many recent writers, that Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya also entered into marriage alliances with the Kadambas of Vaijayantī or Banabāsi in the Kuntala, or the Kanarese, country. The sending of an embassy to Kuntala by Vikramāditya, is vouched for by Bhoja and Kshemendra (*Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, p. 6). Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings (Tālagunda Inscription, Ep. Ind., VIII, 33 ff.; IHQ, 1933, 197 ff.).

[2] JRAS., 1914, p. 324.

to the Vākāṭaka prince and so securing his subordinate alliance."

The campaign against the Western Satraps is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Vîrasena-Śāba in the following passage "he (Śāba) came here (to Eastern Mālwa), accompanied by the king (Chandra Gupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." Śāba was an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra. He held the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of a *Sachiva* or minister of Chandra Gupta II, and was placed by his sovereign in charge of the Department of Peace and War. He naturally accompanied his master when the great western expedition was undertaken. Eastern Mālwa, which had already felt the might of Samudra Gupta, became the base of operations against the Śakas. Inscriptions at Udayagiri and Sāñchī suggest that the emperor Chandra Gupta II assembled at or near Vidiśā in East Mālwa many of his ministers, generals and feudatories, some of whom are mentioned in records dating from A.D. 402 to 413. The campaign against the Śakas was eminently successful. The fall of the Śaka Satrap is alluded to by Bāṇa. The annexation of his territory is proved by coins.[1]

Chief Cities of the Empire.—The original Gupta metropolis seems to have been at Pāṭaliputra—"the city named Pushpa" where Samudra Gupta is said to have "rested on his laurels" after one of his victorious campaigns, and from which a Gupta Minister for Peace and War went to East Mālwa in the company of his sovereign. From A.D. 402 Chandra Gupta seems to have had a

[1] Silver coins of the Garuḍa type bearing the legend *Parama-Bhāgavata*, probably struck in Surāshṭra (Allan, p. xciv). Some of the coins bear the date 90 (= A.D. 409, EHI, 4th ed., p. 345). It has been suggested recently that, like his father, Chandra Gupta, too, performed a horse sacrifice (IHQ, 1927, p. 725) and that a stone horse lying in a village named Nagawa near Benares, and bearing an inscription containing the letters Chamdragu, commemorates the event.

residence in Mālwa, at first possibly at Vidiśā and later on, after his western conquests, at Ujjain. Certain chiefs of the Kanarese districts, who claimed descent from Chandra Gupta (Vikramāditiya), referred to their great ancestor as *Ujjayinî-puravar-ādhîśvara*, 'lord of Ujjain, the best of cities,' as well as *Pāṭalipuravar-ādhîśvara* 'lord of Pāṭali (putra), the best of cities.' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar indentifies Chandra Gupta with the traditional Vikramāditya *Śakāri*, "the sun of valour, the destroyer of the Śakas," of Ujjain.[1] The titles *Śrî Vikramaḥ*, *Siṁha-vikramaḥ*, *Ajita-Vikramaḥ*, *Vikramāṅka* and *Vikramāditya* actually occur on Chandra Gupta's coins.[2]

We have no detailed contemporary notice of Ujjayinī (also called Viśālā, Padmāvatî, Bhogavatî, Hiraṇyavatî)[3] in the days of Chandra Gupta. But Fa-hien who visited Mid India during the period A.D. 405 to 411, has left an interest-

[1] In literature Vikramāditya is represented as ruling at Pāṭaliputra (*Katha-sarit-sāgara*, VII, 4.3 :—*Vikramāditya ityāsidrājā Pāṭaliputrake*) as well as Ujjayinī and other cities. Paramārtha, the biographer of Vasubandhu, refers to Ayodhyā as the capital of a Vikramāditya, while Hiuen Tsang represents Śrāvastī as the seat of the famous king (EHI, 3rd Ed., pp. 332-33). Subandhu refers to the fame of Vikramāditya, but not to his capital city, " like a lake Vikramāditya hath left the earth, save indeed in fame " (Keith, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 312). *Cf.* Hāla, v. 64.

[2]

Name, title or epithet.	Type of coin.
Śrī Vikrama	Archer type (gold). Couch type (gold).
Vikramāditya Rūpakṛitī	Chhattra (Parasol) type (gold). Couch type (gold).
Siṁha-Vikrama, Narendra Chandra, Narendra Siṁha, Siṁha Chandra	Lion-Slayer (gold).
Ajita-Vikrama Paramabhāgavata	Horseman type (gold).
Paramabhāgavata Vikramāditya Vikramāṅka	Silver coins of the Garuḍa type.
Mahārāja, Vikramāditya, Chandra ...	Copper coins (Garuḍa, Chhattra and Vase type).

[3] *Meghadūta* (I, 31) and *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, Tawney's translation, Vol. II, p. 275. For an account of Ujjayinī in the seventh century A.D., see Beal, H. Tsang, II, p. 270; and Ridding, *Kādambarī*, pp. 210 ff.

ing account of Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim refers to the royal palace of Aśoka and halls in the midst of the city, "which exist now as of old," and were according to him "all made by spirits which Aśoka employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work,—in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish." "The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images... The Heads of the *Vaiśya* families establish houses for dispensing charity and medicines." The principal port of the empire on the east cost was Tāmralipti or Tamluk from which ships set sail for Ceylon, Java (then a centre of Brāhmaṇism), and China.

Much light is thrown on the character of Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya's **administration** by the narrative of Fa-hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered. Speaking of the Middle Kingdom, the dominions of Chandra Gupta in the Upper Ganges Valley, the Chinese pilgrim says: "the people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go: if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the *Chāṇḍālas.* In buying and

selling commodities they use *cowries*."[1] The last statement evidently refers to such small transactions as Fa-hien had occasion to make.[2] The pilgrim does not seem to have met with the gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency, we know from the references to "*dīnāras*" and "*suvarṇas*" in inscriptions.[3]

That Chandra Gupta II was a good monarch may be inferred also from the inscriptions. Himself a devout *Vaishṇava* (*Parama-bhāgavata*), he appointed men of other sects to high offices. His general Āmrakārddava, the hero of a hundred fights, *anēkasamar-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśas-patākaḥ*, appears to have been a Buddhist or at least a pro-Buddhist, while his Minister of Peace and War, Śāba-Vīrasena, and perhaps also his *Mantrin* or High Counsellor, Śikharasvāmin, were *Śaivas*.

Regarding the machinery of Government we have no detailed information. But the following facts may be gleaned from the inscriptions. As in Maurya times, the head of the state was the *Rājā* who was often nominated by his predecessor. The king is now regarded as a divinity—*Achintya Purusha*, 'the Incomprehensible Being,' *Dhanada-Varuṇendrāntaka-sama*, the equal of Kuvera, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama, *loka-dhāma deva*, 'a god dwelling on earth,' *Paramadaivata*, 'the supreme deity.' He was assisted by a body of High Ministers whose office was very often hereditary as is suggested by the phrase "*anvaya-prāpta Sāchivya*" 'acquirer of the post of minister by hereditary

[1] Legge.

[2] Allan.

[3] Chandra Gupta II also issued silver and copper coins. The silver coins were mainly intended for the western provinces conquered from the Śaka satraps, but they are also mentioned in the time of his son in inscriptions of Northern Bengal. The Baigram inscription of the year 128 (448 A. D.) for instance refers to *rūpakas* along with *dīnāras* (*cf.* Allan, p. cxxvii). The copper coins issued by Chandra Gupta II are commonly found around Ayodhyā (Allan, p. cxxxi).

descent,' of the Udayagiri Inscription of Śāba.[1] The most important among the High Ministers were the *Mantrin*, 'High Counsellor,' the *Sāṁdhi-vigrahika*, 'Minister for Peace and War,' and the *Akshapaṭal-ādhikṛita*, 'the Lord Keeper of State Documents.' Like the Kauṭilyan *Mantrin*, the Gupta *Sāṁdhi-vigrahika* accompanied the sovereign to the battle-field. As in the case of most of the *Pradhānas* of Śivājī, there was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. The same person could be *Sāṁdhi-vigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* (cadet-minister), and *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka*, 'great commandant of the army,' and a *Mantrin* could become a *Mahā-bal-ādhikṛita* 'chief commander of forces.'

It is not clear whether the Guptas had a central council of ministers (*Mantri-parishad*).[2] But the existence of local *parishads* (*e.g.*, the *Parishad* of Udānakūpa) is proved by a Basārh seal discovered by Bloch.

The empire was divided into a number of provinces styled *Deśas*, *Bhuktis*, etc., sub-divided into districts called *Pradeśas* or *Vishayas*. Among *Deśas* the Gupta inscriptions mention Śukuli-*deśa*. Surāshṭra (Kāṭhiāwār), Ḍabhālā (the Jubbalpore region, Ḍāhala or Chedi of later times) and "*Kālīndī Narmadayor Madhya*," the territory lying between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, and embracing, no doubt, Eastern Mālwa, are also perhaps to be placed under this category.

[1] The *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka* Harisheṇa was the son of the *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka* Dhruva-bhūti. The *Mantrin* Pṛithivisheṇa was the son of the *Mantrin* Śikhara-svāmin. *Cf.* also the hereditary governors (*goptṛi*), of Mandasor, Surāshṭra, etc. Things were somewhat different in the Maurya Period. Pushya Gupta, *Rāshṭriya* of Surāshṭra in the time of Chandra Gupta Maurya, was quite unconnected by blood with Tushāspha, governor or feudatory in the time of Aśoka.

[2] The Bilsaḍ Ins. (CII. 44) refers to a [*Pa*]*rshad*. But there is nothing to show that it was a central political assembly. The *Sabhyas* mentioned in connection with the nomination scene in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription may, however, have been members of a Central *Curia Regis* or Council.

Among *Bhuktis* (*lit.* allotments) we have reference to Puṇḍra-vardhana *bhukti* (North Bengal), Tīra*bhukti* (North Bihār), Nagara *bhukti* (South Bihār), Śrāvastî *bhukti* (Oudh), and Ahichchhatra *bhukti* (Rohilkhand), all situated in the Ganges valley. Among *Pradeśas* or *Vishayas* mention is made of Lâṭa-*vishaya* (in continental Gujarāṭ), Tripurī-*vishaya* (in the Jabbalpur region), Airikiṇa in Eastern Mālwa (called *Pradeśa* in Samudra Gupta's Eraṇ inscription, and *Vishaya* in that of Toramāṇa), Antarvedī (the Gangetic Doāb), Vālavî (?), Gayā, Koṭivarsha (the Dinājpur region in North Bengal), Mahākhushāpāra (?), Khāḍāṭāpāra (?) and Kuṇḍadhāṇi (?).

The *Deśas* were governed by officers called *Goptṛis*, or Wardens of the Marches, as is suggested by the passage *Sarveshu Deśeshu vidhāya Goptṛin* 'having appointed Goptṛis in all the *Deśas*.' The *Bhuktis* were usually governed by *Uparikas* or *Uparika Mahārājas* who were sometimes princes of the Imperial family, *e.g.*, *Rajāputra-deva-bhaṭṭāraka*, Governor of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* mentioned in a Dāmodarpur plate, Govinda Gupta, Governor of Tîrabhukti mentioned in the Basārh seals [1] and possibly Ghaṭotkacha Gupta of Tumain in Central India. The office of *Vishaya-pati* or District Officer was held by Imperial officials like the *Kumār-āmātyas* and *Āyuktakas*, as well as by feudatory *Mahārājas* like Mātṛivishṇu of Eraṇ. Some of the *Vishayapatis*, *e.g.*, Śarvanāga of Antarvedī,[2] were directly under the Emperor, while others, *e.g.*, those of Koṭivarsha, Airikiṇa and Tripurî, were usually under provincial Governors. The Governors and District

[1] Govinda Gupta is known also from the newly discovered Mandasor Ins. of the Mālava. Vikrama year 524 (noticed by Garde, ASI, Annual Report, 1922-23, p. 187; *Cal. Rev.*, 1926, July, 155; Ep. Ind., xix-App. No 7) which mentions his *Senādhipa* or captain Vāyurakshita, and Vāyu's son Dattabhaṭa, Commander-in chief of the forces of king Prabhākara (467-68 A. D.).

[2] And Kulavṛiddhi of Pañchanagarī (in North Bengal). *Ep. Ind.*, xxi, 81.

Officers were no doubt helped by officials and dignitaries like the *Dāṇḍika, Chaur-oddharaṇika* and *Daṇḍapāśika* (apparently judicial and police officials), *Nagara Śreshṭhī* (President or Alderman of a city-guild), *Sārthavāha* (*lit.* caravan-leader or merchant), *Prathama-Kulika* (foreman of artisans), *Prathama-Kāyastha* (the chief scribe), *Pusta-pāla* (record-keeper) and others. Every *Vishaya* consisted of a number of "*grāmas*" or villages which were administered by headmen and other functionaries styled *Grāmikas, Mahattaras* and *Bhojakas.*[1]

Outside the limits of the Imperial provinces lay the vassal kingdoms and republics, mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* and other documents.

The Basārh seals throw some interesting sidelight on the provincial and municipal government as well as the economic organisation of the province of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut) in North Bihār. The province was apparently governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the *Mahādevī* Śri Dhruva-svāminī, who had his capital at Vaiśālī. The seals mention several officials like the *Uparika* (governor), the *Kumār-āmātya* (cadet-minister),[2]

[1] In the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* (Act IX), which may be a composition of the Gupta or early Post-Gupta Age, the judge (*adhikaraṇika*) in a court of law is accompanied by a *Śreshṭhin* and a *Kāyastha*. Reference is also made to the *Adhikaraṇa-Bhojakas* and a *Mahattaraka* in connection with the arrangement of benches in the *Vyāvahāra-maṇḍapa* (the hall of justice) and the detection of people "wanted" by the city Police (*nagara-raksh-ādhikṛita.*) The *Mudrārākshasa* makes mention of *Kāyastha, Daṇḍapāśika*, etc. Village functionaries were ordinarily placed under officials of the *Vishaya* or district. But in exceptional cases they had direct dealings with the *Uparika* or governor of a *Bhukti* (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, 136).

[2] It has been taken to mean (1) minister of a Prince as distinguished from that of the King (*rājāmātya*), (2) minister in charge of Princes, C. V. Vaidya, *Med. Hind. Ind.*, I, 138, (3) a junior minister whose father is alive, or (4) one who has been a minister since the days of his youth. But *cf.* Ep. Ind., X, 49; XV, 302 f. It will be seen that the Kumārāmātyas were, as stated by a recent writer, divided into two classes, *viz.*, (*i*) *Yuvarājapādīya*, those serving the Crown Prince, and (*ii*) *Parama-bhaṭṭārakapādīya*, those serving the Emperor himself. This perhaps makes the interpretation 'counsellor of, or in charge of, the Prince' untenable

the *Mahā-pratihāra* (the great chamberlain), *Talavara* (general or local chief), the *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka* (the great commandant), the *Vinayasthiti*[1] *sthāpaka*,[2] the censor[?], and the *Bhaṭāśvapati* (lord of the army and cavalry), and the following offices, *e.g.*, *Yuvarāja-pādîya Kumār-āmātya-ādhikarana* (office of the Minister of His Highness the Crown Prince, according to Vogel), *Raṇa-bhāṇḍāgār-ādhikaraṇa*[3] (office of the chief treasurer of the war department), *Balādhikaraṇa* (war office), *Daṇḍapāś-ādhikaraṇa* (office of the chief of Police), *Tîra-bhukty-Upārik-ādhikarṇa* (office of the Governor of Tirhut), *Tîrabhuktau Vinayasthiti-sthāpak-ādhikaraṇa* (office of the censor [?] of Tirhut), *Vaiśāly-ādhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* (office of the government of the city of Vaiśālî), *Śrî-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya Kumār-āmātya-ādhikaraṇa* (office of the cadet-minister waiting on His Majesty).[4]

The reference to the *Parishad* (Council or Committee) of Udānakūpa shows that the *Parishad* still formed an important element of the machinery of local government. The mention of the ' moot-hall of aldermen of guilds, caravan-leaders and foremen of artisans ' (*Śreshṭhī-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama*) is of interest to students of economics.

The most probable view is that the term *Kumāra* in the expression *Kumārāmātya* corresponds to *Pina*, *Chikka*, *Immadi* of the south, and is the opposite of *Peda* (*Prauḍha*). In the Gupta Age the Kumārāmātyas often served as district officers. The office was also combined with that of a general, counsellor and foreign secretary.

[1] Dr. Basak takes *Vinaya-sthiti* in the sense of law and order (*the History of North-Eastern India*, p. 312).

[2] In the *Nāṭya-śāstra Sthāpaka* is the designation of the introducer of a play (Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 340). Here a different functionary may be meant.

[3] The mention of *Raṇa-bhāṇḍāgāra* suggests that the finance department had its military as distinguished from the civil side.

[4] A distinction is drawn between imperial officials and those connected with viceregal administration and amongst the latter officers of the province of Tīra-*bhukti* are clearly distinguished from the public servants in charge of the subordinate administration of the *adhishṭhāna* of *Vaiśālî*.

Chandra Gupta II had at least two queens, Dhruvadevî and Kubera-nāgā. The first queen was the mother of Govinda Gupta and Kumāra Gupta I.[1] The second queen had a daughter named Prabhāvatî who became queen of the Vākāṭakas. The latter was the mother of the Princes Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II. Certain mediaeval chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta. The origin of these chiefs is probably to be traced to some unrecorded adventures of Vikramāditya in the Deccan.[2]

[1] A son of Chandra Gupta styled *bhūpati* (king) Chandraprakāśa is mentioned in a verse quoted by Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra vṛitti* (JASB, Vol I, No. 10 [N.S.], 1905, 253 ff.). But the identity of this Chandra Gupta is uncertain. His identification with Vikramāditya (*i.e.*, Chandra Gupta II) rests on the vexed problem of the date of Vasubandhu (or Subandhu?) alleged to be mentioned by Vāmana, and the question as to whether the personage mentioned may be identified with the Buddhist scholar whose biographer was Paramārtha (A. D. 500-69). Paramārtha was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja family of Ujjayinī who stayed for a time in Magadha and then went to China (A. D. 546-69). According to his account Vasubandhu was born at Purushapura or Peshāwār, of the Brāhmaṇa family of Kauśika. He went to Ayodhyā at the invitation of Bālādityā, son of Vikramāditya (JRAS, 1905, 33 ff.). For some recent views about the date of Vasubandhu, see *Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, 79 ff.

[2] "Bhoja, in his *Sṛṅgāra Prakāśikā*, mentions that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king by Vikramāditya." "Kṣemendra, in the *Aucitya-Vicāra Carcā*, refers to Kālidāsa's *Kunteśvara Dautya*" (*Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, 1924, p. 6). That the Guptas actually established contact with Kuntala appears clear from the Tālagund Inscription which states that a Kadamba ruler of Vaijayantī in Kuntala or the Kanarese country gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. An important indication of Gupta influence in the South Western Deccan is possibly afforded by the coins of Kumāra Gupta I found in the Satara District (Allan, p. cxxx.) The *rôle* assigned to Kālidāsa by Bhoja and Kshemendra is not unworthy of credence as tradition points to a date for him in the early Gupta Age. For traditions about his synchronism with Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya and Dignāga and with king Pravarasena who is held to be the author of the poem *Setubandha* written in *Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛita* and is, therefore, presumably identical with one of the kings bearing the same name in the Vākāṭaka family, preferably the second, see *Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, 99 ff.; Mallinātha's comment on *Meghadūta*, I. 14; Ind. Ant., 1912, 267. It has recently been pointed out by Mr. Mirashi that the Pattan plates of Pravarasena II (year 27) refer to a Kālidāsa as the writer of the charter. But the identity of the scribe with the great poet remains doubtful.

GENEALOGY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS.

Vindhyaśakti
|
Mahārāja Pravarasena I. Bhavanāga, King of the Bhāraśivas
|
Gautamīputra——daughter
|
Samudra Gupta Mahārāja Rudrasena I
| |
Mahārājādhirāja |
Chandra Gupta II Mahārāja Pṛithivisheṇa I
| |
Prabhāvatī—Mahārāja Rudrasena II
|
Yuvarāja Divākarasena Dāmodarasena Pravarasena II
|
Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā—Narendrasena
Princess of Kuntala
|
Pṛithivisheṇa II Devasena
|
Harisheṇa.

SECTION II. KUMĀRA GUPTA I MAHENDRĀDITYA.

Chandra Gupta II's successor was Kumāra Gupta I[1] surnamed Mahendrāditya[2] whose certain dates range from A. D. 415 to A. D. 455.[3] His extensive coinage, and the wide distribution of his inscriptions show that he was able to retain his father's empire including the central and western provinces.[4] One of his **viceroys**, Chirātadatta, governed Puṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* or North Bengal,[5] another viceroy, prince Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, held office in the province

[1] The Mandasor Inscription of the Mālava year 524 suggests that Kumāra may have had a rival in his brother prince Govinda Gupta. In the record Indra (?Kumāra, who is styled Śrī Mahendra and Mahendrakarmā on coins) is represented as being suspicious of Govinda's power. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, App. No. 7 and n.5.

[2] Also called *Śrī Mahendra* (on coins of the Archer type), *Aśvamedha Mahendra* (on coins of the *Aśvamedha* type), *Mahendrakarmā*, *Ajita Mahendra* (on coins of the horseman type and sometimes on the lion-slayer type), *Siṁha Mahendra* (on coins of the lion-slayer type), *Śrī Mahendra Siṁha* (also on coins of the lion-slayer type), *Mahendra Kumāra* (on coins of the peacock type), *Siṁha Vikrama* (on coins of the lion-slayer type; Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. 80), *Vyāghra-bala-parākrama* (on coins of the tiger-slayer type) and *Śrī Pratāpa*. On the swordsman type of gold coins and on copper coins of the Garuḍa and possibly *siṁha-vāhinī* types the emperor is simply called Śrī Kumāra Gupta. The title Mahendrāditya with the epithet *Parama bhāgavata*, 'devoted worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa),' is found on silver coins, apparently struck in Surāshṭra.

[3] The date 96 (=A.D. 415) is found in the Bilsar Inscription and the date 136 (=A.D. 455) on silver coins (EHI, 4th ed., pp. 345-46).

[4] The possession of the central districts in the Ganges valley is, according to Allan, confirmed by the silver coins of the peacock type and the inclusion of the western provinces by those of the Garuḍa type. Silver plaited coins with a copper core were intended for circulation in the Valabhī area, and coins of small thick fabric resembling the Traikuṭaka coinage were apparently struck in South Gujarāṭ (Allan, pp. xciii ff.).

[5] *Cf.* the Dāmodarpur plates of the years 124 and 129. The recently discovered Baigram inscription of the year 128 (A. D. 447-48) refers to a *Kumārāmātya* named Kulavṛiddhi who governed a *vishaya* with its headquarters at Pañchanagarī, apparently in N. Bengal. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 78 ff.

of Eraṇ (in Eastern Mālwa) which included Tumbavana;[1] a third viceroy or feudatory, Bandhuvarman, ruled at Daśapura in western Mālwa.[2] The Karamadāṇḍe inscription of A. D. 436 mentions Pṛithivishena who was a *Mantrin* and *Kumārāmātya*, and afterwards *Mahā-balādhikṛita* or general under Kumāra Gupta, probably stationed in Oudh. The panegyrist of a Mālwa viceroy claims that the suzerainty of Kumāra Gupta extended over "the whole earth which is decked with the rolling seas as with a rocking girdle, which holds in its breast-like mountain altitudes the founts of the vivifying liquid, and smiles with the flowers of its forest glens."

Like his father, Kumāra was a tolerant king. During his rule the worship of *Svāmî* Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), of Buddha, of Śiva in the *liṅga* form, and of the sun, as well as that of Vishṇu, flourished peacefully side by side.[3]

The two notable events of Kumāra's reign are the celebration of the horse sacrifice, evidenced by the rare *Aśvamedha* type of his gold coinage, and the temporary eclipse of the Gupta power by the **Pushyamitras**. The reading Pushyamitra in the Bhitarî inscription is, however, not

[1] M. B. Garde, *Int. Ant.*, 1920, p. 114, Tumain Inscription of the year 116, *i. e.*, A. D 435. The identity of the prince mentioned in the record, with Śrī Ghaṭotkacha Gupta of seals and Ghaṭo Kramāditya of coins is uncertain (Allan, xvi, xl, liv).

[2] Mandasor Inscription of A. D. 437-38. Bhide suggests (JBORS, VII, March, 1921, pp. 33 f.) that Viśva-varman of Gupta Ins. No. 17 is an independent king, who flourished a century before his namesake of Ins. No. 18, who is a feudatory (*Goptṛi*) of the Guptas. S. Majumdar points out that even Viśva-varman of Ins. No. 17 must be later than Naravarman of V. S. 461 (=A. D. 404-05).

[3] *Cf.* the Bilsaḍ, Mankuwār, Karamadāṇḍe and Mandasor inscriptions. Śiva appears to have been the favourite deity of many high ministers, Vishṇu of the most powerful ruling race and the sun of traders and artisans in the early Gupta period. The popularity of the cult of Kārttikeya is well illustrated not only by the sanctuaries erected in his honour, but also by the names Kumāra and Skanda assumed by members of the imperial family, and the issue of the peacock type of coins by the emperor Kumāra Gupta I. The Gupta empire reached the zenith of its splendour before its final decline in the time of the originator of the 'peacock' coins, as a later empire did in the days of the builder of the peacock-throne.

accepted by some scholars because the second syllable of this name is damaged.[1] Mr. H. R. Divekar in his article "*Puṣyamitras in the Gupta Period*" [2] makes the plausible emendation *Yudhy=amitrāṁś=ca* for Dr. Fleet's reading *Puṣyamitāṁś=ca* in the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription.[3] It is admitted on all hands that during the concluding years of Kumāra's reign the Gupta empire "had been made to totter." Whether the reference in the inscription is simply to *amitras* (enemies), or to Pushyamitras, cannot be satisfactorily determined. We should, however, remember in this connection that a people called Pushyamitra is actually referred to in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and probably also in the Jain *Kalpasūtra.*[4] The Purāṇa text associates the Pushyamitras, Paṭumitras, Durmitras and others with the region of Mekala near the source of the Nerbudda.[5] References to the warlike activities of Mekala and the neighbouring realm of Kosala that had once been overrun by Kumāra's grandfather, are found in inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka relations of Kumāra Gupta. Bāṇa relates the tragic story of a ruler of Magadha who was carried off by the ministers of the lord of Mekala. A passage in the Mankuwar stone image inscription of the year 129 (A.D. 449) where the emperor Kumāra Gupta I is styled simply *Mahārāja Śrī* instead of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī* has been interpreted by some scholars to mean that he was possibly deprived by his enemies of his status as paramount sovereign. But

[1] *Cf.* Fleet, CII, p. 55 n.

[2] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1919-20, 99 f.

[3] CII, iii, p. 55.

[4] SBE, XXII, 292. *Cf.* the legend *Pusamitasa* found on Bhīṭā seals in characters of the Kushān period or a somewhat earlier date (JRAS 1911, 138).

[5] Vish., IV, 24. 17; Wilson. IX, 213. "Pushyamitra and Paṭumitra and others to the number of 13 will rule over Mekalā." The commentary, however, distinguishes the 13 Pushyamitra-Paṭumitras from the 7 Mekalas. But from the context it is apparent that the position of the Pushyamitras was between the Māhishyas (people of Māhishmatī?) and the Mekalas in the Nerbudda valley, if not in a part of the country of the Mekalas themselves. *Cf.* Fleet, JRAS, 1889, 228; *cf.* also Bhīṭā seals.

the theory is rendered improbable by the Dāmodarpur plate of about the same date where Kumāra is given full imperial titles. It may be noted in this connection that in several inscriptions, and on certain coins, his immediate predecessors, too, are simply called *Rājā* or *Mahārāja.*

The assumption of the title *Vyāghra-bala-parākrama* by Kumāra may possibly indicate that he attempted to repeat the southern venture of his grandfather and penetrate into the tiger-infested forest territory beyond the Nerbudda. Expansion towards the south is also indicated by a find of 1,395 coins in the Satara District.[1] But the imperial troops must have met with disaster. The fallen fortunes of the Gupta family were restored by prince Skanda Gupta who may have been appointed his father's warden in the Ghāzīpur region, the Aṭavi or Forest Country of ancient times.[2]

The only queen of Kumāra I named in the genealogical portion of extant inscriptions is Anantadevī. He had at least two sons, *viz.*, Pura Gupta, son of Anantadevī, and Skanda Gupta the name of whose mother is, in the opinion of some scholars, not given in the inscriptions. Sewell, however, suggests that it was Devakī.[3] This is not an unlikely assumption as otherwise the comparison of the widowed Gupta empress with Kṛishṇa's mother in verse 6 of the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription will be less explicable. Hiuen Tsang calls Buddha Gupta (*Fo-to-kio-to*) or Budha Gupta,[4] a son of Śakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had a synonymous title was Kumāra Gupta I who is called Mahendrāditya on coins. *Mahendra* is the same

[1] Allan, p. cxxx.

[2] *Cf.* the Bhitarī Inscription.

[3] *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 349.

[4] The name *Fo-to-kio-to* has been restored as Buddha Gupta. But we have no independent evidence regarding the existence of a king named Buddha Gupta about this period. The synchronism of his successor's successor Bālāditya with Mihirakula indicates that the king meant was Budha Gupta, see p. 501 *post.*, *cf.* also *Ind. Ant.*, 1886, 251 n.

as *Śakra*. The use of terms conveying the same meaning as titles and epithets was not unknown in the Gupta period. *Vikramāditya* was also called *Vikramāṅka*. Skanda Gupta is called both *Vikramāditya* and *Kramāditya*, both the words meaning "puissant like the sun" or "striding like the sun." If Śakrāditya of Hiuen Tsang be identical with Mahendrāditya or Kumāra I, Budha Gupta was a son of Kumāra. Another son of the latter was possibly Ghaṭotkacha Gupta.[1]

[1] The Tumain Inscription referred to by Mr. Garde; *cf.* also the Basārh seal mentioning Śrī Ghaṭotkacha Gupta. The exact relationship with Kumāra is, however, not stated in the inscription.

SECTION III. SKANDA GUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA.

According to the evidence of the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, confirmed by epigraphic testimony, the immediate successor of Mahendra, *i. e.*, Kumāra Gupta I, was Skanda Gupta. In an interesting paper read before the members of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that after Kumāra's death, which apparently took place while the struggle with the Pushyamitras was still undecided, there was a fratricidal war in which Skanda Gupta came off victorious after defeating his brothers including Pura Gupta, the rightful claimant, and rescued his mother just as Kṛishṇa rescued Devakī.[1] Dr. Majumdar observed that the omission of the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta in the genealogy given in the Bihār and Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscriptions indicated that she was not the chief queen and Skanda 'had no natural claim to the throne.' The rightful heir of Kumāra was Pura Gupta, the son of the *Mahādevī* Anantadevī.

We should, however, remember that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of ordinary queens in inscriptions. The mother of Princess Prabhāvatī, Kuberanāgā, was not the chief queen of Chandra Gupta II.[2] No doubt the title *Mahādevī* is once given to her in the Poona plates of her daughter in the year 13, but it is not repeated in the Ṛiddhapur plates of the year 19 where she is called simply Kuberanāgā *devī* without the prefix *Mahādevī*, whereas Kumāra-devī, Datta-devī and even her own daughter, Prabhāvatī-guptā are styled *Mahādevīs*. The

[1] *Cf.* the Bhitarī Inscription. JASB, 1921 (N. S. XVII), 253 ff.

[2] JASB, 1924, 58.

contrast is full of significance and we know as a matter of fact that the real *Mahādevî* (chief queen) of Chandra Gupta II was Dhruva-devī or Dhruva-Svāminī. Though Kuberanāgā was not the principal consort (*agramahishī*) of her husband, she is mentioned in the inscriptions of her daughter. On the other hand the names of queens, the mothers of kings, are sometimes omitted.[1] In the *genealogical portion* of the Banskhera and Madhuban *plates* the name of Yaśomatī *as Harsha's mother* is not mentioned, but in the Sonpat and the Nālandā *seals*[2] she is mentioned *both* as the mother of Rājya-vardhana *and as the mother of Harsha.* Therefore it is not safe to draw conclusions from a comparison of genealogies given on *seals* and those given in *ordinary praśastis.* From a comparative study of the seals and plaques referred to above on the one hand and ordinary panegyrical epigraphs on the other, two facts emerge, *viz.*, (*a*) genealogies given by the records of the former class are *fuller* than those given in the others, and (*b*) names of mothers of reigning kings that are invariably given (*even though this meant repetition*) in documents of the first group are sometimes omitted by the writers of *praśastis,* even though they be the names of the chief queens. There is no real analogy between the genealogy on the Bhitarî *seal* and that in the *Pillar* Inscriptions. A seal should be compared to another seal and an ordinary *praśasti* with another document of the same class.

The Pāla inscriptions mention Lajjā, the queen of Vigraha Pāla I, and mother of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, but do not mention the queen of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, who was the mother of Rājya Pāla. They again mention Bhāgyadevī, the queen of Rājya Pāla and mother of Gopāla II. In the Bāṇagaḍ

[1] The name of the father of a reigning king is also sometimes omitted (*cf.* Kielhorn's N. Ins., Nos. 461, 468).

[2] A. R. of the ASI, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44; *Ep Ind*, XXI. 74ff.

Inscription of Mahî Pāla I we have a reference to his great-grandmother Bhāgyadevī, but no mention of his own mother. The omission of the name of Skanda's mother in genealogical lists is, at best, an *argumentum ex silentio* which can only be accepted if it can be proved that the mention of the name of the chief royal consort was compulsory, and that the mention of the name of an ordinary queen was prohibited. The case of Kuberanāgā shows that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of a Gupta queen who was not the principal consort of an emperor.[1]

As to the question of rightful claim to the succession, we should remember that the cases of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II suggest that the ablest among the princes was chosen irrespective of any claim arising out of birth.

There is nothing to show that the struggle at the end of Kumāra's reign, referred to in the Bhitarî Pillar inscription, was a fratricidal conflict. The relevant text of the inscription runs thus :—

> *Pitari divam upētē viplutāṁ vaṁśa-lakshmîṁ*
> *bhuja-bala-vijit-ārir-yyaḥ pratishṭhāpya bhūyaḥ*
> *jitam-iti paritoshān mātaraṁ sāsra-nettrāṁ*
> *hata-ripur-iva Kṛishṇa Devakîm-abhyupetaḥ*

[1] We have already seen that in the opinion of Sewell the name of Skanda's mother is actually mentioned in one epigraph. According to that scholar her name was Devakî. The comparison with Kṛishṇa's mother (who, with all her misfortunes, did not experience the pangs of widowhood), in the Bhitarî Inscription would be less explicable, if not altogether pointless, if Devakî was not the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta as well as that of Kṛishṇa. Why were Kṛishna and Devakî thought of in connection with the victory over hostile powers, instead of, say, Skanda (Kārttikeya) and Pārvatî, Indra or Vishṇu and Aditi, by the panegyrist of Skanda Gupta who is compared to Śakra (*Śakropama*, Kahaum Inscription) and Vishṇu (*Śriparikshiptavakshā*, Junāgaḍh epigraph)? A possible explanation is that the name of his mother coupled with her miserable plight suggested to the court-poet comparison with Kṛishṇa and Devakî.

"Who, when (his) father had attained heaven (*i.e.*, died), vanquished (his) enemies by the strength of (his) arm, and steadied once more the drifting fortunes of his family ; and then exclaiming 'the victory has been won' betook himself, like Kṛishṇa, when his enemies had been slain, to his weeping mother, Devakî." [1]

The hostile powers (*ari*), who made the *Vaṁśa-lakshmî*, goddess of family fortune, of Skanda Gupta "*vipluta*," 'convulsed,' after the death of his father, were apparently enemies of the Gupta family, *i.e.*, outsiders not belonging to the Gupta line. As a matter of fact the antagonists expressly mentioned in the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription were outsiders, *e.g.*, the Pushyamitras [2] and the Hūṇas. There is not the slightest reference to a fratricidal war. There is no doubt a passage in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skanda which says that "the goddess of fortune and splendour (Lakshmī) of her own accord selected (Skanda) as her husband (*svayaṁ varayaṁchakāra*)...having discarded all the other sons of kings (*manujendra-putra*)." But "*svayameva śriyā gṛihīta*" "accepted by Śrī or Lakshmī of her own accord" is an epithet which is applied by Prabhākara-vardhana, shortly before his death, to Harsha whose devotion to his elder brother is well-known. That Skanda Gupta like Harsha was considered to be the favourite of the Goddess of Luck is well-known. Attention may be invited to the Lakshmī type of his coins [3] and the epithet *Śrī-parikshipta-vakshāḥ* "(whose breast is embraced by Śrī,

[1] For the reference to Devakî, see *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, V, 79.

[2] Even if the reference be merely to "*amitras*" (see *ante*, p. 479), these *amitras* could not have included an elder brother, as the passage "*kshitipa-charaṇa-pīṭhe sthāpita vāma-pādaḥ*," "placed (his) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that hostile power himself) clearly shows. The expression *samudīta bala kosha* ("whose power and wealth had risen") would be singularly inappropriate in the case of the rightful heir to the imperial throne of the Guptas with its enormous resources existing for several generations, and can only point to a *parvenu* power that had suddenly leaped to fame.

[3] Allan, p. xcix.

i.e., Lakshmī)" occurring in the Junāgaḍh Inscription. The panegyrist of the emperor refers to a *svayambara* in the right epic style. A *svayambara* naturally presupposes an assemblage of princes, not necessarily of one particular family, in which all the suitors are discarded excepting one. But there is no inseparable connection between a *svayambara* and a fight, and, even when it is followed by a fight, the combatants are hardly ever princes who are sons of the same king. The epigraphic passage referring to Lakshmī's *svayambara*, therefore, does not necessarily imply that there was a *struggle* between the *sons of Kumāra* in which Skanda came off victorious. It only means that among the princes he was specially fortunate and was considered to be the best fitted to rule because of the valiant fight he had put up against the enemies of the empire. In the Allahabad *praśasti* we have a similar passage :—"who (Samudra Gupta) being looked at with envy by the faces, melancholy through the rejection of themselves, of others of equal birth...was bidden by his father,—who exclaiming 'verily he is worthy' embraced him—to govern of a surety the whole world." It may be argued that there is no proof that Skanda was selected by Kumāra. On the contrary he is said to have been selected by Lakshmī of her own accord. But such was also the case with Harsha. Skanda like Harsha was called upon to save the empire of his forbears at a time when the fortunes of the imperial family were at a low ebb, and both these eminent men owed their success to their own prowess. The important thing to remember is that the avowed enemies of Skanda Gupta mentioned in his inscriptions were outsiders like the Pushyamitras, Hūṇas [1] and Mlechchhas. [2] The *manujendra-putras* of the Junāgaḍh inscription are mentioned only as disappointed suitors, not as defeated enemies, comparable to the brothers of Samudra

[1] Bhitari Ins.

[2] Junāgaḍh Ins.

Gupta who were discarded by Chandra Gupta I. We are, therefore, inclined to think that as the tottering Gupta empire was saved from its enemies (*e.g.*, the Pushyamitras) by Skanda Gupta it was he who was considered to be the best fitted to rule. There is no evidence that his brothers disputed his claim and actually fought for the crown. There is nothing to show that Skanda shed his brothers' blood and that the epithets "*amalātmā*," 'pure-souled,' and *parahitakārī*, 'the benefactor of others,' applied to him in the Bhitarî inscription and coin legends,[1] were unjustified.

The view that Skanda Gupta was the immediate successor of Kumāra Gupta I seems to be confirmed by a verse in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrî-mūla-kalpa*[2] which runs thus :—

Samudrākhya nṛipaśchaiva
Vikramaśchaiva kīrtitaḥ
Mahendra nṛipavaro mukhyaḥ
Sakārādyam ataḥ param
Devarājākhya nāmāsau yugādhame.

It is impossible not to recognise in the kings (*nṛipa*) Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra and "Sakārādya" mentioned in the verse, the great Gupta emperors Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya, Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya, and Skanda Gupta.[3]

Skanda Gupta assumed the titles of *Kramāditya* and *Vikramāditya*.[4] The passage from the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*

[1] Allan, *Gupta Coins*, cxxi.

[2] Vol. I, ed. Ganapati Śāstrī, p. 628.

[3] IHQ, 1932 p. 352

[4] Allan, *Catalogue*. pp. 117, 122; *cf.* Fleet, CII, p. 53 :—

"*Vinaya-bala-sunitair*-vvikrameṇa krameṇa
pratidinam-abhiyogād īpsitam yena labdhvā."

The epithet Kramāditya is found on certain gold coins of the heavy Archer type as well as on silver issues of the Garuḍa and bull and altar types. The more famous title of Vikramāditya is met with on silver coins of the Altar type.

quoted above refers to his appellation *Devarāja*. The titles Vikramāditya and Devarāja were apparently assumed in imitation of his grandfather. The latter epithet reminds one further of the name Mahendra given to his father. It is also to be noted that in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription Samudra Gupta is extolled as the equal of Indra and other gods and in the Kahaum record Skanda Gupta is called *Śakropama*.

From the evidence of coins and inscriptions we know that Skanda ruled from A. D. 455 to *c.* 467. The first achievement of the monarch was the resuscitation of the Gupta Empire and the recovery of lost Provinces. From an inscriptional passage we learn that while preparing to restore the fallen fortunes of his family he was reduced to such straits that he had to spend a whole night sleeping on the bare earth. Line twelve of the Bhitarī Inscription tells us that when Kumāra Gupta I had attained heaven, Skanda conquered his enemies by the strength of his arms. From the context it seems that these enemies were the Pushyamitras "whose power and wealth had (suddenly) gone up."

The struggle with the Pushyamitras was followed by conflicts with the Hūṇas [1] and probably also with the Vākāṭakas in which the emperor was presumably victorious in the end. The invasion of the Hūṇas took place not later than A.D. 458 if we identify them with the *Mlechchhas* or barbarian uitlanders of the Junāgaḍh inscription. The memory of the victory over the *Mlechchhas* is preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjain, in Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. [2] Central India and Surāshṭra seem to have been the vulnerable parts of the

[1] The Hūṇas are mentioned not only in inscriptions, but in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Raghuvaṁśa* and, later, in the *Harsha-charita* and the *Nītivākyāmṛita* of Somadeva. The *Lalita Vistara* (translated by Dharmaraksha, *d.* A.D. 313) mentions the *Hūṇalipi* (Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 266).

[2] Allan, *Gupta Coins*, Introduction, p. xlix.

Gupta empire. The Bālāghāṭ plates [1] refer to Narendrasena Vākāṭaka, son of Skanda Gupta's cousin Pravarasena II, as "*Kosalā-Mekalā-Mālav-ādhipatyabhyarchita śāsana*". 'whose commands were treated with respect by the lords of Kosala (Upper Mahānadī Valley), Mekala (Upper Valley of the Nerbudda), and Mālava (probably Eastern Mālwa).' The Junāgaḍh inscription tells us that Skanda "deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surāshṭras." Allan deduces from this and from the words "*sarveshu deśeshu vidhāya goptṛin,*" 'appointing protectors in all the provinces' that the emperor was at particular pains to appoint a series of Wardens of the Marches to protect his dominions from future invasion. One of these Wardens was Parṇadatta,[2] governor of Surāshṭra. In spite of all his efforts Skanda Gupta could not, however, save the westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. During his lifetime he, no doubt, retained his hold over Surāshṭra, the Cambay coast and the adjoining portions of continental Gujarāṭ and Mālwa.[3] But his successors do not appear to have been so fortunate. Not a single inscription or coin has yet been discovered which shows that Surāshṭra and Western Mālwa formed parts of the Gupta empire after the death of Skanda Gupta. On the contrary Harisheṇa Vākāṭaka, grandson of

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 271.

[2] Persian Farna-dāta seems, according to Jarl Charpentier, to be the form underlying the name Parṇa-datta (*JRAS*, 1931, 140; *Aiyangar Com. Vol.*, 15).

[3] The inclusion of Surāshṭra within his empire is proved by the Junāgaḍh inscription and that of the Cambay coast by silver coins of the 'Bull type.' The type was imitated by Kṛishṇa rāja (Allan, ci), who is to be identified with the king of that name belonging to the Kaṭachchuri family. Kṛishṇa's son and successor, Saṁkaragaṇa, appropriates the epithets of the great Samudra Gupta. His son Buddharāja effected the conquest of Eastern Mālwa early in the seventh century A. D. (*c.* 608 A.D.; Vadner plates, Ep. Ind., xii, 31 ff.; see also Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 21n). The dynasty was overthrown by the early Chalukyas and it is interesting to note that three of the characteristic epithets of Samudra Gupta are applied to the Chalukya Vijaya-rāja in the Kaira grant; Fleet, CII, 14.

Narendrasena, claims victories over Lāṭa (South Gujarāṭ) and Avanti (district around Ujjain) besides Trikūṭa in the Koṅkan, Kuntala (the Kanarese country), Andhra (the Telugu country), Kaliṅga (South Orissa and adjoining tracts), and Kosala (Upper Mahānadī Valley), while the Maitrakas of Valabhī (Wala in the peninsular portion of Gujarāṭ) gradually assume independence.

The later years of Skanda seem to have been tranquil.[1] The emperor was helped in the work of administration by a number of able governors like Parṇadatta, viceroy of the west, Śarvanāga, District Officer (*Vishayapati*) of Antarvedī or the Gangetic Doāb, and Bhīmavarman, the ruler of the Kosam region.[2] Chakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, restored in A.D. 457-58 the embankment forming the lake Sudarśana which had burst two years previously.

The emperor continued the tolerant policy of his forefathers. Himself a *Bhāgavata* or worshipper of Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu, he and his officers did not discourage followers of other sects, *e.g.*, Jainas and devotees of the Sun. The people were also tolerant. The Kahaum inscription commemorates the erection of Jaina images by a person "full of affection for Brāhmaṇas.[3] The Indore plate records a deed by a Brāhmaṇa endowing a lamp in a temple of the Sun.

[1] *Cf.* the Kahaum Ins.

[2] The inclusion within Skanda's empire of provinces lying still further to the east is proved by the Bhitarī and Bihār Pillar Inscriptions and possibly by gold coins of the Archer type struck on a standard of 144·6 grains of metal. Allan, p. xcviii, 118.

[3] *Cf.* The Pāhāḍpur epigraph of the year 159 (A. D. 479) which records a donation made by a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of the Divine Arhats, *i.e.*, the Jinas.

CHAPTER XII. THE GUPTA EMPIRE (*continued*): THE LATER GUPTAS.

Vasvaukasārāmatibhūya sāhaṁ
Saurājya vaddhotsavayā bibhūtyā
Samagraśaktau tvayi Sūryavaṁśye
Sati prapannā karuṇāmavasthām
—*Raghuvaṁśam.*

SECTION I. SURVIVAL OF THE GUPTA POWER AFTER SKANDA GUPTA.

It is now admitted on all hands that the reign of Skanda Gupta ended about A.D. 467.[1] When he passed away the empire declined,[2] especially in the west, but did not wholly perish. We have epigraphic as well as literary evidence of the continuance of the Gupta empire in parts of Central and Eastern India in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Dāmodarpur plates, the Sārnāth Inscriptions[3] and the Eraṇ epigraph of Budha Gupta prove that from A.D. 477 to 496 the Gupta empire extended from Bengal to Eastern Mālwa. The Betul plates of the *Parivrājaka Mahārāja* Saṁkshobha, dated in the year 199 G. E., *i.e.*, 518 A.D., 'during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta King,'[4] testify to the fact that the Gupta sway at this period was acknowledged in Ḍabhālā, which included the Tripuri *Vishaya* (Jabbalpur region).[5]

[1] Smith, *the Oxford History of India*, additions and corrections, p. 171, end.

[2] For the causes of decline, see *Calcutta Review*, April, 1930, p. 36 ff; *post* 531 ff.

[3] A.S.I. Report, 1914-15; *Hindusthan Review*, Jan., 1918; JBORS, IV, 344 f.

[4] *Śrīmati pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājye saṁvatsara-śate nava-navaty uttare Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau.* "In the glorious, augmenting and victorious reign, in a century of years increased by ninety-nine, in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta King."

[5] Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 284-87. Ḍabhālā = later Ḍāhala.

Another inscription of Saṁkshobha found in the valley near the village of Khoh in Baghēlkhaṇḍ, dated in A.D. 528, proves that the Gupta empire included some of the central districts even in A.D. 528.[1] Fifteen years later the grant of a village in the Koṭivarsha *Vishaya* (Dinājpur District) of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti (North Bengal) 'during the reign of *Parama-daivata* (the Supreme Divinity) *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* (the Supreme Lord) *Mahārājādhirāja* (King of Kings) *Śrī*...... ......*Gupta*,"[2] shows that the Gupta dominions at this period included the eastern as well as the central provinces. Towards the close of the sixth century a Gupta king, a contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushyabhūti[3] family of Śrīkaṇṭha (Thānēsar), was ruling in "Mālava."[4]

[1] Fleet, CII, III, pp. 113-16.

[2] Ep. Ind., XV, p. 113 ff. Corrected in Ep. Ind., XVII (Jan., 1924), p. 193.

[3] This seems to be the correct spelling and not Pushpabhūti (Ep. Ind., I, 68).

[4] "Mālava" seems to have been under the direct rule of the Guptas in the latter part of the sixth and the commencement of the seventh century. Magadha was probably administered by local rulers like *Mahārāja Kumārāmātya* Nandana (A.D. 551-2?) of the Amauna plate, Ep. Ind., X, 49, and the Varmans (*cf.* Nāgārjuni Hill Cave Ins., CII, 226; also Pūrṇavarman mentioned by Hiuen Tsang and Deva-varman, IA, X, 110). For a detailed discussion see Ray Chaudhuri, JBORS, XV, parts *iii* and *iv* (1929, pp 651 f.). The precise location and extent of the "Mālava" of the later Guptas cannot be determined. In Ep. Ind., V, 229, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Anantapāla, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have subdued the *Sapta* Mālava countries up to the Himālaya Mountains. This proves that there were as many as seven countries called Mālava (*cf.* also Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 16). These were probably: (1) The country of the 'Mālavas' in the Western Ghats (*Kanarese Districts*, p. 569), (2) Mo-la-po (Mālavaka-*āhāra* of Valabhī grants) on the Mahī governed by the Maitrakas, (3) Avanti in the wider sense of the term ruled by the Kaṭachchuris or Kalachuris of the Abhona plates (sixth century) and by a Brāhmaṇa family in the time of Hiuen Tsang the Chinese pilgrim, (4) *Pūrva*-Mālava (round Bhilsa), (5) District round Prayāga, Kauśāmbī and Fatehpur in U. P. (Smith, EHI, 4th ed., p. 350n.; IHQ, 1931, 150 f.; *cf.* JRAS, 1903, 561), (6) part of eastern Rājputāna, (7) Cis-Sutlej districts of the Pañjāb together with some Himālayan territory. The later Guptas probably held (4) and (5) and, at times, Magadha as well. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (xii.1.36) whose date is not probably far removed from that of the later Guptas, associates Mālava with Arbuda (Abu) and distinguishes it from Avanti. The rulers of Mālava and Avanti are also distinguished from each other by Rājaśekhara in his *Viddhaśāla bhañjikā*, Act IV (p. 121 of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition). Early in the seventh century the Guptas seem to have lost Eastern Mālwa to the Kaṭachchuris. In the Vadner plates issued from Vidiśā

Two sons of this king, Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon the princes Rājya-vardhana and Harsha of Thānēsar. From the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena we learn that the fame of the father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha,[1] marked with honour of victory in war over Susthitavarman, doubtless a king of Kāmarūpa, was constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra. This indicates that even in or about A.D. 600 (the time of Prabhākara-vardhana) the sway of the Gupta dynasty extended from "Mālava" to the Brahmaputra.[2]

In the sixth century Gupta suzerainty was no doubt successively challenged by the Huns and their conquerors belonging to the Mandasor and Maukhari families. In the first half of the seventh century the Guptas lost Vidiśā to the Kaṭachchuris and their power in the Ganges Valley was overshadowed by that of Harsha. But, after the death of the great Kanauj monarch, the Gupta empire was sought to be revived by Ādityasēna, son of Mādhava Gupta, who "ruled the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans," performed the *Aśvamedha* and other great sacrifices and assumed the titles of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja.*

(Besnagar) in or about A.D. 608, a Kaṭachchuri king, Śaṁkaragaṇa, receives epithets that are palpably borrowed from the Allahabad *Praśasti* of Samudra Gupta. The overthrow of the Kaṭachchuris was effected by the early Chalukyas of Badami and South Gujarāṭ. Fleet points out (CII, 14) that three of the epithets of Samudra Gupta are applied to the Chalukya chieftain Vijaya-rāja in the Kaira grant of the year 394 (IA, VII, 248). Ādityasena of the later Gupta family, who ruled in the second half of the seventh century A.D., seems to be referred to in Nepalese inscriptions as 'King of Magadha.' Magadha, now replaced Eastern Mālwa as the chief centre of Gupta power.

[1] *Cf.* Hoernle in JRAS, 1903, 561.

[2] An allusion to the later Guptas seems to occur in the *Kādambarī*, Verse 10, of Bāṇa which says that the lotus feet of Kubera, the poet's great-grandfather, were worshipped by many a Gupta :—

Babhūva Vātsyāyana vaṁśa saṁbhavo
dvijo jagadgītaguṇo' graṇīḥ satām
aneka Guptārchita pāda paṅkajaḥ
Kubera nāmāṁśa iva Svayaṁbhuvaḥ.

Section II. Pura Gupta and Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya.

We shall now proceed to give an account of Skanda Gupta's successors. The immediate successor of the great emperor seems to have been his brother **Pura Gupta**. The existence of this king was unknown till the discovery of the Bhitarī seal of Kumāra Gupta II in 1889, and its publication by Smith and Hoernle.[1] The seal describes Pura Gupta as the son of Kumāra I by the queen Anantadevī, and does not mention Skanda Gupta. The mention of Pura Gupta immediately after Kumāra with the prefix *tat-pād-ānudhyāta* "meditating on, or attached to, the feet of" (Kumāra), does not necessarily prove that Pura Gupta was the immediate successor of his father, and a contemporary and rival of his brother or half-brother Skanda Gupta.[2] In the Manahali grant Madanapāla is described as *Śrī-Rāmapāla-Deva-pād-ānudhyāta*, although he was preceded by his elder brother Kumārapāla. In Kielhorn's Northern Inscription No. 39, Vijayapāla is described as the successor of Kshitipāla, although he was preceded by his

[1] JASB, 1889 pp. 84-105.

[2] The omission of Skanda's name in the Bhitarī seal of his brother's grandson does not necessarily imply that the relations between him and Pura's family were unfriendly as suggested by Mr. R. D. Banerji (*cf. Annals of the Bhand. Ins.*, 1918-19, pp. 74-75). The name of Pulakeśin II is omitted in an inscription of his brother and *Yuvarāja* Vishṇuvardhana (Sātārā grant, *Ind. Ant.*, 1890 pp. 227f.). The name of Bhoja II of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty is not mentioned in the Partabgarh Inscription of his nephew Mahendrapāla II, but it is mentioned in an inscription of his brother Vināyakapāla, the father of Mahendrapāla. Besides, there was no custom prohibiting the mention of the name of a rival uncle or brother. Maṅgaleśa and Govinda II are mentioned in the inscriptions of their rivals and their descendants. On the other hand even an ancestor of a reigning king was sometimes omitted, *e.g.*, Rudrasena II is omitted in one Ajaṇṭā inscription, Dharapaṭṭa is omitted in his son's inscription (Kielhorn, N. Ins., No. 464).

brother Devapāla.[1] Smith and Allan have shown that Skanda ruled over the whole empire including the eastern and the central as well as many of the western provinces. He may have lost some of his districts in the Far West. But the coin-types of the successors of Kumāra Gupta, with the exception of Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta, show that none of them could have had held sway in the lost territories of Western India. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence clearly indicates that there was no room for a rival *Mahārājādhirāja* in Northern India including Bihār and Bengal during the reign of Skanda Gupta. He was a man of mature years at the time of his death *cir.* A.D. 467.[2] His brother and successor Pura Gupta, too, must have been an old man at that time. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he had a very short reign and died some time before A.D. 473 when his grandson Kumāra Gupta II was ruling. The name of Pura Gupta's queen has been read by various scholars as Śrī Vatsadevī, Vainyadevī or Śrī Chandradevī.[3] She was the mother of Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya.

The coins of Pura Gupta are of the heavy Archer type apparently belonging to the eastern provinces of the empire of his predecesors.[4] Some of the coins hitherto attributed to him have the reverse legend Śri Vikramaḥ [5] and possible traces of the fuller title of Vikramāditya. Allan identifies him with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism through

[1] Kielhorn, Ins. No. 31.

[2] When sons succeed a father or mother after a prolonged reign they are usually well advanced in years. In the case of Skanda Gupta we know that already in A.D. 455 he was old enough to lead the struggle against all the enemies of his house and empire in succession.

[3] Ep. Ind., XXI, 77; ASI, AR, 1934-35, 63.

[4] Allan, pp. lxxx, xcviii.

[5] Mr. S. K. Sarasvati attributes these coins to Budha Gupta (*Indian Culture*, I, 692). As to the title Vikramāditya, see Allan, p. cxxii.

the influence of Vasubandhu. The importance of this identification lies in the fact that it proves that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis. If the spurious Gayā plate is to be believed Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta *jaya-skandhāvāra*, or 'camp of victory,' as early as the time of Samudra Gupta. The principal capital of Bālāditya and his successors appears to have been Kāśī.[1]

The identification proposed by Allan also suggests that Pura Gupta could not have flourished much later than 472 A.D., for a Chinese history of the Indian patriarchs belonging to that year mentions "Ba-su-ban-da."[2]

The evidence of the Bharsar hoard seems to show that a king styled Prakāśāditya came shortly after Skanda Gupta. Prakāśāditya may be regarded as possibly a *biruda* or secondary epithet of Pura Gupta or of one of his immediate successors. Even if we think with Allan that Pura had the title Vikramāditya there is no inherent improbability in his having an additional *Āditya* title. That the same king might have two "*Āditya*" names is proved by the cases of Skanda Gupta (Vikramāditya and Kramāditya) and Śīlāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhī. But the identification of Prakāśāditya still remains *sub judice*. His coins are of the combined horseman and lion-slayer type. The "horseman type" was associated with the southern provinces of the empire of the Early Guptas[3] and the lion-slayer type with the north.[4]

Pura Gupta was succeeded by his son **Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya**. This king has been identified with king Bālāditya whose troops are represented by Hiuen Tsang

[1] CII, 285.
[2] JRAS, 1905, 40.
[3] Allan, p. lxxxvi.
[4] *Ibid*, xci.

as having imprisoned the tyrant Mihirakula. It has been overlooked that Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was the immediate successor of Tathāgata Gupta[1] who was himself the immediate successor of Bud(d)ha Gupta[2] whereas Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya was the son and successor of Pura Gupta who in his turn was the son of Kumāra Gupta I and the successor of Skanda Gupta. The son and successor of Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was Vajra[3] while the son and successor of Narasiṁha was Kumāra Gupta II. It is obvious that the conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Pura Gupta but an altogether different individual.[4] The existence of several kings of the eastern part of the *Madhyadēśa* having the *biruda* Bālāditya is proved by the Sārnāth Inscription of Prakaṭāditya.[5] Narasiṁha Gupta must have died in or about the year A.D. 473. He was succeeded by his son Kumāra Gupta II Kramāditya by queen Mitradevî.[6]

The coins of Narasiṁha and his successor belong to two varieties of the Archer type. One class of these coins was, according to Allan, apparently intended for circulation in the lower Ganges valley, and the other may have been

[1] *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 111. *Si-yu-ki*, II, p. 168.

[2] *Fo-to-kio-to*. Beal, Fleet and Watters render the term by Buddha Gupta, a name unknown to imperial Gupta epigraphy. The synchronism of his second successor Bālāditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant, see p. 501 *post*.

[3] *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 165.

[4] Drs. Bhaṭṭasāli and Basāk, who uphold the identification of Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya with the son of Pura Gupta do not apparently attach due weight to the evidence of the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 111, which, as we shall see later on, is corroborated by the combined testimony of the Sārnāth inscription of Prakaṭāditya and the *Ārya-Mañju-śrī-mūla. kalpa*. The evidence of these documents suggests that Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was identical with Bhānu Gupta and was the father of Prakaṭāditya and Vajra

[5] CII, p. 285. A Bālāditya is mentioned in the Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman (*Ep. Ind.*, 1929, Jan., 38).

[6] It is suggested in *Ep. Ind.*, xxi, 77 (clay seals of Nālandā) and *ASI, AR* 1934-35, 63, that the name of Kumāra Gupta's mother has to be read as Mitradevī and not Śrīmatī devī or Lakshmīdevī.

issued in the upper provinces. The inclusion of Eastern India within the dominions of Bālāditya (*Bālākhya*) and Kumāra (II) is vouched for by the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*.[1]

[1] Ganapati Śāstrī's ed., p. 630. *Cf.* Jayaswal, *Imperial History*, 35.

Bālākhya nāmasau nṛipatir bhavitā Pūrva-deśakaḥ
tasyāpareṇa nṛipatiḥ Gauḍāṇām prabhavishṇavaḥ
Kumārākhyo nāmataḥ proktaḥ so'pir atyanta dharmavān.

Section III. Kumāra Gupta II.

Kumāra Gupta II of the Bhitarī seal, son of Narasiṁha Gupta, has been identified with Kramāditya of certain coins of the Archer type that are closely connected with the issues of Narasiṁha Bālāditya. He is also identified with king Kumāra Gupta mentioned in the Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 154 G.E., *i.e.*, A.D. 473-74.[1] Drs. Bhaṭṭasālī, Basāk and some other scholars think that the Kumāra Guptas of the Bhitarī seal and the Sārnāth epigraph were distinct individuals. The former places Kumāra, son of Narasiṁha, long after A.D. 500.[2] But his theory is based upon the doubtful identification of Narasiṁha with the conqueror of Mihirakula. According to Dr. Basāk Kumāra of the Sārnāth Inscription was the immediate successor of Skanda. In his opinion there were two rival Gupta lines ruling simultaneously, one consisting of Skanda, Kumāra of Sārnāth and Budha, the other comprising Pura, Narasiṁha and his son Kumāra of the Bhitarî seal. But there is not the slightest evidence of a partition of the Gupta empire in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. On the contrary inscriptions and coins prove that both Skanda and Budha ruled over the whole empire from Bengal to the West. We have already seen that according to the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī mūla-kalpa* the kingdom of Bālākhya, *i.e.*, Bālāditya and his successor Kumāra embraced the *Purva-deśa* (Eastern India) including Gauḍa (Western and part of Northern

[1] See ASI, AR, 1914-15, 124, *Hindusthān Review*, Jan., 1918, *Ann. Bhand. Inst.*, 1918-19, 67 ff. and JBORS, iv, 344, 412, for the views of Venis, Pathak, Panday, Pannalall and others.

[2] *Dacca Review*, May and June, 1920, pp. 54-57.

Bengal).[1] How can we reconcile the rule of these kings with the contemporary sovereignty of a rival line represented by Skanda and Budha? There is no cogent reason for doubting the identity of Kumāra of the Bhitarî seal with his namesake of the Sārnāth inscription.

Kumāra II's reign must have terminated in or about the year A.D. 476-77, the first known date of Budha Gupta.[2] The reigns of Pura, Narasiṁha and Kumāra II appear to be abnormally short, amounting together to only ten years (A.D. 467-77). This is by no means a unique case. In Veṅgī three Eastern Chālukya monarchs, *viz.*, Vijayāditya IV, his son Ammarāja I, and Ammarāja's son, another Vijayāditya, ruled only for seven years and six and a half months.[3] In Kaśmîra six kings, Śūravarman I, Pārtha, Śambhuvardhana, Chakravarman, Unmattāvanti and Śūravarman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 933-39); and three generations of kings, *viz.*, Yaśaskara, his uncle Varṇaṭa, and his son Saṁgrāmadeva ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-49).

[1] *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla kalpa*, G. Śāstrī's ed., pp. 630 f.

[2] One of the successors of Kumāra (II), son of Bālāditya, is, according to the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, a prince styled *Ukārākhya*. That appellation may according to Jayaswal apply to Prakāśāditya, for Allan finds the letters *ru* or *u* on his coins. But the identification of a prince whose designation was *u*, *U(kārākhya)*, with Budha Gupta (Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 38), does not seem to be plausible. The passage in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* suggests a name like Upagupta or Upendra. Though there is no direct epigraphic evidence for the name Upagupta, the existence of such a prince does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that an Upaguptā is mentioned in Maukhari records as the mother of Īśānavarman [Aśîrgaḍh (Fleet, CII, p. 220) and Nālandā (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 74) seals]. *Cf.* Bhānu Gupta and Bhānu Guptā, Harsha Gupta and Harsha Guptā, Mahāsena Gupta and Mahāsena Guptā. On the analogy of these cases it is possible that there was a prince named Upagupta, apparently the brother of Upa Guptā. If this surmise be correct Upagupta may have to be placed in the same period as the mother of Īśānavarman, *i.e.*, in the first half of the sixth century A.D., sometime after Budha Gupta. If *u* is the initial of *Upendra* (=Kṛishṇa) and not of *Upagupta*, it may refer to Kṛishṇa Gupta, just as *Somākhya* has reference to the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. Deva, successor of *Ukārākhya*, may in that case be Devaśrî Harsha Gupta who was severely wounded by enemies who tried to deprive him of his rightful possessions.

[3] Hultzsch, SII, Vol. I, p. 46.

Section IV. Budha Gupta.

For Budha Gupta, possibly the successor of Kumāra II, we have a number of dated inscriptions and coins which prove that he ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 477-96). We learn from Hiuen Tsang that he was a son of Śakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had a title that may be equated with the one mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (Mahendra = Śakra). It seems probable that Budha was the youngest son of Kumāra I, and consequently a brother or half-brother of Skanda and Pura. Fleet correctly points out that the name of Śakrāditya's son as given by Hiuen Tsang is *Fo-to-kio-to, i.e.*, Buddha Gupta and not Budha Gupta. Similarly Watters shows that Punna-fa-tan-na of the pilgrim is equivalent to Punya-vardhana and not Puṇḍra-vardhana and Geiger points out that the name Chi-mi-kia-po-mo mentioned by Wang hiuen tśe should be restored as Śrī-Meghavarman. But just as there is no proof of the existence of a place called Puṇya-vardhana apart from the well-known Puṇḍra-vardhana, and of a king of Ceylon named Meghavarman apart from the well-known Meghavaṇṇa, so there is no proof of the existence of a Gupta king named Buddha apart from the well-known Budha Gupta. The synchronism of Fo-to-kio-to's second successor Bālāditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant. If Fo-to-kio-to is identified with Budha Gupta, and his father Śakrāditya with Mahendrāditya (Kumāra Gupta I), we understand why Fa Hien, who visited India in the time of Chandra Gupta II, father of Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya, is silent about the buildings at Nālandā constructed by Śakrāditya and

Budha Gupta about which Hiuen Tsang (in the seventh century A.D.) speaks so much.

Two copper-plate inscriptions, discovered in the village of Dāmodarpur in the district of Dinājpur, testify to the fact that Budha Gupta's empire included Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (North Bengal) which was governed by his viceroys (*Uparika Mahārāja*) Brahmadatta and Jayadatta.[1] The Sārnāth inscription of A.D. 476-77 proves his possession of the Kāsī country. In A.D. 484-85 the erection of a *dhvaja-stambha* or flag staff in honour of Janārdana, *i.e.*, Vishṇu, by the Mahārāja Mātṛivishṇu, ruler of Eraṇ, and his brother Dhanyavishṇu, while the *Bhūpati* (King) Budha Gupta was reigning, and *Mahārāja* Suraśmichandra was governing the land between the Kālindī (Jumna) and the Narmadā, (Nerbudda) indicates that Budha Gupta's dominions included Central India as well as Kāsî and North Bengal.

The coins of this emperor are dated in the year A.D. 495-96. They continue the peacock-type of the Gupta silver coinage that was meant, according to Allan, for circulation in the central part of the empire. Their legend is the claim to be lord of the earth and to have won heaven,—found on the coins of Kumāra Gupta I, and Skanda Gupta.

[1] To the reign of this Gupta king belongs also probably the Pāhāḍpur (Rājshāhi District) plate of A.D. 478-79 (*Mod. Rev.*, 1931, 150; *Prabāsī*, 1338, 671; Ep. Ind. XX, 59 ff.). For a possible reference to Budha Gupta in Purāṇic literature, see *Pro. of the Seventh Or. Conf.*, 576.

Section V. Successors of Budha Gupta.

According to the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* Budha Gupta was succeeded by **Tathāgata** Gupta, after whom **Bālāditya** succeeded to the empire.[1] At this period the supremacy of the Guptas in Central India was challenged by the Hun king Toramāṇa. We have seen that in A.D. 484-85 a *Mahārāja* named Mātṛivishṇu ruled in the Airikiṇa *Vishaya* (Eraṇ in Eastern Mālwa, now in the Saugor District of the Central Provinces) as a vassal of the emperor Budha Gupta. But after his death his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu transferred his allegiance to Toramāṇa. The success of the Huns in Central India was, however, short-lived. In 510-11 we find a general named Goparāja fighting by the side of a Gupta king at Eraṇ and king Hastin of the neighbouring province of Ḍabhālā to the south-east of Eraṇ acknowledging the sovereignty of the Guptas. In A.D. 518 the suzerainty of the Guptas is acknowledged in the Tripurī *vishaya* (Jubbalpore District). In the year 528-29 the Gupta sway was still acknowledged by the *Parivrājaka-Mahārāja* of Ḍabhālā. The *Parivrājakas* Hastin and Saṁkshobha seem to have been the bulwarks of the Gupta empire in the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The *Harsha-charita* of Bāṇa recognises the possession of Mālava, possibly Eastern Mālwa, by the Guptas as late as the time of Prabhākara-vardhana (*cir.* A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of the Huns from Central India was final. The recovery of the Central Provinces was probably effected in the time of Bālāditya whose troops are represented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, and set him at

[1] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, p. 168 ; the *Life*, p. 111.

liberty at the request of the Queen Mother. The Hun king had to be content with a "small kingdom in the north.[1] It is not improbable that Bālāditya was a *biruda* of the " glorious **Bhānu Gupta**, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha " along with whom Goparāja went to Eraṇ and having fought a "very famous battle" died shortly before A.D. 510-11.[2]

Mihirakula was finally subjugated by the *Janendra*[3] **Yaśodharman** of Mandasor some time before A.D. 533. Line

[1] *Si-yu-ki*, p. 171.

[2] In a Nālandā Stone Inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, 43-45) Bālāditya is described as a king of irresistible valour and vanquisher of all foes. The last of the Bālādityas mentioned in a Sārnāth Inscription (Fleet, CII, 285 f.) had a son named Prakaṭāditya by his wife Dhavalā. In the *Ārya Mañjuśrī mūla-kalpa* (ed. G. Sāstri, p. 637 ff.) *Pakārākhya* (Prakaṭāditya) is represented as the son of *Bhakārākhya* (Bhānu Gupta). Buddhist tradition thus corroborates the identification, **first** proposed in these pages, of Bālāditya with Bhānu Gupta. *Cf. now* Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, pp. 47, 53. An inscription found at Guṇāighara near Comilla and certain seals at Nālandā disclose the existence of a king named (**Vai**)**nya Gu**(**pta**) who ruled in or about A.D. 507 and must have been also a contemporary of Mihirakula or of his father (*Prabāsī*, 1338, 675; IHQ, 1930, 53, 561). The seals give him the style *Mahārājādhirāja* (*ASI, AR*, 1930-34, Pt. I, 230, 249). Dr. D. C. Ganguly identifies him with the *Dvādaśāditya* of coins (IHQ, 1933, 784, 989). It is tempting to identify Vainya Gupta with Tathāgata of H. Tsang. But proof is lacking.

[3] The ascription of the title of Vikramāditya to Yaśodharman of Mandaśor, and the representation of this chief as a ruler of Ujjain, the father of Śilāditya of Mo-la-po and the father-in-law of Prabhākara-vardhana are absolutely unwarranted. According to Father Heras (*JBORS*, 1927, March, 8-9) the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of Bālāditya took place after the Hun king's conflict with Yaśodharman. It should, however, be remembered that at the time of the war with Bālāditya Mihirakula was a paramount sovereign to whom the king of Magadha had been tributary, and with whom he dared not fight, being only anxious to *conceal his poor person* (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 168). This is hardly possible after the *Janendra* of Mandasor had compelled the Hun "to pay respect to his two feet." The victory of Bālāditya over Mihirakula was certainly not decisive. The "loss of the royal estate" was only temporary, and the tyrant soon placed himself on the throne of Kaśmīra and conquered Gandhāra (Beal, II, 171). To the court-poet of Yaśodharman Mihirakula was preeminently a king of the Himālayan region. This is clear from the following passage which was misunderstood by Fleet whose interpretation has been followed by Father Heras (p. 8 n) :—

"He (Yaśodharman) to whose feet respect was paid...by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose head had never (previously) been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthāṇu (and) *embraced by whose arms the*

6 of the Mandaśōr Stone Pillar inscription[1] leaves the impression that in the time of Yaśodharman Mihirakula was the king of a Himālayan country ("small kingdom in the north"), *i.e.*, Kaśmīra and that neighbourhood, who was compelled " to pay respect to the two feet " of the victorious *Janendra* probably when the latter carried his arms to "the mountain of snow the table lands of which are embraced by the Gaṅgā."

Yaśodharman claims to have extended his sway as far as the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra in the east. It is not improbable that he defeated and killed **Vajra**, the son of Bālāditya,[2] and extinguished the viceregal family of the Dattas of Puṇḍra-vardhana. Hiuen Tsang mentions a king of Central India as the successor of Vajra. The Dattas, who governed Puṇḍra-vardhana from the time of Kumāra Gupta I, disappear about this time. But Yaśodharman's success must have been short-lived, because in A. D. 513-44, ten years after the Mandaśōr inscription which mentions the *Janendra* Yaśodharman as victorious, the son (?) and viceroy of a Gupta *parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja pṛithivipati*, ' supreme sovereign, king of kings, lord of the earth,' and not any official of the Central Indian *Janendra*, was governing the Puṇḍra-vardhana-*bhukti*, a province which lay between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya.

mountain of snow falsely prides itself as being styled an inaccessible fortress " (Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, 1889, p. 219). Kielhorn's interpretation was accepted by Fleet. [The statement that Mihirakula's head "had never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any oth r save (the god) Sthānu" shows that he refused to do homage to Bālāditya, and probably accounts for the order, given for his execution by that kir g.]

[1] CII, pp. 146-147 ; Jayaswal, *The Historical Position of Kalki*. p. 9.

[2] If the identification of Bālāditya with Bhānu Gupta first proposed in these pages is correct, his son Vajra may be identified with *Vakārākhya*, the younger brother (*anuja*) of the Prakaṭāditya of the Sārnāth Inscription (Fleet, CII, 284 ff.)—the *Pakārākhya* of the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* who is represented as the son of *Bhakārākhya*, *i.e.*, Bhānu Gupta (ed G. Sāstrī, pp. 637-44). Prakaṭāditya is represented in the inscription named above as the son of Bālāditya by Dhavalā. *Cf. now* Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, pp. 47, 53, 56, 63.

THE EARLY IMPERIAL GUPTAS.

Gupta
|
Ghaṭotkacha — Lichchhavis
|
Chandra Gupta I = Kumāra Devī
(?) A.D. 320
|
Samudra Gupta = Datta Devī
|
Dhruva Devī = Deva Gupta I (Chandra Gupta II) Vikramāditya = Kubera Nāgā
A. D. 381-413

- Govinda Gupta
- Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (Śakrāditya ?) A. D. 415-455 = (1) Ananta Devî (2) Devakī ?
  - Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya II A.D. 455-c. 467
  - Pura Gupta = ?Śrī Chandra Devī (2)
    - Narasiṁha Gupta (Bāladitya) = Śrī Mitra Devī
      - Kumāra Gupta II, Kramāditya, (?) A.D. 473-474
  - ?Ghaṭotkacha Gupta
  - ?Budha Gupta A.D. 477-496
    - ⋮ Tathāgata Gupta
    - Vainya Gupta A.D. 507
    - ⋮ Bālāditya II (Bhānu Gupta ?) A. D. 510
      - Prakaṭāditya
      - Vajra
- Guttas of Guttal. (from Deva Gupta I Vikramāditya and Kubera Nāgā)
- Prabhāvatî (daughter of Deva Gupta I and Kubera Nāgā)
  - Vākāṭaka kings of Bhojakaṭa, etc., in the Deccan

SECTION VI. THE LINE OF KṚISHṆA GUPTA.

The name of the Gupta emperor in the Dāmodarpur plate of A.D. 543-44 is unfortunately lost. The Aphsaḍ inscription, however, discloses the names of a number of "Gupta" kings,[1] the fourth of whom, Kumāra Gupta (III), was a contemporary of Īśānavarman Maukhari who is known from the Harāhā inscription to have been ruling in A.D. 554.[2] Kumāra Gupta III, and his three predecessors, *viz.*, Kṛishṇa, Harsha and Jîvita, should probably be placed in the period between A.D. 510, the date of Bhānu Gupta, and 554, the date of Īśānavarman. It is possible, but by no means certain, that one of these kings is identical with the Gupta emperor mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plate of A.D. 543-44.[3] The absence of highsounding titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* or *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* in the *Ślokas* or verses of

[1] Although the rulers, the names of most of whom ended in—*gupta*, mentioned in the Aphsaḍ and connected contemporary epigraphs, who ruled over the provinces in the heart of the early Gupta empire, are called "Guptas" for the sake of convenience, their relationship with the early *Gupta-kula* or *Gupta-vaṁśa* is not known. It is, however, to be noted that some of them (*e.g.*, Kumāra Gupta and Deva Gupta), bore names that are found in the earlier family, and Kṛishṇa Gupta, the founder of the line, has been identified by some with Govinda Gupta, son of Chandra Gupta II. But the last suggestion is hardly acceptable, because Govinda must have flourished more than half a century before Kṛishṇa Gupta. And it is surprising that the panegyrists of Kṛishna Gupta's descendants should have omitted all references to the early Guptas if their patrons could really lay claim to such an illustrious ancestry. In the Aphsaḍ inscription the dynasty is described simply as *Sad-vaṁśa* 'of good lineage.' The designation *Gupta*, albeit not "*Early Imperial Gupta*," is possibly justified by the evidence of Bāṇa. The Guptas and the Gupta *Kulaputra* mentioned in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and *Harsha-charita* may refer to the family of Kṛishṇa, if not to some hitherto unknown descendants of the early imperial line.

[2] H. Śāstri, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 110 ff.

[3] Mr. Y. R. Gupte (*Ind. Hist. Journal*) reads the name of Kumāra in the inscription of A.D. 543-44, but he identifies him with the son of Narasiṁha Gupta. The ruler whose name is missing may represent one or other of the "Gupta" lines already known to scholars or some new line. *Cf.* the cases of Vainya Gupta and the princes mentioned on pp. 214-15 of *Ep. Ind.*, xx, Appendix.

the Aphsaḍ inscription does not necessarily prove that the kings mentioned there were petty chiefs. No such titles are attached to the name of Kumāra I in the Mandasor inscription, or to the name of Budha in the Eraṇ inscription. On the other hand the queen of Mādhava Gupta, one of the least powerful kings mentioned in the Aphsaḍ inscription, is called *Parama-bhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahādevî* in the Dêō Baraṇārk epigraph.

Regarding **Kṛishṇa Gupta** we know very little. The Aphsaḍ inscription describes him as a hero whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemy (*dṛiptārāti*), (and) in being victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes. The *dṛiptārāti* against whom he had to fight may have been Yaśodharman. The next king **Deva Śrī Harsha Gupta** had to engage in terrible contests with those who were "averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (him, her) own lord." There were wounds from many weapons on his chest. The names of the enemies, who tried to deprive him of his rightful possessions, are not given. Harsha's son **Jīvita Gupta I** probably succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family in the territory lying between the Himālayas and the sea, apparently in Eastern India. "The very terrible scorching fever (of fear) left not (his) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (and) were covered with the branches of plantain trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra palms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himālaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow." The "haughty foes" on seaside shores were probably the Gauḍas who had already launched into a career of conquest about this time and who are described as living on the sea shore (*samudrā-*

śraya) in the Harāhā inscription of A.D. 554.[1] The other enemies may have included ambitious *Kumārāmātyas* like Nandana of the Amauna plate.

The next king, **Kumāra Gupta III**, had to encounter a sea of troubles. The Gauḍas were issuing from their "proper realm" which was Western Bengal as it bordered on the sea and included Karṇasuvarṇa[2] and Rāḍhāpurî.[3] The lord of the Andhras who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, and the Śūlikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, were powers to be reckoned with. The Andhra king was probably Mādhava-varman (I, Janāśraya) of the Polamuru plates belonging to the Vishṇukuṇḍin family who "crossed the river Godāvarî with the desire to conquer the eastern region"[4] and performed eleven horse-sacrifices. The Śūlikas were probably the Chalukyas.[5] In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription the name appears as Chalikya. In the Gujarāṭ records we find the forms Solaki and Solaṅki. Śūlika may have been another dialectic variant. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription tells us that in the sixth century A.D., Kīrtivarman I of the "Chalikya" dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, etc. His father is known to have performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, "the super-eminent touch-stone to test the might of warriors conquering the world and an indication of the conquest of all the warriors." Prince Kīrtivarman may have been entrusted with the guardianship of the sacrificial steed that had to roam about for a year in the territories

[1] Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 *et seq.*

[2] M. Chakravarti, JASB, 1908, p. 274.

[3] *Prabodha-chandrodaya*, Act II.

[4] Dubreuil, AHD, p. 92 and D. C. Sircar, IHQ, 1933, 276 ff,

[5] In the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, IX. 15; XIV. 8, the Śūlikas and Saulikas are associated with Aparānta (N. Koṅkan), Vanavāsī (Kanara) and Vidarbha (Berar). In *Bṛih. Saṁ.*, IX. 21; XVI. 35, however, they are associated with Gandhāra and Vokkāṇa (Wakhan). A branch of the people may have dwelt in the north-west. In JRAS, 1912, 128, we have a reference to Kulastambha of the Śulki family. Tāranātha (*Ind. Ant.*, IV, 364) places the kingdom of "Sulik" beyond "Togara" (Ter in the Deccan?).

of the rulers to whom a challenge was thrown by the performer of the sacrifice.

A new power was rising in the Upper Ganges Valley which was destined to engage in a death grapple with the Guptas for the mastery of Northern India. This was the Mukhara or **Maukhari**[1] power. The Maukharis claimed descent from the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata, *i.e.*, Yama[2] (not Manu). The family consisted of several distinct groups. The stone inscriptions of one group have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bārā Bankī districts of the United Provinces, while lithic records of another group have been discovered in the Gayā district of Bihār. A third family has left inscriptions at Baḍvā in the Kotah state in Rājputāna. The Maukharis of Gayā, namely, Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman were a feudatory family. Śārdūla is expressly called *sāmanta chūḍāmaṇi*, 'crest-jewel of vassal chiefs' in the Barābar Hill Cave Inscription of his son.[3] The Baḍvā Maukharis held the office of general or military governor under some Prince of Western India in the third century A.D. The Maukharis of the United Provinces[4]

[1] The family was called both Mukhara and Maukhari. "*Soma-Sūrya-vaṁśāviva Pushpabhūti* (sic) *Mukhara Vaṁśau*," "*sakalabhuvana namaskṛito Maukhari vaṁśaḥ*" (*Harsha-charita*, Parab's ed., pp. 141, 146). *Cf.* also CII, p. 229.

[2] Mbh., III. 296. 38 ff. The reference is undoubtedly to the hundred sons that Aśvapati obtained as a boon from Yama on the intercession of his daughter Sāvitrī. It is surprising that some writers still identify the Vaivasvata of the Maukhari record with Manu.

[3] CII, p. 223. The connection of the Maukharis with Gayā is very old. This is proved by the clay seal with the inscription *Mokhaliśa*, to which attention has already been drawn above. A reference to the *Mokaris* seems also to occur in the Chandravalli Stone Inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman (*Arch. Survey of Mysore*, A. R., 1929, pp. 50 ff). Dr. Tripathi finds a possible reference in the *Mahābhāshya* (JBORS, 1934, March). For the Baḍvā ins., see *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 42 ff. (Altekar).

[4] In literature the Maukhari line of U. P. is associated with the city of Kanauj which may have been the capital at one time. *Cf.* C. V. Vaidya, *Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, pp. 9, 33; Aravamuthan, *the Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Samgam Age*, p. 101. Hiuen Tsang, however, declares Kanauj to have been included within the realm of the House of Pushyabhūti even before Harsha.

probably also held a subordinate rank at first. The earliest princes of this family, *viz.*, Harivarman, Âdityavarman, and Īśavaravarman, were simply *Mahārājas*. Âdityavarman's wife was Harsha Guptā, probably a sister of king Harsha Gupta. The wife of his son and successor Īśavaravarman was also probably a Gupta princess named Upa-Guptā. In the Harāhā inscription **Īsānavarman**, son of Īśvaravarman and Upa-Guptā,[2] claims victories over the **Andhras,[1] the Śūlikas** and the **Gauḍas** and is the first to assume the Imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. It was this which probably brought him into conflict with king Kumāra Gupta III. Thus began a duel between the Maukharis and the Guptas which ended only when the latter with the help of the Gauḍas wiped out the Maukhari power in the time of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana.[3]

We have seen that Īśānavarman's mother and grandmother were probably Gupta princesses. The mother of Prabhākaravardhana, the other empire-builder of the second half of the sixth century, appears also to have been a Gupta princess. It seems that the Gupta marriages in this period were as efficacious in stimulating imperial ambition[4] as the Lichchhavi marriages of more ancient times.

Kumāra Gupta III claims to have "churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among kings."[5] This is not an empty boast, for the

[1] Fleet, CII, 220

[2] The victory over the Andhras is also alluded to in the Jaunpur stone inscription (CII, p. 230) which, according to Fleet, also seems to refer to a conflict with Dhārā, the capital of Western Mālava (?). Dr. Basāk thinks that *Dhārā* in this passage refers to the edge of the sword (*Hist. N. E. Ind.*, 109).

[3] The successors of Grahavarman, may have survived as petty nobles. With one of them a "Later Gupta" king contracted a matrimonial alliance in the seventh century A.D.

[4] *Cf.* Hoernle, JRAS, 1903, p. 557.

[5] Aphsaḍ Ins.

Maukhari records do not claim any victory over the Guptas. Kumāra Gupta III's funeral rites took place at Prayāga which probably formed a part of his dominions.

The son and successor of this king was **Dāmodara Gupta.** He continued the struggle with the Maukharis[1] and fell fighting against them. "Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the **Hūṇas** (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight)."

Dāmodara Gupta was succeeded by his son **Mahāsena Gupta.** He is probably the king of Mālava, possibly Eastern Mālwa, mentioned in the *Harsha-charita*, whose sons Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana by their father, king Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushyabhūti family of Srīkaṇṭha (Thānēsar). The intimate relation between the family of Mahāsena Gupta and that of Prabhākara-vardhana is proved by the Madhuban grant and the Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsha which represent Mahāsena Guptā Devī as the mother of Prabhākara, and the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasēna which alludes to the association of Mādhava Gupta, son of Mahāsena Gupta, with Harsha.

1 The Maukhari opponent of Dāmodara Gupta was either Sūryavarman or Sarvavarman (both being sons of Iśānavarman), if not Iśāna-varman himself. A Sūryavarman is described in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of their *Ādhipatya* (supremacy) over Magadha." If this Sūryavarman be identical with, or a descendant of, Sūryavarman, the son of Iśānavarman, then it is certain that for a time the supremacy of Magadha passed from the hands of the Guptas to that of the Maukharis. The Deo-Baraṇārk Inscription (Shāhābad District) of Jīvita Gupta II also suggests (CII, pp. 216-218) that the Maukharis Sarvavarman and Avanti-varman held a considerable part of Magadha some time after Bālāditya-deva. After the loss of Magadha the later Guptas were apparently confined to "Mālava," till Mahāsena Gupta once more pushed his conquests as far as the Lauhitya.

The Pushyabhūti alliance of Mahāsena Gupta was probably due to his fear of the rising power of the Maukharis.[1] The policy was eminently successful, and during his reign we do not hear of any struggle with that family. But a new danger threatened from the east. A strong monarchy was at this time established in **Kāmarūpa** by a line of princes who claimed descent from Bhagadatta. King Susthitavarman[2] of this family came into conflict with Mahāsena Gupta and was defeated. " The mighty fame of Mahāsena Gupta," says the Aphsaḍ inscription, "marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman............is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya."

Between Mahāsena Gupta, the contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana, and his younger or youngest son Mādhava Gupta, the contemporary of Harsha, we have to place a king named **Deva Gupta** II [3] who is mentioned by name in the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harsha as the most prominent among the kings " who resembled wicked horses " who were all punished and restrained in their evil career by Rājya-vardhana. As the Gupta princes are uniformly connected with Mālava in the *Harsha-charita* there can be no doubt that the wicked Deva Gupta is identical with the wicked lord of Mālava who cut off Grahavarman Maukhari, and who was himself defeated

[1] And perhaps of other aggressive states mentined in the beginning of the fourth *Uchchhvāsa* of the *Harsha-charita*. The Lāṭas of that passage may have reference to the Kaṭachchhuris who finally ousted the Guptas from Vidiśā in or about A.D. 608. The Kaṭachchuri (Kalachuri) dominions included the Lāṭa country in the latter part of the sixth and the first decade of the seventh century A.D. (Dubreuil, AHD, 82).

[2] See the Nidhanapur plates. A writer in the JRAS (1928) revives the theory that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari and not a king of Kāmarūpa. But no Maukhari king of that name is known. The association of Susthitavarman with the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra clearly shows that the king of that name mentioned in the Nidhanapur plates is meant.

[3] The Emperor Chandra Gupta II was Deva Gupta I,

"with ridiculous ease" by Rājya-vardhana.[1] It is difficult to determine the position of Deva Gupta in the dynastic list of the Guptas. He may have been the eldest son of Mahāsena Gupta, and an elder brother of Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta.[2] His name is omitted in the Aphsaḍ list of kings, just as the name of Skanda Gupta is omitted in the Bhitarī list.

Shortly before his death, king Prabhākara-vardhana had given his daughter Rājyaśrī in marriage to Grahavarman, the eldest son of the Maukhari king Avantivarman. The alliance of the Pushyabhūtis with the sworn enemies of his family must have alienated Deva Gupta, who formed a counter-alliance with the Gauḍas whose hostility towards the Maukharis dated from the reign of Īśānavarman. As soon as Prabhākara died the Gupta king and the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka,[3] seem to have made a joint attack on the

[1] It is difficult to believe, as does a recent writer, that the Mālava antagonist of Grahavarman and Rājya-vardhana was Buddharāja of the Kalachuri (Kaṭachchuri) family. Had that been the case then it is rather suprising that a shadowy figure like Devagupta, and not Buddha-rāja, would be specially selected in the epigraphic records of the time of Harsha, for prominent notice among "the kings who resembled wicked horses," who received punishment at the hands of Rājya-vardhana. It is the 'Guptas' who are associated with Mālava in the *Harsha-charita* which deals mainly with events till the rescue of Rājyaśrī. The rulers mentioned in connection with the tragic fate of the last of the Maukharis, the vicissitudes through which Rājyaśrī passed, and the struggles in which Rājyavardhana engaged, include Guptas and Gauḍas but no Kaṭachchuri king.

[2] Hoernle, JRAS, 1903, p. 562. The suggestion, however, cannot be regarded as a well-established fact. Devagupta may have represented a collateral line of the Mālava family who continued to pursue a policy hostile to the Pushyabhūtis and the Maukharis, while Kumāra, Mādhava, the Gupta *Kulaputra* who connived at the escape of Rājyaśrī from Kuśasthala (Kanauj), and Ādityasena, son of Mādhava, who gave his daughter in marriage to a Maukhari, may have belonged to a friendly branch.

[3] There is no reason to believe that Śaśāṅka belonged to the Gupta family (*cf.* Allan, *Gupta Coins*, lxiv). Even if it be proved that he had a secondary name, Narendra Gupta, that by itself cannot establish a connection with the Gupta line in view of (*a*) the absence of any reference to his supposed Gupta ancestry in his own seal matrix ins. or in the record of his feudatories, (*b*) the use of the *Nandidhvaja* to the exclusion of the Garuḍadhvaja, (*c*) his Gauḍa connection. The epithet '*Samudrāśraya*' applied to the Gauḍas of the sixth century A.D., can hardly be regarded as an apposite characterisation of the Guptas of Magadha, Prayāga or Mālwa.

Maukhari kingdom. "Graha-varman was by the wicked *rājā* of Mālava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess, was confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet and cast into prison at Kanyākubja." "The villain, deeming the army leaderless purposes to invade and seize this country (Thanesar) as well."[1] Rājya-vardhana, though he routed the Mālava army "with ridiculous ease," was "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the overlord of Gauḍa, and then weaponless, confiding and alone despatched in his own quarters."

To meet the formidable league between the Guptas and the Gauḍas, Harsha, the successor of Rājya-vardhana, concluded an alliance with Bhāskara-varman, king of Kāmarūpa, whose father Susthita-varman Mṛigāṅka had fought against Mahāsena Gupta. This alliance was disastrous for the Gauḍas as we know from the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskara. At the time of the issuing of the plates Bhāskara-varman was in possession of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa that had once been the capital of the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka, whose death took place some time between A.D. 619 and 637. The king overthrown by Bhāskara-varman may have been Jayanāga (*nāgarāja-samāhvayo Gauḍarāja*, the king of Gauḍa named Nāga, successor of *Somākhya* or Śaśāṅka), whose name is disclosed by the Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription.[2] The Gauḍa people, however, did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of their independence. They became a thorn in the side of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa, and their hostility towards those two powers was inherited by the Pāla and Sēna successors of Śaśāṅka.

In or about A.D. 608 the Guptas seem to have lost Vidiśā to the Kaṭachchuris. Magadha was held a little

1 *Harsha-charita*, *Uchchhvāsa* 6, p. 183.

2 Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 60 ff.; *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, ed. G. Śāstrī, p. 636. The name *Jaya* is also given in the Buddhist work.

before A.D. 637 by Pūrṇavarman. **Mādhava Gupta**, the younger or youngest son of Mahāsena Gupta, remained a subordinate ally of Harsha of Thanesar and Kanauj, and apparently resided at his court. In the period 618-27, Harsha 'punished the kings of four parts of India' and in 641 assumed the title of King of Magadha. After his death the Gupta sovereignty in Magadha was revived by **Ādityasena**, a prince of remarkable vigour and ability, who found his opportunity in the commotion which followed the usurpation of Harsha's throne by Arjuna (?). For this "Later Gupta" king we have a number of inscriptions which prove that he ruled over a wide territory extending to the shores of the oceans. The Aphsaḍ, Shāhpur and Mandār inscriptions recognise his undisputed possession of south and east Bihār. A Deoghar inscription, noticed by Fleet,[1] describes him as the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the seas, and the performer of the *Aśvamedha* and the other great sacrifices. He renewed contact with the Gauḍas as well as the Maukharis and received a Gauḍa named Sūkshamśiva in his service. A Maukhari chief, Bhogavarman, accepted the hands of his daughter[2] and presumably became his subordinate ally. The Dēo-Baraṇārk inscription refers to the *Jayaskandhāvāra* of his great-grandson Jîvita Gupta II at Gomatīkoṭṭaka. This clearly suggests that the Later Guptas, and not the Maukharis, dominated about this time the Gomatî valley in the *Madhya-deśa*. The Mandāra inscription applies to Ādityasena the imperial titles of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. We learn from the Shāhpur stone image inscription that he was ruling in the year A. D. 672-73. It is not improbable that he or his son Deva Gupta III is the *Sakalottarā-patha-nātha*, lord of the whole of North India, who was defeated by the Chalukya kings Vinayāditya (A. D. 680-96) and Vijayāditya.[3]

[1] CII, p. 213 n. Āditya is said to have performed three *Aśvamedha* sacrifices.
[2] Kielhorn, INI, 541.
[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 189, 368, 371; and Kendur plates.

We learn from the Dēo-Baraṇārk inscription that Ādityasena was succeeded by his son **Deva Gupta** (III), who in his turn was succeeded by his son **Vishṇu Gupta**. The last king was **Jīvita Gupta II**, son of Vishṇu. All these kings continued to assume imperial titles. That these were not empty forms appears from the records of the Western Chalukyas of Vātāpi which testify to the existence of a Pan-North Indian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D. The only North Indian sovereigns, *Uttarāpatha-nātha*, who laid claim to the Imperial dignity during this period, and actually dominated Magadha and the *Madhya-deśa* as is proved by the Aphsaḍ and Dēo-Baraṇārk inscriptions, were Ādityasena and his successors.[1]

The Gupta empire was probably finally destroyed by the Gauḍas who could never forgive Mādhava Gupta's desertion of their cause and who may have grown powerful in the service of Ādityasena. In the time of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, *i. e.*, in the first half of the eighth century A. D., a Gauḍa king occupied the throne of Magadha.[2]

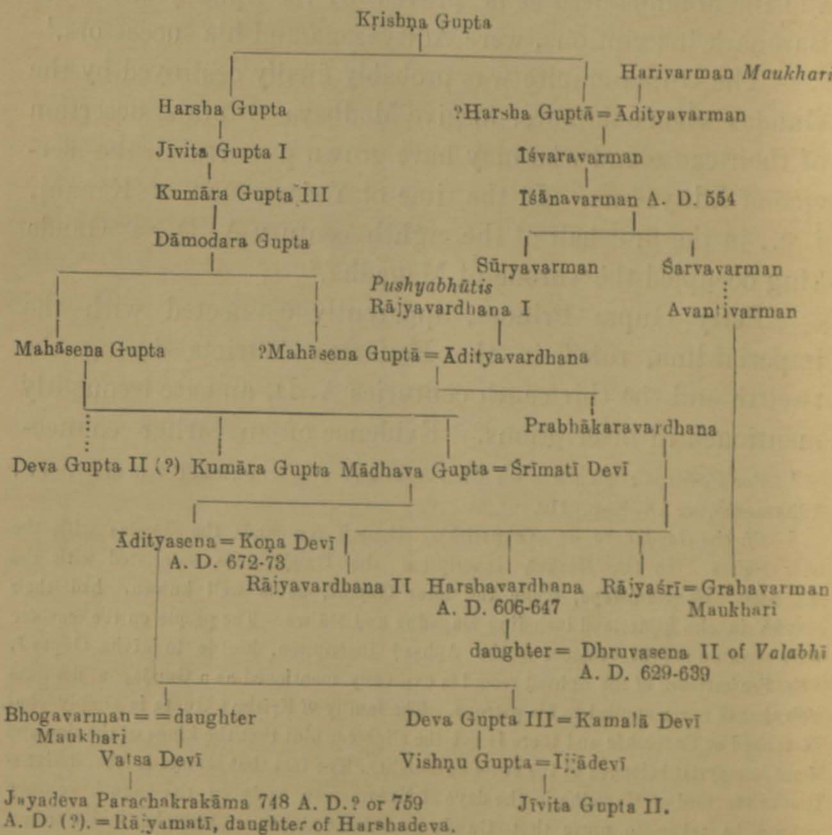
Petty Gupta Princes, apparently connected with the imperial line, ruled in the Kanarese districts during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A. D. and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Evidence of an earlier connec-

[1] For a curious reference to the Chalukyas and king Jih-kwan (' Sun-army,' *i.e.*, Ādityasena), see IA, X, p. 110.

[2] *Cf.* the *Gauḍavaho* by Vākpatirāja. Banerji confounds the Gauḍas with the later Guptas. In the Harāhā Inscription the Gauḍas are associated with the sea coast, *Samudrāśraya*, while the later Guptas, as is well known, had their centres in the hinterland including Magadha and Mālwa. The people on the seashore were according to the evidence of the Aphsaḍ Inscription, hostile to Jīvita Gupta I. The *Praśastikāra* of the Aphsaḍ record is expressly mentioned as a Gauḍa, a designation that is never applied to his patrons. The family of Kṛishṇa Gupta is simply characterised as *Sadvaṁśa* and there is not the slightest hint that the kings of the line and their panegyrist belonged to the same nationality. The fact that Gauḍa is the designation of the lord of Magadha in the days of Yaśovarman early in the eighth century cannot be taken to prove that Gauḍa and later Gupta are interchangeable terms. In this period lordship of Magadha is not inseparably connected only with later Gupta lineage. *Cf.* the passage *Magadhātipatyamahatām jāta kule varmanām*, which proves the existence of non-Gupta lines among rulers of Magadha in this age.

tion of the Guptas with the Kanarese country is furnished by the Tālagund inscription which says that Kākustha-varman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. In the sixth century A. D. the Vākāṭaka king Harishena, a descendant of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya through his daughter Prabhāvatî Guptā, is said to have effected conquests in Kuntala, *i.e.*, the Kanarese region.[1] Curiously enough the Gutta or Gupta chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya,[2] lord of Ujjayinī.[3]

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[1] Jouveau-Dubreuil, AHD, p. 76.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 578-80. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "*A Peep into the Early History of India*," p. 60. I owe this reference to Dr. Bhandarkar.

[3] The account of the Later Guptas was first published in the JASB, 1920, No. 7.

APPENDIX A.

The Results of Aśoka's Propaganda in Western Asia.[1]

The vast region beyond the western frontiers of India came within the geographical horizon of Buddhist writers as early as the *Bāveru Jātaka*, and possibly the *Sussondi Jātaka*, and its princes figure not inconspicuously in Buddhist inscriptions of the third century B.C. The records of Aśoka show that the eyes of the imperial missionary of Magadha were turned more to the West than to the East ; and even the traditional account of early Buddhist proselytising efforts given in the chronicles of Ceylon,[2] does not omit to mention the country of the Yonas where Mahārakkhita "delivered in the midst of the people the '*Kālakārāma suttanta*,' in consequence of which a hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained to the reward of the path (of salvation) and ten thousand received the *pabbajjā*." It will perhaps be argued that the Yona country mentioned in the chronicles is to be identified with some district in the Kābul valley, and is not to be taken to refer to the realm of "Antiochos,[3] the Yona king, and the kings, the neighbours of that Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander," mentioned in the second and the thirteenth rock edicts of Aśoka. Rhys Davids, in fact, is inclined to regard the declaration in these edicts about the success of Aśoka's missionary propaganda in the realms of Yona princes as mere "royal rhodomontade." "It is quite likely," says

[1] Mainly an extract from an article published in the *Buddhistic Studies* (ed. B. C. Law).

[2] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XII.

[3] Recently Dr. Jarl Charpentier has contributed a paper to *A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E. J. Rapson* in which he revives the suggestion of Prinsep (Hultzsch. Aśoka, xxxi) that "Aṁtiyaka" referred to by Aśoka is Antiochos Soter (c. 281-61), and not his son Antiochos Theos (261-46). But his theory require that Chandragupta ascended the throne in 327-25 B.C., that he was identical with Xandrames and that the story of his visit to Alexander (recorded by Justin and Plutarch) is a myth. The theory is opposed not only to the evidence of Justin and Plutarch, but to the known facts about the ancestry of Chandragupta. Unlike Xandrames, Chandragupta is nowhere represented as of barber origin. His paternal ancestors are described as rulers by Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist writers alike.

he, "that the Greek kings are only thrown in by way of make-weight, as it were; and that no emissaries had been actually sent there at all."[1] Sir Flinders Petre is, however, of opinion that in the Ptolemaic Period Buddhism and Buddhist festivals had already reached the shores of Egypt. He infers this from Indian figures found at Memphis. An epigraph from the Thebaid mentions as the dedicator "Sophon the Indian."[2]

Alberuni,[3] writing in the eleventh century A.D. says, "In former times Khurāsān, Persis, Irāk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyād spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole Empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (*i.e.*, Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irāk. In consequence the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh......Then came Islam." The above account may not be correct in all its particulars. The statement that Buddhism flourished in the countries of Western Asia before Zoroaster is clearly wrong. But the prevalence of the religion of Sākyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior to Alberuni, and its suppression by Zoroastrianism and Islam may well be based upon fact. The antagonism of Buddhism to the fire-cult is hinted at in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka.*[4] It has even been suggested that Zoroastrian scriptures allude to disputes with the Buddhists.[5]

Four centuries before Alberuni, Hiuen Tsang bore witness to the fact that Lang kie(ka)-lo, a country subject to Persia, contained above 100 monasteries and more than 6,000 Brethren who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles." Persia (Po-la-sse) itself contained two or three Saṅghārāmas, with several hundred priests, who principally studied the teaching of the Little

1 *Buddhist India*, p. 298.
2 Mahaffy, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 155 f.
3 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 21.
4 No. 543.
5 Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 450.

Vehicle according to the Sarvāstivādin school. The *pātra* of Śākya Buddha was in this country, in the King's palace.[1]

The Chinese pilgrim did not probably personally visit Persia. But no doubt need be entertained regarding the existence of Buddhist communities and *Saṅghārāmas* or monasteries in Irān. Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in "the terminal marshes of the Helmund" in Seistān.[2] Mānī, the founder of the Manichæan religion, who was born in A.D. 215-16, at Ctesiphon in Babylonia, and began to preach his gospel probably in A.D. 242, shows unmistakable traces of Buddhist influence.[3] In his book *Shābūrqān* (*Shapurakhan*) he speaks of the Buddha as a messenger of God. Legge and Eliot refer to a Manichæan treatise which has the form of a Buddhist Sūtra. It speaks of Mānī as the *Tathāgata* and mentions *Buddhas* and the *Bodhisattva*. In Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, App., II, No. 4, we have reference to a Parthian prince who became a Buddhist *Śramaṇa* or monk before A.D. 148. In his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*,[4] Dr. Vincent Smith refers to a picture of a four-armed Buddhist saint or *Bodhisattva* in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his left hand, which has been found at a place called Dandān-Uiliq in Turkistan. Such figures are undoutedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Irān, and enjoyed considerable popularity as late as the eighth century A.D. which is the date assigned by Dr. Smith to the fresco or distemper paintings on wood and plaster discovered at Dandān-Uiliq.

It is difficult to say to what extent Buddhist literature made its influence felt in Western Asia. Sir Charles Eliot points out the close resemblance between certain Manichæan works and the Buddhist *Suttas* and the *Pātimokkha*, and says that according to Cyril of Jerusalem, the Manichæan scriptures were written by one Scythianus and revised by his disciple Terebinthus who changed his name to Boddas.[5] He finds in this "jumble" allusions to Buddha, Śākyamuni and the Bo-tree. It may further be pointed out that some

[1] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 277-78; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, 257.

[2] Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 3.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 446; *The Dacca University Journal*, Feb., 1926, pp. 108, 111; JRAS, 1913, 69, 76, 81.

[4] P. 310.

[5] *Cf.* McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* p. 185.

Jātaka tales show a surprising similarity to some of the stories in the *Arabian Nights.* The *Samugga Jātaka* [1] for instance tells the story of the demon who put his beautiful wife in a box and guarded her in this manner in order that she might not go astray. But this did not prevent her from taking pleasure with others. The tale in all its essentials recurs in the *Arabian Nights.*[2]

The *Jātaka* verse,

> " *He his true bliss in solitude will find,*
> *Afar from woman and her treachery* "

is comparable to the statement of the poet in the *Arabian Nights*:

> " *Never trust in women ; nor rely upon their vows;*
> *For their pleasure and displeasure depend upon their passions.*
> *They offer a false affection ;*
> *For perfidy lurks within their clothing.*"

Whatever may be the case at the present day, in times gone by Western Asia was clearly not altogether outside the sphere of the intellectual and spiritual conquests of Buddhism.

" Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus but that he was a new Buddha (Buddas) and that he was born of a virgin. Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, who was a Saracen born in Palestine and who traded with India."

1 No. 436.

2 Olcott, *Stories from the Arabian Nights*, p. 3; Lane's *Arabian Nights*, pp. 8-9. A similar story is found in *Lambaka* X, *taraṅga* 8 of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*; Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. V, pp. 151-52. " So attachment to women, the result of infatuation produces misery to all men. But indifference to them produces in the discerning emancipation from the bonds of existence."

APPENDIX B.

A Note on the Chronological Relation of Kanishka and Rudradāman I.[1]

In recent years [2] Mr. Haricharan Ghosh and Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankar contributed two very interesting notes on the date of Kanishka. The latter upholds the theory of Dr. Sten Konow, fortified by the calculations of Dr. Van Wijk, that the great Kushān Emperor began his rule in A.D. 128-29, and criticises the view put forward in this work that Kanishka I's rule in the "Lower Indus Valley" (this and not "Sind," is the expression actually used) could not have synchronised with that of Rudradāman I, who, "did not owe his position as *Mahākshatrapa* to anybody else." The conclusions of Professor Konow and Dr. Van Wijk are admittedly hypothetical, and little more need be said about them after the illuminating observations of Professor Rapson in *JRAS*, 1930, January, pp. 186-202. In the present note we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the criticism of Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankara and Mr. Haricharan Ghosh of the views expressed in the preceding pages.

The Professor has not a word to say about the contention that "Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vāsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31[3]-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era current in North-West India which commenced in the second century A.D." He only takes considerable pain to prove that Rudradāman's sway over Sindhu-Sauvīra (which he identifies with modern Sind) between 130 and 150 A.D. does not imply control over Sui Vihār and Multān, and consequently Kanishka's sovereignty over Sui Vihar in the year 11 of an era starting from 128-29 A.D., *i.e.*, in or about 140 A.D., is not irreconcilable with the rule of the Great Satrap in Sindhu-Sauvīra at about the same time. He is not oblivious of the difficulty of harmonising this limitation of Rudradāman's power with the known fact of the Great Satrap's campaign against the

[1] *IHQ*, March, 1930, pp. 149 ff.

[2] *IHQ*, V, No. 1, March, 1929, pp. 49-80, and *JBORS*, XV, parts I & II, March-June, 1929, pp. 47-63.

[3] The earliest recorded date of Huvishka is now known to be the year 28.

Yaudheyas in the course of which he claims to have uprooted that powerful tribe "in their country proper which was to the north of Suē Vihār" and, according to the theory advocated by the Professor, "formed part of Kanishka's dominions" at that time. He meets the difficulty by saying that "the pressure of the Kauṣāna armies from the north had driven the Yaudheyas to the desert of Marwar." Such surmises to explain away inconvenient details, are, to say the least, not convincing, especially in view of the fact that Maru finds separate mention in the inscription of Rudradāman as a territory under the rule of the mighty Satrap.

But is the contention of the Professor that Sindhu-Sauvīra did not include the country up to Multān correct? Alberuni, who based his assertions on the geographical data of the *Purāṇas* and the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, made the clear statement that Sauvīra was equivalent to Multān and Jahrāvār.[1] Against this Professor Vidyalankar quotes the evidence of Yuan Chwang who says that in his days "Mou-lo-san-pu-lu," *i.e.*, Mūla-sthāna-pura or Multān was a dependency of the "Che-ka" or Takka country in the C. Pañjāb. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese pilgrim is referring to political dependence, nd not geographical inclusion. India is a dependency of Great Britain. But geographically it is not a part of the British Isles. On the other hand, Alberuni does not give the slightest hint that what he actually means by the equation "Sauvīra, *i.e.*, Multān and Jahrāvār" is political subjection of Multān to Sind. His account here is purely geographical, and he is merely giving the names of the countries, as taken from the *Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira with his own comments. Far from making Multān a political dependency of Sind he carefully distinguishes "Sauvīra, *i.e.*, Multān and Jahrāvār" from "Sindhu" which is mentioned separately.

The view that ancient Sauvīra was confined to Southern Sind and that Sindhu and Sauvīra together correspond to modern Sind, and nothing but Sind, is unsupported by any early evidence. Yuan Chwang went east from Sin-tu above 900 li and, crossing to the east bank of the Indus, came to the Mou-lo-san-pu-lu country.[2] This proves that Sin-tu lay to the *west* of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu (Multān), and was situated on the *west* side of the Indus. The commentator of the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana makes the clear statement[3] सैन्धवानामिति ।

[1] I. 302.

[2] Watters, II. 254.

[3] Benares edition, p. 295.

सिन्धुनामा नदस्तस्य पश्चिमेन सिन्धदेशस्तच भवानाम्। The major part of modern Sind was clearly outside the geographical (as opposed to political) limits of ancient "Sin-tu" or Sindhu and was, in the days of Yuan Chwang, included in the countries of A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, Pi-to shih-lo, and A-fan-tu. Part of the modern territory of Sind may have been included in Sauvīra whose southern limits undoubtedly reached the sea, because the *Milinda-Pañho* mentions it in a list of countries where "ships do congregate." We are informed by the author of the *Periplus* that "ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum" (at the mouth of the Indus). But the evidence of Alberuni leaves no room for doubt that the northern limits of Sauvīra reached Multān. A scholar like Alberuni thoroughly conversant with Purāṇic lore, is not likely to make an unwarranted statement. In fact the inclusion of Multān within Sauvīra receives striking confirmation from some of the *Purāṇas*. The *Skandapurāṇa*, for instance,[1] referring to the famous temple of the Sun at Mūla-sthāna or Multān, says that it stood on the banks of the river Devikā (*Devikātaṭa*) :—

ततो गच्छेन्महादेवि मूलस्थानमिति श्रुतम्।
देविकायास्तटे रम्ये भास्करं वारितस्करम्॥

In the *Agnipurāṇa*[2] the Devikā is brought into special relations with the realm of Sauvīra :—

सौवीरराजस्य पुरा मैत्रेयोऽभूत् पुरोहितः।
तेन चायतनं विष्णोः कारितं देविकातटे॥

According to Yuan Chwang, Sin-tu and Multān were neighbouring countries lying on opposite sides of the Indus. This is quite in accordance with the close association of Sindhu and Sauvīra in early literature.

पतिः सौवीरसिन्धूनां दुष्टभावो जयद्रथः।[3]
कश्चिदेकः शिवीनाढ्यान् सौवीरान् सह सिन्धुभिः।[4]
शिविसौवीरसिन्धूनां विषादश्चाप्यजायत।[5]

Rudradāman's mastery over Sindhu and Sauvīra (in the sense in which these terms were understood by the *Purāṇas*, the commentator

[1] *Prabhāsa-kshetra-Māhātmya*, Ch. 278.

[2] Ch. 200.

[3] Mbh., III, Ch. 266.

[4] Mbh., III, Ch. 266.

[5] Mbh., III, Ch. 270.

on the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana, Yuan Chwang and Alberuni) is clearly irreconcilable with the simultaneous sovereignty of Kanishka over Sui Vihār.

Apart from the identification of Sauvīra with Multān and Jahrāvār, is it unreasonable to hold that a power which exercised sway over ancient Sindhu and Maru, and fought with the Yaudheyas of Johiyawār, had the Sui Vihār region under its control ?

Mr. H. C. Ghosh asserts[1] that it cannot be proved that Rudradāman held Sindhu and Sauvīra some time from 136 A.D. at least. He also thinks that the argument that Kanishka started an era "involves a *peticio principii.*" Now, we know that by 150 A.D. Rudradāman was " the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, Anupanīvṛid, Ānartta, Surāshṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda, and other territories gained by his own valour." The conquest of so many countries must have taken a long time, and the Andhau inscriptions show that one of the countries, at any rate, namely, Kachchha, had come under the sway of the Great Satrap as early as 130 A.D. On p. 277 of the *Political History of Ancient India* (second edition) it has been pointe d out that "the name of the capital of Scythia (*i.e.*, the Lower Indus Valley) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidore. Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the name of the western *Kshatrapas* of Cashṭana's line, *viz.*, ' Dāman ' (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Kārddamaka family, from which the daughter of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārddama river in Persia."

The facts noted above indicate that the Śaka sept to which Cashṭana and Rudradāman belonged came from Śakasthāna in Irān through the Lower Indus Valley to Cutch and other places in Western India. In view of this and the contiguity of Cutch to the Lower Indus Valley, it is permissible to think that the date of the conquest of Sindhu and Sauvīra could not have been far removed from, and may have even preceded, that of Cutch (Kachchha). As the Great Satrap retained his hold on these provinces till 150 A.D. it stands to reason that he was their ruler from *c.* 136 A.D.

[1] *IHQ*, 1929, p. 79.

As to the second contention of Mr. Ghosh, it may be pointed out that Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vāsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98, do suggest a continuous reckoning. To deny that Kanishka started an era is tantamount to saying that the dates of his successors, Vāsishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva are regnal years. But no serious student will contend that Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 are to be taken as regnal years.

APPENDIX C.

A Note on the Later Guptas.[1]

It was recently urged by Professor R. D. Banerji that Mahāsena Gupta of the Aphsaḍ inscription, father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, could not have been a king of East Mālava, and secondly, that Susthitavarman whose defeat at the hands of Mahāsena Gupta, in the Lohita or Lauhitya region, is mentioned in the Aphsaḍ inscription, was not a Maukhari, but a king of Kāmarūpa.

The second proposition will be readily accepted by all careful students of the Aphsaḍ epigraph and the Nidhanapur plate inscription, though some western scholars are still, I know not why, of a contrary opinion.[2] As to the first point, *viz.*, whether Mahāsena Gupta was a direct ruler of East Mālava or of Magadha, a student will have to take note of the following facts:—

(i) In the Dêô-Baraṇārk Inscription of Jīvita Gupta II, which records the continuance of the grant of a village in South Bihār, we have reference to Bālāditya-deva, and after him, to the Maukharis Śarva-varman and Avanti-varman. Not a word is said about their later Gupta contemporaries in connection with the previous grants of the village. The inscription is no doubt damaged, but the sovereignty of Śarva-varman and Avanti-varman undoubtedly precludes the possibility of the direct rule of their contemporaries of the later Gupta line.

(ii) Inscriptions discovered in the Barābar and Nāgārjuni hill caves disclose the existence of another line of Maukhari "Varmans" who were feudatory (*sāmanta*) chiefs of the Gayā district in the time of the later Guptas.

[1] Mainly an extract from an article published in *JBORS*, Sept.-Dec., 1929, pp. 651 ff.

[2] *JRAS*, 1928, July, pp. 689f.

(*iii*) Yuan Chwang who visited Magadha in the time of Harsha mentions Pūrṇa-varman as the occupant of the throne of Magadha.[1] He does not say a word about Mādhava Gupta or his father in connection with Magadha.

(*iv*) Bāṇa, indeed, refers to Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, but he expressly mentions his father as the king of Mālava, and not of Magadha. The existence of two associates of Harsha, each bearing the name of Mādhava Gupta, one of whom was the son of a king of Magadha, is not known to the biographer of the great emperor.

From the evidence adduced above two facts emerge, *viz.*, that the father of the only Mādhava Gupta whom the biographer of Harsha knew to be the associate of his royal patron, was a king of Mālava, and that before Harsha's conquest of the province in A.D. 641,[2] direct control over Magadha was exercised, not by the Guptas, but by the "Varmans." The memory of "Varman" *ādhipatya* (supremacy) over Magadha had not died away even in the time of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta.

The only relevant argument that Professor Banerji urged against the view that Mahāsena Gupta, the father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, was "*probably*" [3] a king of Mālava, is that "it was impossible for a king of Mālava to reach the banks of the Lauhitya without strenuous opposition from the kings" who governed the intervening region. But how did Professor Banerji solve the problem? By making Mahāsena Gupta king of Magadha, and *assuming* that "Assam very probably lay on his frontier and Rādhā and Vanga or Mithilā and Varendra were included in his kingdom." Anything in the nature of a proof he failed to give, but we were asked to accept his surmise because "in this case only is it possible for Mahāsena Gupta to have fought with Susthitavarman of Assam."

Regarding the possibility of a king of Mālava carrying his arms to the banks of the Lauhitya, attention may be invited to the Mandaśor inscription of Yaśodharman. In the case of Mahāsena Gupta a careful student of the Aphsaḍ inscription cannot fail to note that the way before him had been prepared by his immediate predecessors. Kumāra Gupta, his grandfather, had pushed to Prayāga,

[1] Watters, II, 115.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 19.

[3] *Political History of Ancient India, Second Edition*, p. 373.

while Dāmodara Gupta, father of Mahāsena Gupta, claims to have "broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari"—the same power which we have already seen, held control of Magadha a little before Harsha's conquest of the Province. The Gauḍa expansion had already been stopped for a time by the victories of Īśānavarman Maukhari. What was there to prevent the son of Dāmodara Gupta (who must have assumed command after the death of his father on the battle-field)[1] from pushing on to the Lauhitya ?

[1] *Cf.* Fleet, *Corpus III*, pp. 203, 206.

APPENDIX D.

THE DECLINE OF THE EARLY GUPTA EMPIRE. [1]

Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. the empire built up by the genius of Samudra Gupta and Vikramāditya was fast hastening towards dissolution. Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455- c. 467) was the last king of the Early Gupta line who is known to have controlled the westernmost provinces. After A.D. 467 there is no evidence that the Imperial Guptas had anything to do with Surāshṭra or the major part of Western Mālwa.[2] Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-77 to 495-96) was probably the last prince of the family to be implicity obeyed on the banks of the Lower Ganges as well as the Narmadā. The rulers who came after him retained a precarious hold for some time on Eastern Mālwa and North Bengal. But they had to fight with enemies on all sides, and, if a tradition recorded by Jinasena,[3] is to be believed, their power collapsed in A.D. 551 (320 + 231):

Guptānāṁ cha śata-dvayam
eka-triṁśachcha varshāṇi
kāla-vidbhir udāhṛitam.[4]

The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (*cir.* A.D. 554)[5] and Pushyabhūti (family of Harsha, A.D.

[1] First published in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1930.

[2] The identity of the supreme lord (*Parama-svāmin*) mentioned in connection with the consecration of the early Valabhī king Droṇasiṁha, is unknown. The surmise that he was a Gupta lacks proof. Equally conjectural is the identification of the ruler in question with a Hun or a sovereign of Mandasor. Theories and speculations in the absence of clear data are at best unprofitable. Some connection of the later kings of the Gupta line with the Mandasor region in W. Mālwa in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. may possibly be hinted at by the expression *Gupta-nāthaiḥ* 'by the Gupta lords' used in the Mandasor *praśasti* or panegyric of Yaśodharman. The term *nātha* may have reference to the fact that the Guptas were once overlords of Mandasor. But the analogy of *Hūṇādhipa* occurring in the same record may suggest that *nātha* simply means 'lord', or 'king' without reference to any special relations subsisting between Mandasor and the Guptas in or about 533 A.D.

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, Ch. 60.

[4] Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; *Bhand. Com., Vol.*, 195.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 110-20; JRAS, 1906, 843 f.

606-47) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj and that neighbourhood. Attempts were no doubt made by a line of later Guptas to restore the fallen fortunes of their family, but these were not crowned with success till after the death of Harsha.

The causes of the decline of the early Gupta Empire are not far to seek, though a detailed presentation of facts is impossible in view of the paucity of contemporary records. The broad outline of the story is, however, perfectly clear. The same causes were at work which proved so disastrous to the Turki Sultanate of Delhi in the fourteenth century, and to the so-called Mughul Empire in the eighteenth, *viz.*, outbreak of rebellions within, devastating invasions from without, the growth of a class of hereditary governors and other officials who commanded enormous influence in local centres, and assumed the titles of *Mahārāja* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, and dissensions in the imperial family itself.

Already in the time of Kumāra Gupta I. the stability of the empire was seriously threatened by a turbulent people whose name is commonly read as **Pushya-mitra**. The danger was averted by the crown prince Skanda Gupta. But a more formidable enemy appeared from the steppes of Central Asia. Inscriptions discovered at Bhitarî, Kura, Gwalior and Eraṇ, as well as the records of several Chinese pilgrims, prove that shortly after the death of Kumāra Gupta I, the fierce **Huns** swooped down upon the north-western provinces of the empire and eventually made themselves masters of the Pañjāb and Eastern Mālwa.

The newcomers were long known to the people of India as a race of Uitlanders closely associated with the Chinese. The *Mahāvastu* [1] mentions them along with the Chînas, while the *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata* [2] includes them in a list of foreign tribes amongst whom the Chînas occupy the first place :—

Chînāñ Śakāṁs tathā ch Odrān (?) Varvarān Vanavāsinaḥ
Vārshṇeyān (?) Hāra-Hūṇāṁścha Kṛishṇān Haimavatāṁstathā.

A verse in the *Bhīshmaparva* [3] brings the Huns into relations with the Pārasikas or Persians :—

Yavanāś Chîna-Kāmbojā dāruṇā Mlechchhajātayaḥ
Sakṛidgrahāḥ Kulatthāścha Hūṇā ḥ Pārasikaiḥ saha.

[1] I. 135. [2] II, 51. 23-24. [3] 9. 65-66.

This verse is reminiscent of the period when the Huns came into contact with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.[1] Kālidāsa, too, places the Huns close to Persia—in the saffron-producing country watered by the river Vaṅkshu, the modern Oxus.[2] Early in the reign of the Emperor Skanda Gupta they poured into the Gupta Empire, but were at first beaten back. The repulse of the Huns is mentioned in the Bhitarî Inscription and is also probably alluded to by the grammarian Chandragomin as a contemporary event. [3] With the passing away of Skanda Gupta, however, all impediments to the steady advance of the invaders seem to have been removed and, if Somadeva, a Jaina contemporary of Kṛishṇa III, Rāshṭrakūṭa, is to be believed, they penetrated into the Indian interior as far as Chitrakūṭa.[4] They certainly conquered the Eraṇ district (*Airikiṇa pradeśa*) in the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The principal centres of their power in India, in the time of their kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, were Pavvaiya on the Chināb [5] and Śākala, modern Siālkoṭ, between the Chināb and the Degh, in the Upper Pañjāb.

Next to the Hun inroads must be mentioned the ambition of generals and feudatories. In the time of the Emperor Skanda Gupta, Surāshṭra was governed by a *Goptṛi* or Margrave named Parṇadatta, who was appointed by the emperor himself to the Viceroyalty of the Far West. Shortly afterwards, Bhaṭārka, a chief of the **Maitraka** clan, established himself in this province as general or military governor, with his capital probably at Valabhî. He, as well as his immediate successor, Dharasena I, was satisfied with the title of *Senāpati* or general, but the next chief Droṇasiṁha, the second son of Bhaṭārka (A.D. 502-03) had to be installed as *Mahārāja* by his suzerain. A branch of the dynasty established itself in Mo-la-po (Mālavaka) [6] or the westernmost part of Mālwa in the latter half of the sixth century, and made extensive conquests in the direction of the Sahya and

[1] Smith, *EHI*, 4th edition, p. 339.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, 265f.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, 105.

[4] *Bhand., Com. Vol.*, 216. Chitrakūṭa may be Chitor in Rājaputāna, or more probably the equally famous Chitrakūṭa on the Mandākinī in Central India, where Rāma lived for a short time during his banishment.

[5] JBORS, 1928, March, p. 33; C. J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, 210, quoting *Kuvalayamālā* (? 8th century A.D.).

[6] Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 343.

Vindhya Hills.[1] Another, and a junior, branch continued to rule at Valabhī. In the seventh century Dhruvasena II of Valabhī married the daughter of Harsha. His son Dharasena IV (A.D 645-49) assumed the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Chakravartin.*

But the Maitrakas of Mo-la-po and Valabhī were not the only feudatories who gradually assumed an independent position. The rulers of Mandasor pursued the same course, and their example was followed by the Maukharis of the Madhyadeśa and the kings of Navyāvakāśikā-Vardhamāna and Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal.

Mandasor, the ancient **Daśapura**, was one of the most important Viceregal seats of the Early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of margraves who governed part of Western Mālwa on behalf of the Emperor Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya and his son Kumāra-Gupta I Mahendrāditya. With the sixth century A.D., however, a new scene opened. Yaśodharman, ruler of Mandasor about A.D 533, emboldened no doubt by his success over the Huns, defied the power of the Gupta lords (*Guptanātha*), and set up pillars of victory commemorating his conquests, which, in the words of his court panegyrist, embraced the whole of Hindusthān from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendra or the Eastern Ghāṭs. After his death the Guptas figure again as lords of Mālava (Eastern Mālwa) in literature and possibly in inscriptions of the time of Harsha.

1 Dharasena II, king of Valabhī, left two sons, *viz.*, Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hiuen Tsang seems to suggest that in his time (*i.e.*, shortly after Śīlāditya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-po and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Śīlāditya Dharmāditya, the other part, including Valabhī, obeying Kharagraha and his sons, one of whom was Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya or Dhruvabhaṭa, who married the daughter of Harsha of Kanauj. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of Śīlāditya VII (Fleet, CII, 171 f. esp. 182n) which associates Derabhaṭa, the son of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains, while the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valabhī. The Navalakhi and Nogāwā plates, however, suggest that occasionally the same ruler governed both Mālavaka and Valabhī. In the latter half of the seventh century A.D. the line of Kharagraha I became extinct, and the Maitraka dominions were once more united For an alleged connection of the Valabhī dynasty with the Kanarese country, see Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, 64 f. The recently discovered Virdi copperplate grant of Kharagraha I of the year 297 (=A.D. 616-17) shows that for a time that ruler held Ujjain (*Pro. of the 7th Or. Conf.*, 659 ff.). It is from the camp at Ujjain that the grant was issued.

But Western Mālwa could not be recovered by the family. Part of it was, as we have already seen, included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. Another part, *viz.*, Avanti or the district round Ujjain, the proud capital of Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya in the fifth century A.D.,[1] is found in the next centuries in the possession of Saṁkaragaṇa of the Kaṭachchhuri or Kalachuri dynasty [2] and Kharagraha I of the Maitraka line which gave way to a Brāhmaṇa family in the days of Hiuen Tsang,[3] which in its turn, was replaced by the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara Pratihāras in the eighth century.[4]

Another family which came to the forefront in the sixth century A.D., was the line of the Mukharas or **Maukharis**. The stone inscriptions of the princes of this dynasty prove their control over the Bārā Bankī, Jaunpur and Gayā districts of the United Provinces and Bihār. All these territories formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In the next century they must have passed into the hands of the Maukharis. The feudatory titles of the earlier princes of the Mukhara line leave no room for doubt that they occupied a subordinate position in the first few decades of the sixth century A.D. In or about the year A.D. 554, however, Īśana-varman Maukhari ventured to measure swords with the Guptas, and probably also with the Huns, and assumed the Imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. For a period of about a quarter of

[1] Somadeva, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, Bk. XVIII; Allan, *Gupta Coins*, xlix n; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, 2.578.

[2] G. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 82.

[3] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, 250. This family may have been connected with the viceregal line of Naigamas mentioned in the Mandasor Inscription of the Mālava year 589, of the time of Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana. Abhayadatta of this family was the viceroy (*Rājasthānīya*, *Sachiva*) of a district bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra (Western Vindhyas including the Aravalli range) and the Sindhu (the sea or a Central Indian stream bearing the same name). His nephew is called a *nṛipati* (king). Daksha the younger brother of the ruler, excavated a well in the year 589 (=A.D. 533-34).

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1886, 142; *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 1926, 239 (verse 9 of Sañjam grant); *cf. Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 177 (reference to a governor of Ujjain under the Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla II). In the Sañjam inscription it is claimed that at Ujjain an early Rāshṭrakūṭa king made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers. It is not improbable that, like the Paramāras, the Gurjara Pratihāras of Ujjain were originally feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the name Pratihāra had reference to their status under the Rāshṭrakūṭas, before the theory of descent from Lakshmaṇa was adumbrated.

a century (A.D. 554-*cir*. A.D. 580) the Maukharis were beyond question the strongest political power in the Upper Ganges Valley. They anticipated to some extent the glorious achievements of Harsha, the brother-in-law, and, apparently, the successor (on the throne of Kanauj ?) of their last notable king Grahavarman.

Like the Maukharis, the **rulers of Bengal**, too, seem to have thrown off the Gupta yoke in the second half of the sixth century A.D. In the fourth and fifth centuries Bengal undoubtedly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta Empire. The reference to Samataṭa in Eastern Bengal as a *pratyanta* or border state in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the emperor Samudra Gupta proves that the Imperial dominions must have embraced the whole of Western Bengal, while the inclusion of Northern Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*) within the empire from the days of Kumāra Gupta I (A.D. 443-44) to A.D. 543-44 [1] is sufficiently attested by the Dāmodarpur plates. Samataṭa, though outside the limits of the Imperial provinces, had, nevertheless, been forced to feel the irresistible might of the Gupta arms. The Harāhā Inscription of Īśānavarman, however, shows that the political situation had changed completely about the middle of the sixth century A.D. A new power, *viz*., that of the **Gauḍas**, was first rising to importance in the valley of the Lower Ganges. Gauḍa was already known to Pāṇini[2] and the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*.[3] The grammarian seems to associate it with the East.[4] A passage occurring in the *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, and *Liṅga Purāṇas*[5] has, however, been taken to mean that the Śrāvastī region was the cradle of the Gauḍa people. But the passage in question does not occur in the corresponding text of the *Vāyu* and *Brahma Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*.[6] In early literature the people of the Śrāvastī region are always referred to as the Kosalas. Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, writing probably in the third or fourth century of the Christian era, refers to Gauḍa and Kosala

[1] For the date, see *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, Oct., 1924, p. 345.

[2] VI. ii. 100.

[3] ii. 13

[4] *Cf*. VI. ii, 99.

[5] *Nirmitā yena Śrāvastī Gauḍa-deśe dvijottamāḥ*.
Matsya, XII, 30, *cf*. *Liṅga*, I. 65.
Nirmitā yena Śrāvastī Gauḍadeśe mahāpurī (*Kūrma*, I. 20.19).

[6] *Yajñe Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmitā* (*Vāyu*, 88.27; *Brahma*, VII, 53).
Tasya Śrāvastako jñeyaḥ Śrāvastī yena nirmitā (Mbh., III, 201.4).

as names of distinct countries.[1] Gauḍa in the *Matsya-Kūrma-Liṅga* MSS. may have been inserted as a Sanskritised form of Goṇḍa in the same way as the term Madra-maṇḍala is employed to denote the Madras Presidency, by some modern *paṇḍits* of the Southern Presidency, as well as other scholars and journalists who are unacquainted with the topography of Ancient India.[2] In the Central Provinces the name "Gond" is very often Sanskritised into Gauḍa.[3] Varāhamihira, writing in the sixth century A.D., places Gauḍaka in the Eastern division of India. He does not include Gauḍa in the list of countries situated in the *Madhyadeśa*. Mention is no doubt made of a place called Guḍa. But, if Alberuni[4] is to be believed, Guḍa is Thanesar and not Oudh. The use of the term *Pañcha Gauḍa* as the designation of a territory embracing Northern India as far as Kanauj and the river Sarasvatī, is distinctly late and dates only from the twelfth century A.D. The term is possibly reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and cannot be equated with the ancient realm of the Gauḍas in the early centuries of the Christian era. The distinct statement in the Harāhā Inscription that the Gauḍas were on the sea-shore clearly suggests that the Bengal littoral and not Oudh, was the seat of the people in the sixth century A.D. In the next century, their king Śaśāṅka is found in possession of Karṇasuvarṇa near Murshidābād. In the century that follows, a Gauḍa appears, in the *Gauḍa-vaho* of Vākpatirāja, as the occupant of the throne of Magadha. The zenith of Gauḍa power is reached in the ninth century when the Gauḍa dominion extends over the Gangetic Doāb and Kanauj. About the early kings of the Gauḍas our information is meagre. Certain copper-plate inscriptions, discovered in the Faridpur and Burdwan[5] Districts, disclose the existence of three kings—Dharmāditya, Gopachandra[6] and Samāchāradeva, who are described

[1] For Kosalā, see *daśanachchhedya-prakaraṇam*; for Gauḍa, see *nakhachchhedya prakaraṇam* and *dārarakshika-prakaraṇam*.

[2] *Cf.* Geiger's translation of *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 62n.

[3] *Cf. Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, *Central Provinces*, p. 158.

[4] i. 300.

[5] Mallasārula Plate (*S. P. Patrikā*, 1344, 17).

[6] Gopachandra may be the *Gopākhya nṛipati* who was apparently a contemporary and rival of Prakaṭāditya, son of Bhānu Gupta (*Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, ed. G. Śāstrī, p. 637). It is not altogether improbable that *Dhakārākhya* (*ibid*, p. 644) is identical with Dharmāditya. Was he a younger brother (*anuja*) of *Vakārākhya* (Vajra) and *Pakārākhya* (Prakaṭāditya)? If this surmise turns out to be correct he may have belonged to the Gupta line.

as overlords of Navyāvakāśikā, Vāraka-maṇḍala, and, in one case, of Varddhamāna-*bhukti* (Burdwan Division). The Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription introduces to us a fourth king, *viz.*, Jayanāga, who ruled at Karṇasuvarṇa. These kings are, however, not expressly referred to as Gauḍas. The earliest king, to whom that epithet is applied is the famous Śaśāṅka, the great rival of Rājya-vardhana of Thanesar and his brother Harsha. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* assumed by the Bengal Kings mentioned above, leaves no room for doubt that they no longer acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas and set themselves up as independent sovereigns.

The uprising of the Pushyamitras, the invasions of the Huns and the intransigentism of provincial governors and feudatories, were not the only sources of trouble to the Guptas in the last days of their sovereignty. Along with foreign inroads and provincial insubordination we should not fail to take note of the dissensions in the Imperial family itself. The theory of a struggle amongst the sons of Kumāra Gupta I may or may not be true, but there is evidence to show that the descendants of Chandra Gupta II did not pull on well together, and the later kings who bore the Gupta name sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and convulsions of the period. The later imperial Guptas do not seem to have been on friendly terms with their Vākāṭaka cousins. Narendrasena Vākāṭaka a great-grandson of Chandragupta II through his daughter Prabhāvatī, seems to have come into hostile contact with the lord of Mālava His grandson Harishena claims victories over Avanti. Inasmuch as the Guptas are associated with parts of Mālava as late as the time of Harsha, some of the victories gained by the Vākāṭakas must have been won over their Gupta cousins. In the seventh century A.D. Deva Gupta appears as an enemy of Harsha's family, while Mādhava Gupta was a friend.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that while the earlier Guptas were staunch Brāhmanists, some of whom did not scruple to engage in sacrifices involving the slaughter of living beings, the later kings or at least some of them. *e. g.*, Budha (Buddha) Gupta, Tathāgata Gupta and Bālāditya had Buddhist leanings. As in the case of Aśoka after the Kaliṅga war and Harsha after his intimate relation with the Chinese Master of the Law, the change of religion probably had its repercussions on the military and political activities of the Empire. In this connection it is interesting to recall a story recorded by Hiuen Tsang. When "Mahirakula," the Hun tyrant ruling

at Śākala, proceeded to invade the territory of Bālāditya, the latter said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I *cannot fight with them* (their troops); by the permission of my ministers *I will conceal my poor person* among the bushes of the morass." Having said this he withdrew to an island with many of his subjects. Mihirakula came in pursuit but was taken alive as a captive. He was, however, set free and allowed to go away on the intercession of the Queen Mother.[1] We do not know how far the story is authentic. But it seems that Indians of the seventh century A.D. from whom the Chinese pilgrim must have derived his information, did not credit the later Buddhist rulers of the Gupta dynasty with the possession of much courage or military vigour, though they bear testimony to their kindness and piety. The misplaced clemency of Bālāditya and his mother helped to prolong the tyrannical rule of Mihirakula and gave Yaśodharman and the succeeding aspirants for imperial dominion, *viz.*, Īśānavarman and Prabhākara-vardhana, an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage and thereby seal the doom not only of the Hun, but also of the Gupta domination in Northern India.

[1] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, 168 f.; Watters, I, 288-89.

APPENDIX E.

KINGDOMS, PEOPLES AND DYNASTIES OF TRANS-VINDHYAN INDIA CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

Brāhmaṇa Period:—1. Nishadhas (capital Giriprastha, Mbh., III, 324. 12).
2. Vidarbhas (capital Kuṇḍina) and other Bhojas.
3. Dasyu tribes—Andhras, Śabaras. Pulindas and Mūtibas.

Sūtra Period:—1. Māhishmatī (Māndhātā or Maheśvara, IA, 4 346).
2. Bhṛigu-Kachchha (Broach).
3. Śūrpāraka (Sopara in the Koṅkaṇ).
4. Aśmaka (capital Paudanya).
5. Mūlaka (capital Pratishṭhāna).
6. Kaliṅga (capital Dantapura).
7. (?) Ukkala (N. Orissa).

Rāmāyaṇic Period:—Aryan Expansion south of the Godāvarī—settlement on the Pampā—exploration of Malaya, Mahendra and Laṅkā.

Maurya Period:—

Maurya Empire.
1. Aparāntas proper (capital Śūrpāraka).
2. Bhojas (capital Kuṇḍina?).
3. Rāshṭrikas (capital Nāsik?).
4. Petenikas (of Pratishṭhāna?).
5. Pulindas (capital Pulinda-nagara).
6. Andhras (capital Bezvāḍa?).
7. Aṭavi.
8. Kaliṅgas (including Tosalī and Samāpā).
9. Viceroyalty of Suvarṇagiri.
10. Āhāra of Isila.

11. Cholas.
12. Pāṇḍyas.
13. Keralaputra.
14. Satiyaputra (Satyabhūmi of Keralolpatti?).
15. Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon).

Early Post-Maurya Period:—1. Kingdom of Vidarbha.
2. Sātavāhanas of Dakshiṇāpatha.
3. Chetas of Kaliṅga.
4. Kingdom of Pithuḍa near Masulipatam.
5. ,, ,, Chola.
6. ,, ,, Pāṇḍya.
7. ,, ,, Kerala.
8. ,, ,, Ceylon (sometimes ruled by Chola princes).

Age of the Periplus:—1. Ariake under Mambarus (or Nambanus).
2. Dachinabades under Saraganus and his successors (*i.e.*, the Deccan under the Sātavāhana-Sātakarṇis).
3. Damirica (Tamilakam, Draviḍa) including:—
(*a*) Cerobothra (Keralaputra).
(*b*) The Pandian Kingdom.
(*c*) (Kingdom of) Argaru (=Uragapura).
4. Masalia (Masulipatam).
5. Dosarene (=Tosalī).

Age of Ptolemy:—1. Kingdom of Baithana (Pratishṭhāna) ruled by Pulumāyi (Sātavāhana).
2. Kingdom of Hippokoura (Kolhapur), ruled by Baleokouros (Vilivāyakura).
3. Kingdom of Mousopalle (in the Kanarese Country).
4. ,, ,, Karoura ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra).
5. Pounnata (S. W. Mysore).
6. Kingdom of the Aïoi (capital Kottiara) in S. Travancore.
7. Kingdom of the Kareoi (Tāmraparṇī Valley).
8. Kingdom of Modoura (Madurā) ruled by 'Pandion' (Pāṇḍya).
9. Kingdom of the Batoi (capital Nikama),

10. Kingdom of Orthoura, ruled by "Sornagos" (Choḷa-Nāga?).
11. Kingdom of Sora (Choḷa) ruled by Arkatos.
12. Kingdom of Malanga (Kāñchī ? Māvilaṅgai ?), ruled by Basaronagas (-°Nāga?)
13. Kingdom of Pitundra (Pithuḍa)

A.D. 150-350:—1. Ābhīras (N. Mahārāshṭra and W. India).
2. Vākāṭakas (Berar and adjoining provinces), and chiefs of Mahākāntāra.
3. Kingdoms of South Kosala, Kaurāla, Koṭṭur, Eraṇḍapalla, Devarāshṭra (under the Vaśishṭha family?), Pishṭapura (under the Māṭhara-*kula*?), Avamukta, Palakka, Kusthalapura.
4. Kingdom of Andhrāpatha (and Veṅgī):—
 (*a*) Ikshvākus.
 (*b*) Rulers of the Ānanda-*gotra* (Kandarapura)
 (*c*) Bṛihatphalāyanas of Kudura etc.
 (*d*) Śālaṅkāyanas (Salakenoi of Ptolemy ?) of Veṅgīpura, one of whom was Hastivarman of Veṅgī.
5. Pallavas of Kāñchī.
6. Śātakarṇis of Kuntala.

A.D. 350-600:—1. Traikuṭakas and Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ; and Lāṭas, Nāgas and Gurjaras of South Gujarāṭ.
2. Vākāṭakas (C. Deccan).
3. Kaṭachchuris (N. Mahārāshṭra and Mālwa).
4. Kings of Śarabhapura (S. Kosala?).
5. Kingdoms of Uḍra, Koṅgoda, Kaliṅga (under the Vaśishṭha family, the Māṭhara-*kula* and Eastern Gangas); Leṇḍulura (under Vishṇukuṇḍins) in East Deccan.
6. Pallavas of Kāñchī (in Dramila or Draviḍa).
7. Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Mūshakas and Keralas of the Far South.
8. Gaṅgas and Ālupas of S. Mysore, Shimoga and S. Kanara.

9. Bāṇas of E. Mysore and N. Arcot, Kekayas of Dāvaṇgere *tāluk*, Kadambas of Vaijayantī etc. and Sendrakas of Nāgarakhaṇḍa (N. W. Mysore).
10. Nalas of (*a*) Pushkarî who governed the Poḍāgaḍh region (Jeypore Agency), (*b*) Yeotmal in Berar and perhaps also (*c*) the Bellary District.
11. Early Chalukyas of Vātāpi.

After A. D. 600:—1. Silāhāras of Koṅkaṇ.
2. Early Chalukyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Later Chālukyas, Kalachuryas and Yādavas of W. Deccan.
3. Haihayas, Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripurî and Ratnapura, and Nāgas of Chakrakūṭa (C. P.).
4. Eastern Chalukyas, Chiefs of Velnāṇḍu, and Kākatîyas of the Telugu Country, Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and Orissa, Karas, Śābaras (? Śaśadhara and Pāṇḍu family) and Somavaṁśi Guptas of Mahānadî Valley (N. E. Deccan).
5. Western Gaṅgas, Sāntaras and Hoysalas (Mysore).
6. Pallavas of Kāñchī, Vaidumbas of Renāṇḍu, Kalabhras of the Tinnevelly District, Cholas of Tanjore, Varmans of Kerala and Kolamba, and Pāṇḍyas of Madurā (Far South).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX *

* This *Index* purports to give a *general idea* of the kind of literature that has been utilised in preparing the work. It may also be of some little use to students. In the case of the more well-known authorities no detailed reference has been deemed to be necessary. Such references will ordinarily be found in the text itself.

H

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K

* On page 35, an extract quoted from the translation of Mr. Dutt (Mbh. Ādi. lxii, 19-20) uses the word *Sun* while the original consulted by the present writer has *Chandramā* (Moon). It is possible that the text used by Mr. Dutt had variant readings.

GENERAL INDEX

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
18	32	tbe	the
18	44	except	expect
35	15	Sun	Moon (*cf.* p. 550 n.)
52	3	-folded	fold
79	1	Pūlindas	Pulindas
87	8	Ekarāt	Ekarāṭ
156	34	tne	the
194	10 and 16	Hindus	Hidus
220	2	Nāgakhaṇḍa	Nāgarkhaṇḍa
227	34	himseif	himself
241	5	traders	those who work at trades
248	11	tbis	his
307	31	*After* " connected with " *insert* "bimbikā, a kind of red fruit (*I. C.* 1938, Jan. 365), and also perhaps with "	

		For	*Read*
321	17	Heiiokles	Heliokles
321	21	Enkratides	Eukratides
332	last line	Aśmedha	Aśvamedha
334	28	ljst	list
336	28	Bepresent	represent
336	29	Shandarkar	Bhandarkar
338	last line	*After* " vary " *insert* " the number "	
346	15	*After* "Sāñchī Inscription " *insert* " when read along with the Purāṇic statement quoted on p. 332 *ante*."	

		For	*Read*
368	16	Taxila	Chuksha (Chach).
369	4	*After* " Kāpiśī " *insert* "Puspapura "	

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
369	9	*After* "-vbryaka" *insert* "A Kābul Museum Stone Inscription of the year 83 (*Acta Orientalia*, XVI, Pars iii, 1937, pp. 234 ff.) discloses the name of a satrap of Puspapura named Tiravharṇa."	
384	penultimate line	According to Burrow (*The Language of the Kharoshṭhī Documents*, 82, 87) Kujula = guśura = Vazir. Dr. Thomas thinks that the word *kujula* has the sense of 'saviour.'	

		For	*Read*
395	36	Kanikha leka	Kanika lekha
396	34	Kānispar	Kānispor.
402	32	Kul-ōdvabaḥ	Kul-ōdvahaḥ
414	33	Vākaṭaka	Vākāṭaka
415	3	indicate	indicates
417	9	*After* "line" *insert* a fullstop	
440	last line	*Insert at the end*—"Rhys Davids and Stede."	

		For	*Read*
449	12	of the house of Padmāvatī	of a Nāga family, who met his doom at Padmāvatī.
454	7	reminds	remind
454	last line	Kārṇāṭa	Karṇāṭa
461	28	Praśaśti	Praśasti
461	29	anekāśva-medhayājīn	anekāśvamedhayājin
468	28	*Rūpakṛitī* is to be connected with the *Couch* type.	
472	13	*After* "Kuṇḍadhāṇi" *Insert* "*cf.* Kuṇḍadhāna, a town mentioned in the *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, I, 18 n."	

		For	*Read*
472	32	Mālava.Vikrama	Mālava-Vikrama

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
474	2	*After* " local chief " *insert* " *cf. talāra* of the Chīrwā Inscription of Samarasiṁha "	
479	6	Puṣyamitāṁś =ca	Puṣyamitrāṁś=ca
484	30	altogethsr	altogether
504	10	Vaśodharman	Yaśodharman
510	27	Śāvitrī	Sāvitrī
510	31	Mokhaliśa	Mokhaliṇam (Fleet *CII, 14*).
511	9	2	1
511	10	1	2
517	35	dssignation	designation
520	4	Petre	Petrie
524	21	nd	and
525	1	Auvīra	Sauvīra
526	12	peticio	petitio

Map of Bhāratavarsha facing p. 153—*For* " Trigatta " *read* " Trigarta " and put an arrow mark to indicate its position between the Sutlej and the Beas.

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

I.—Political History of Ancient India

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty

Published by the Calcutta University

Opinions on the earlier editions and on Part I :—

THE HINDUSTHAN REVIEW.—It is learned and luminous and is a scientific treatise based on the results of research into the records and materials of ancient Indian history, of which it is a sound and an accurate digest, interestingly put together. It is about the best text-book of the subject it deals with.

DR. L. D. BARNETT, LONDON.—The author treats his materials with a certain degree of originality, but at the same time he preserves throughout a well-balanced judgment and never sacrifices critical caution to the passion for novel theories.........This interesting book......shews judgment, ingenuity, and learning. And not the least of the author's merits is that he can write plain English.

DR. F. W. THOMAS.—I have profited by a closer acquaintance with your Political History and other writings, which are really models of sound judgment combined with full knowledge.

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PROFESSOR JOLLY, WÜRZBURG, GERMANY.—Your splendid volume.........What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography, not less than the ancient history of India, has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archaeology and Chronology. The indices are very copious and the study of your work is greatly facilitated by them.

PROFESSOR PELLIOT, PARIS.—Le nom de l'auteur est garant du serieux du travail.

PROFESSOR JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA, SWEDEN.—Professor Ray Chaudhuri belongs to a set of young Hindu scholars who, combining the traditional education of a Pandit with a thorough training in English, German or French Universities, have lately been carrying on deep and fruitful researches in the various domains of Indian lore...... Even the student, who on essential points does differ widely from the opinions expressed by Professor Ray Chaudhuri, must willingly recognize his high merits as a scholar.

PROFESSOR A. SCHEPOTIEFF, UFA, RUSSIA.—For our study of the history of the Ancient Age your Political History of Ancient India is of very great importance (trans. from original).

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM (J. R. A. S., 1928, JULY)—Part I of Professor Ray Chaudhuri's work deals with the period from Parikṣit to Bimbisāra. The author seeks to show, as he tells us in his preface, "that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B.C. is not impossible." He has laid under contribution the usual authorities, the Vedic, Purāṇic, Buddhist, and Jaina texts—though he does not appear to place much reliance upon the last-named (*cf.* pp. 6 and 72). A vast mass of records has been collated, and the evidence marshalled in a very concise and able, and in some respects original, manner. The apposite quotations from the original texts are useful. Professor Ray Chaudhuri regards Parikṣit I and Parikṣit II, as they are named by the late Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, as being probably one and the same king, and as identifiable with the Vedic Parikṣit. By "the great Janaka" he refers to the Janaka of the later Vedic texts, whose court is said to have been thronged with Brāhmaṇas, and not to the traditional first king Janaka, the eponymous founder of the Janakavaṃśa, or to Janaka Sīradhvaja, the reputed father of Sītā. Synchronizing Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and the Buddha, he inclines, it seems, to place Parikṣit in the ninth, and the "great Janaka" in the seventh century B.C. though he wisely avoids coming to any positive conclusion as to these debatable dates, and points out that if the evidence of the Purāṇas were accepted we would have to place them some five centuries earlier. If it could be established that Parikṣit came into power at the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the tenth, this would help to corroborate the approximate chronology suggested by Mr. Pargiter, having regard also to the synchronism between Senājit Bārhadratha and Adhisīmakṛṣṇa. But until more convincing evidence is discovered most scholars will probably agree in the verdict of Vincent Smith that nothing approaching exact chronology is yet available for periods anterior to about 650 B.C.

Much of the matter in Part II will perhaps be familiar to students of Indian history; but it has been arranged in a fresh and scholarly manner, while several important suggestions have been made on different questions. One or two of these may be cited as examples. On pp. 72-73 reasons are set forth for accepting the Ceylon tradition that Śiśunāga was later than Bimbisāra The view recorded by Mahāmahopādhāya (*sic*) H. P. Śāstrī that the ultimate dismemberment of the Mauryan empire was due to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas, is vigorously controverted. Whatever other causes may have operated, and Professor Ray Chaudhuri undoubtedly lays his finger on more than one such, Brahmanical influences cannot be ignored. The arguments used for holding that Demetrius,[1] rather than Menander, was the Yavana invader of the Madhyadeśa in the time of Puṣyamitra, and that Simuka. the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, must be placed in the first century B.C., deserve careful consideration.

Since Hoernle made his well-known suggestion as to the identity of Devagupta, mentioned in two inscriptions of Harṣavardhana, several writers have attempted to frame the history of the later Guptas of Eastern Mālava and Bihār and the Maukharis of Kanauj. The period presents many difficulties, which are not likely to be solved until some further evidence reveals itself. Having regard to the conditions of the times and the bitter enmity of the Maukharis, who were then very powerful, it seems unlikely that the Susthitavarman mentioned in the Aphsand (*sic*) inscription of Ādityasena as having been defeated by Mahāsenagupta of E. Mālava, could have been the king of Kāmarūpa, as the author states. Fleet's suggestion that he was the Maukhari king of that name,[2] whom we know to have been contemporaneous with Mahāsenagupta, seems more probable.

Not the least valuable part of the contents of this volume are the numerous comments on the geographical information supplied in the records quoted; and it is a matter of regret that of the five maps entered in the table of Contents (p. xvi), only one, *viz.*, that of "Bhāratavarsha" appears in the volume before us. As regards this map we are not told what specific period, if any, it refers to. In any case, the positions assigned to the Niṣādas, S. Kosala, Kamboja, and the Ṛikṣa mountains seem to call for some explanation. On the other hand, the geographical information given in the text is extensive, and often suggestive. and it indicates that much attention has been devoted to this important auxiliary to ancient Indian historical research. The indexes, both bibliographical and general, have been very well prepared.

[1] For the latest reading of the Hāthīgumphā inscription reference to the Yavana king, see *JBORS.*, XIII, 228.

[2] No Maukhari king of that name is known (H. C. R. C.).

PROFESSOR A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, EDINBURGH.—I have read through the work and find it to contain much that is valuable. The author has arrived at clearly cut opinions on many of the chief difficulties in the history of early India; he has formulated them effectively, and as a result, even when they do not commend themselves as final solutions, they will serve to promote the discussion and to facilitate further fruitful research. He observes a due sense of proportion and is well read in the literature. The work accordingly may justly be deemed a most valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats.

PROFESSOR WILH GEIGER, MUNCHEN-NEUBIBERG, GERMANY.—I highly appreciate Mr. Ray Chaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence, throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt in it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we now are enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C.

PROFESSOR JACKSON, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK.—I can see the scholarly research which you have put into the volume, and am glad to have such a work for future reference in my historical studies.

PROFESSOR LOUIS DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.—I believe that the book is well designed and has the twofold merit of collecting a vast amount (and in some chapters, an exhaustive one) of references, and of giving a clear and reasonable *exposé* of the main line of this history. I agree with the author on several controverted points of chronology.

MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—Dr. Chaudhuri has made debtors of us all.

S. M. EDWARDES (*The Indian Antiquary*, July, 1927, p. 140).—Professor Raychaudhuri's book forms a solid contribution to the discussion of the various problems implicit in the early history of India.

PROFESSOR E. J. RAPSON, CAMBRIDGE.—My best thanks for the kind present of a copy of the "Political History of Ancient India," which I am very glad to possess and which I shall find most useful for reference.

PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, NORWAY.—The book is a very useful contribution.

SITARAM KOHLI, LAHORE.—I have immensely liked your book "Political History of Ancient India."

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, SOUTH INDIA.—Our author rightly holds the balance between the views of Pargiter which would give excessive value to Kshatriya tradition

whose date allowed of manipulation to serve dynastic ends and the value of Vedic tradition whose two strong points are its priority of date and freedom from textual corruption.

W. Charles de Silva, Colombo.—I have the greatest pleasure to express my high appreciation of your very valuable and learned article (Part I of the Political History).

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins.—It is a fine augury for Indian scholarship when native scholars of the first rank take seriously in hand the great problem of untangling the web of Indian history. To this work your book is a valuable contribution.

Professor H. Jacobi, Bonn.—Very suggestive and contains some important details.

Professor F. Otto Schrader.—I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians. The portion I enjoyed most is that on the sixteen Mahājanapadas.

II. The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect

Published by the Calcutta University

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, America.—Your book has given me great satisfaction...... I am particularly pleased to see an incisive study of this kind in the realm of religious history.........Believe me, in the hope of further contributions of this character from your able pen............

Professor A. Berriedale Keith, Edinburgh University.—While I do not concur in your view as to the original character of Kṛṣṇa, I recognise the care with which you have investigated the issue, and value highly the elaborate collation of the evidence which your work contains, and which will render it of much service to all students of this doubtless insoluble problem. The stress laid on the epigraphic evidence and the full use made of it is of special value, while in many details your opinions are of interest and value, as in the case of the date of Pāṇini.........

Sir George Grierson.—Very interesting and informing........The book is full of matter which is of great importance for the history of religion in India and will form a valued addition to my collection of books on the subject...

F. E. Pargiter, Oxford.—I agree with you in discarding various theories, but I don't think Kṛṣṇa Devakī-

putra is the famous Kṛṣṇa, and it seems to me your exposition can stand just as well without the identification as with it. Your book will help to elucidate the whole matter, but are you sure that the cult does not owe something to Christianity?

PROFESSOR F. OTTO SCHRADER, KIEL, GERMANY.—I perfectly agree with your opinion that the Chāndogya passage on Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra and his teaching is to be considered as the first historical record of Bhāgavatism. There were, of course, many Kṛṣṇas, but to conjecture that more than one was also a Devakīputra, is to my mind an unscientific boldness which is the less justifiable as the teachings mentioned in that passage, as you show, perfectly agree with those, *e.g.*, of the Bhagavad-gītā and the Ṛk. quoted with the famous तद्विष्णो परमं पदं।.........

PROFESSOR GARBE, TUBINGEN, GERMANY.—I have read your book with the greatest interest and perfectly agree with you in the main points, as to the personality of Kṛṣṇa and the development of Bhāgavatism.........You have brought together much important material and elucidated the dark early history of Bhāgavatism as far as possible.

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, MAY 12, 1921.—The lectures of Mr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri on the early history of the Vaishṇava Sect read almost as would a Bampton lecture on the "Historical Christ" to a Christian audience. They are an attempt to disentangle the authentic figure of Krishna from the mass of Puranic legend and gross tradition, from the wild conjectures and mistaken, if reasoned, theories which surround his name. The worship of Krishna is not a superstitious idolatry; it is the expression of the Bhakti, the devotional faith of an intellectual people, and many missionaries, ill equipped for dealing with a dimly understood creed would do well to study this little volume...........

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, JANUARY-MARCH 1923, PARIS.—Dans le domaine historique, signalons un travail plein de merite de M. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri. *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect* (Dr. Jules Bloch of Paris).

DR. JULES BLOCH, PARIS.—My Guru, Sylvain Levi, who has come back from his travels, told me also of his esteem for that book.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.—The scope of this small book is rightly expressed in its title. The author who is Lecturer in History in the Calcutta University, has collected and discussed statements, references, and allusions from the early literature to throw light on the position and life of Kṛṣṇa and the growth of Bhāgavatism. He deals with the various theories that have been put forward, and with good reasons discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a solar deity

or a tribal god or a vegetation deity. He is right in treating Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as one person, the Vṛṣṇi chief, but he unnecessarily identifies him with Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, the scholar mentioned in the Chāndogya Upanishad............. (F. E. Pargiter).

The Bombay Chronicle, June 19, 1921.—Mr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University has collected much valuable material from which he has succeeded in tracing the origin and growth of the Vaishnava creed. The Historicity of Srikrishna—or as the author calls him, Krishna Vāsudeva, is also handled with remarkable clearness............

A. Govindacharya Svamin.—I pay you a most deserved compliment upon your acquaintance with the Azhvars and Sri Vaishnavism of southern India as evidenced in your learned book *the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.*

III. Studies in Indian Antiquities

Demy 8vo. Pp. xvi, 211

Published by the Calcutta University

Professor E. J. Rapson, Cambridge.—Dr. Raychaudhuri's essays on Indian History and Antiquities are always well-informed, thoughtful and suggestive.

E. J. Thomas (J. R. A. S , October, 1933, p. 925).—The study which Dr. Raychaudhuri has already devoted to ancient Indian history is well known. In the present book he discusses some of the geographical problems which still face the historians, as well as Vedic, epic, and specially historical questions......He has shown that Indian historical scholarship is proceeding on sound lines of its own and achieving independent results.

Opinions on some of the Papers incorporated in the Volume.

Dr. Barnett.—They are very interesting and critically sound.

Dr. Keith.—They are all very interesting, and I am glad to note the very useful information elicited as to Bhoja.

Professor Dr. Sten Konow, Kristiania, Norway.—They are written in a thoroughly scholar-like way, and more especially it seems to me that your paper about the Laksmana Sena era deserves very careful attention.

PROFESSOR H. JACOBI.—The verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar inscription is a find on which you may be congratulated.

PROFESSOR SCHRADER, KIEL, GERMANY.—*The Antiquity of the Rig Veda* is a sober and useful little piece of research work with which, on the whole, I fully agree. If we follow Jacobi and Tilak we create a gap (which we cannot bridge over) between the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas, for the latter are certainly not far removed from early Buddhism. On the other hand, if Hertel were right, the Ṛg Veda would immediately precede Buddhism, and there would be no room at all for Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

Your important paper on the inter-relation of the two epics: The opinion held by Macdonell, Winternitz, and others, *viz.*, that the heroes of the Mahābhārata are unknown to the Rāmāyaṇa, seems, indeed, to be untenable... Again, I find it difficult, as you do, to distinguish between a Pāṇḍava story and a Kuru-Bhārata Epic.

PROFESSOR JARL CHARPENTIER.—The identification of some words in this very important document (the Besnagar Inscription) with a passage in the Mahābhārata seems to be a most happy find.

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—It is certainly a remarkable resemblance which you have established and I should be inclined to agree with your conclusion.